GUIDE TO THE All SINKIANG FILE

[The All Sinkiang file consists of three sources, all of which are in English. 1:Lattimore concentrates on the political history, with some materials on the people, geography and economy. 2:Norins depends largely on translated Chinese material and again concentrates on politics and economics. 3:Skrine, by a British consular official, is essentially a geography of the area with data on the native groups and on diplomatic relations with Chinese officials.

Since this is primarily an areal rather than an ethnic file, data on many categories are rather skimpy. This is particularly so with those categories relating to the life cycle and training of children. The file is strong in the political and economic areas.

No special marking decisions were made for the Sinkiang file. --Analyst]

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CHAPTER I A New Center of Gravity in the World

Sinkiang, Pivot of Asia

101 A NEW CENTER of gravity is forming in the world. In terms of power politics it has two outstanding characteristics: accessibility from Russia, for the kinds of power which are at Russia's disposal, and inaccessibility from America, for the kinds of power that are at America's disposal. In terms of ideology, it is a whirlpool in which meet political currents flowing from China, Russia, India and the Moslem Middle East.

China's Inner Asian province of Sinkiang occupies a major part of the focal area within which lies this new center of gravity. Sinkiang is China's India. Of its people, 90 per cent are not Chinese. They feel themselves to be subjects, rather than citizens, of the Chinese Republic. Like the peoples of India, they are divided among themselves by differences of language and religion, while the increase of nationalism tends in some ways to unite and in other ways to divide them. As in India, Mohammedanism is not only a religion but a political force. And finally, many of these non-Chinese subjects of China have close ties of language and historical association with various peoples in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and to a lesser extent with Afghanistan.

A circle with a radius of a thousand miles, centering on Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, encloses more different kinds of frontier than could be found in any area of equal size anywhere else in the world.

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

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There are linguistic and cultural frontiers between Mongols, Chinese, Tibetans, Indians, Afghans, the peoples who speak one or another of the Inner Asian Turkic languages, and Russians.

There are religious frontiers between Mohammedans, Buddhists, followers of primitive religions, Orthodox Christian Russians intermingled with consciously atheistic Russians, and predominantly unreligious Chinese.

There are political frontiers between independent states, overlord states, satellite or dependent states, and states which have only recently been freed from colonial status, and also between the monarchy of Afghanistan, the principality of Kashmir, and theocratic Tibet.

There are frontiers between the recently industrialized economy of the Soviet Union, the rapidly changing pastoral economy of the Mongolian People's Republic, the traditional nomad economies of the Kazakhs and Mongols of Sinkiang, the ancient agricultural practices of China, partly infiltrated by such new agencies of transformation as the railroad and the factory, the oasis economy of Inner Asia, the Alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tien Shan, and the high plateau economy of such peoples as the Sarikolis of the Pamirs.

In all this welter of frontiers, however, there is not one state which provides a strong foothold for free capitalist enterprise organized politically around the kind of democratic institutions familiar in Western Europe or North America. In Sinkiang and also in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and China, the countries around Sinkiang, there is not a single political movement engaged in the defense of an old, established democracy, for in these regions no such democracy has ever existed. Nor is the aspiration toward democracy, anywhere in Asia, aimed at forms or institutions which are willingly recognized in America as democratic. In the midst of these problems of change and transition Sinkiang holds a pivotal position. If these problems are to be understood they must be studied in the full context of their historical development.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

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province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

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The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems. 563* 101 175

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east. 563* 174

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions. 563* 174 771

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common
565 saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."
793 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
●101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

*563 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this re-
197 spect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939,
212 76.3 per cent were literate.

The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Moham-
*563 medanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they re-
771 mained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither
562 veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of
101 the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
•101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Mongol
Tadjik

of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (*Sarikolis, Tajiks*). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

*563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were estab-
167 lished as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from
174 the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sin-
174 kiang were massacred, but the village communities defended
161 themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and
361 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the prov-
101 ince. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though
241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a con-
231 siderable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their tradi-
191 tional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang. 167

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion. 101 563

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

Kirghiz
Kazak

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack another way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

01 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

of the Russian cavalry), have called one type of this Turkestan nomad 101
the Kara-Kazakh and another the Kirgiz-Kazakh. C. P. Skrine, a British authority, even describes the Kara-Kazakh as a branch of the Kirgiz. Yet Owen Lattimore emphatically states that the Kirgiz and Kazakh are not the same, that the Kara-Kazakh is actually purely and simply Kazakh and calls himself that, while the Kirgiz-Kazakh is purely and simply Kirgiz and looks down upon the Kazakh as inferior. The Kirei, an outstanding people of former Turkestan history whom Douglas Carruthers has identified as Kirgiz but who, Mr. Lattimore indicates, are Kazakh, are said to have been probably the "purest Turks of all . . ."

Some Other Peoples of Sinkiang

There are still other ethnic groups in Sinkiang, including a large 563
section of White Russian refugees who fled from their native land in the early years of the Soviet Republic, a considerable number of Soviet Russians, and other foreigners. The Tajiks or Sariquolis, found in a "few secluded mountain regions" of the Pamirs and especially in the Sariquol area, are said to be a nearly pure specimen of the so-called *homo alpinus* and do not speak Turki. Other types include two groups of South Sinkiang known as the Habdals and Dulanis, a colony of Turki stock known as Taranchis who are settled in the I-li Valley, and the Uzbeks who appear to be mostly migrants from adjacent Uzbekistan.

The "Fourteen" Races of Sinkiang

The authorities of the New Sinkiang in recent years have tried to 101
popularize the idea that there are "fourteen racial types" among all 563
these people of the province. These the Chinese name as *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-ch'i, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun,* and *Kuei-hua.* The inclusion of such a primarily political and geographical term as Han and religious category as Hui (both already briefly discussed) would tend to eliminate this as any "scientifically" worked out ethnic list. The same comment applies to the *T'a-t'a-erh* (Tatar), the *Ko-erh-k'o-*

101 563 *tzu,* or Khalkha (both related to the Mongols), the *Hsi-po* (Sibo) and *So-lun* (Solon). The other types mentioned might be identified in their order as Manchu, Mongol, Uighur, Kazakh, Tajik, Taranchi, Uzbek, and White Russians. It is worth while to notice, however, that in the list of the fourteen racial types the name Tung-kan is not mentioned except as it is "swallowed" up in the general categories of Han or Hui. This may be (though it probably is not) due to the equating of the name Tung-kan with the name Hui or (more likely since Wei-wu-erh also are identified as among the category of Hui) to a looseness of racial classification. Yet might not the omission actually be a way of evading mention of a pressing problem and an actual negative indication that all is not yet completely well so far as Sheng and those particular Chinese Moslems are concerned?

Though there has been a certain looseness of expression throughout the fourteen-fold list, so far as Chinese usage is concerned no real error has been made. *Min-tsu,* the Chinese term translated here as "race," literally means a "clan of people," "a tribe," even "a nation." As "clans" or ethnic types the fourteen groups mentioned here certainly deserve to be distinguished, though they may not all represent "races." In fact the naming of them is especially valuable as indicative of the kinds of "people" that are locally prominent now among the Sinkiang "peoples" themselves.

Policy: Old and New

563 It was the resentment of most of the people in this tremendous racial mixture over the former treatment accorded them, which confronted the administrative authorities of the New Sinkiang almost from the first. "Formerly," Tu Chung-yüan writes, "the people were permitted to read only Han books . . . and even if they read those they were not permitted to hold office, but could serve only as half-slave translators. As a result, none of the races wanted to do such work. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But . . . just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading."

Since Sheng Tu-pan began to stress "Racial Equality," Tu says, change in the traditional policy has come:

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71-2.

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563 101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563 144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of 141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some- 563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture, 563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

701 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect. 563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern 614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com- 563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and 186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes 563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are
[142] mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 771 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[142] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[141] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorted a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

19 6) The C[illegible] Turkic spirant *s- is preserved as such in all five dialects; e.g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč < säč, Kazakh: šaš < saš.

7) The Common Trukic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *-z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e.g. Uzbek: qīz "girl", Salar: kīs, Tatar: kĉz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e.g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bär- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e.g. Uighur: tobīq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar: e.g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolot (o is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e.g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *ī resulted in a reduced vowel ə̂ : e.g. kīz "girl", Tatar: qə̂z.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e.g. Uzbek: köl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in e in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: ken.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

• 101 563 II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöůn gar "right
[131] wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egů, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaʃaɣar "bridle	qaʃaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣ•
*čiɣiraɣ < *tiɣīraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīr•G "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarī- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bůrū
miqan "meat"	maχn̥
sira "yellow"	šar•
milaɣa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dǰid• < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegůn "cold"	zekůn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkā

N 121 *563 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also become small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S 101 487 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the Western Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S 563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S 178 563 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N S 121 *563 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N *563 *175 [463] A. The Han Chinese

The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi litera-
538 ture and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads.
• [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the
533 Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life
538 and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the
[539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of
538 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

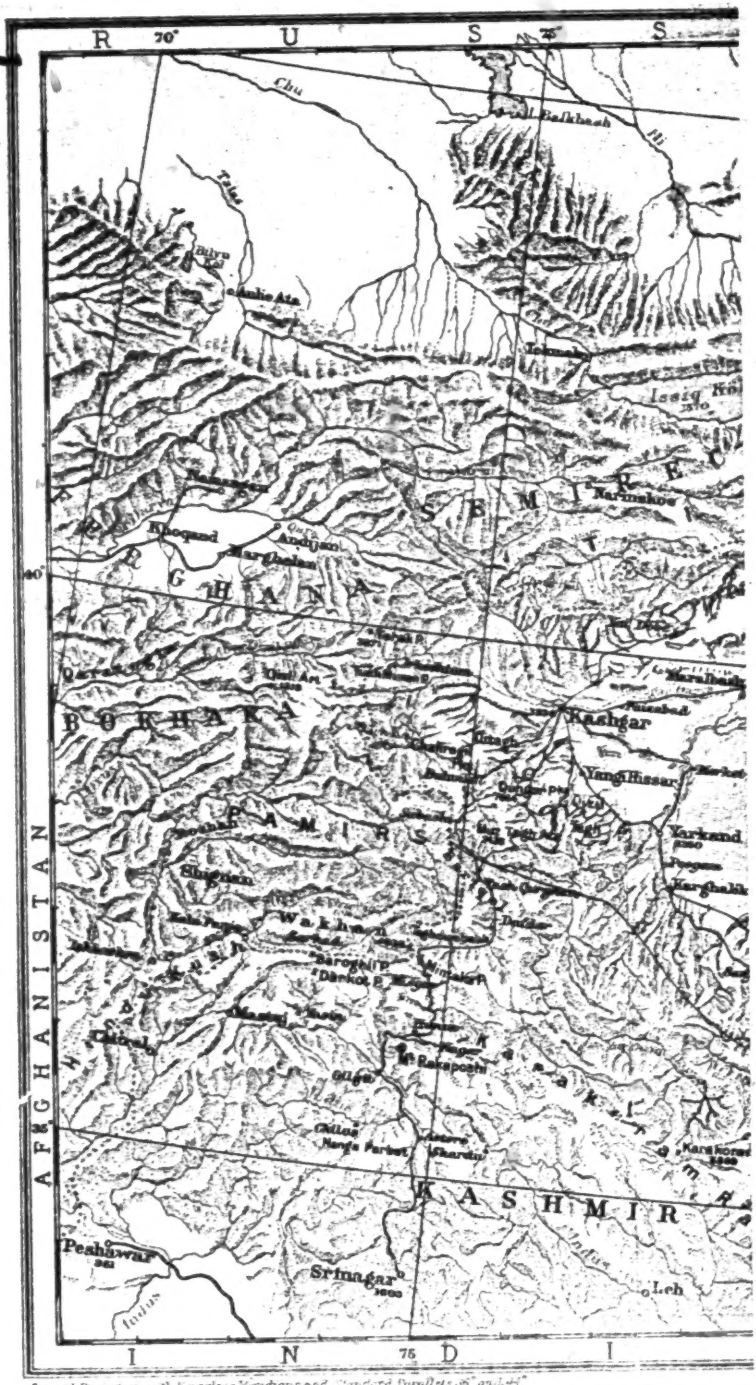
S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

102

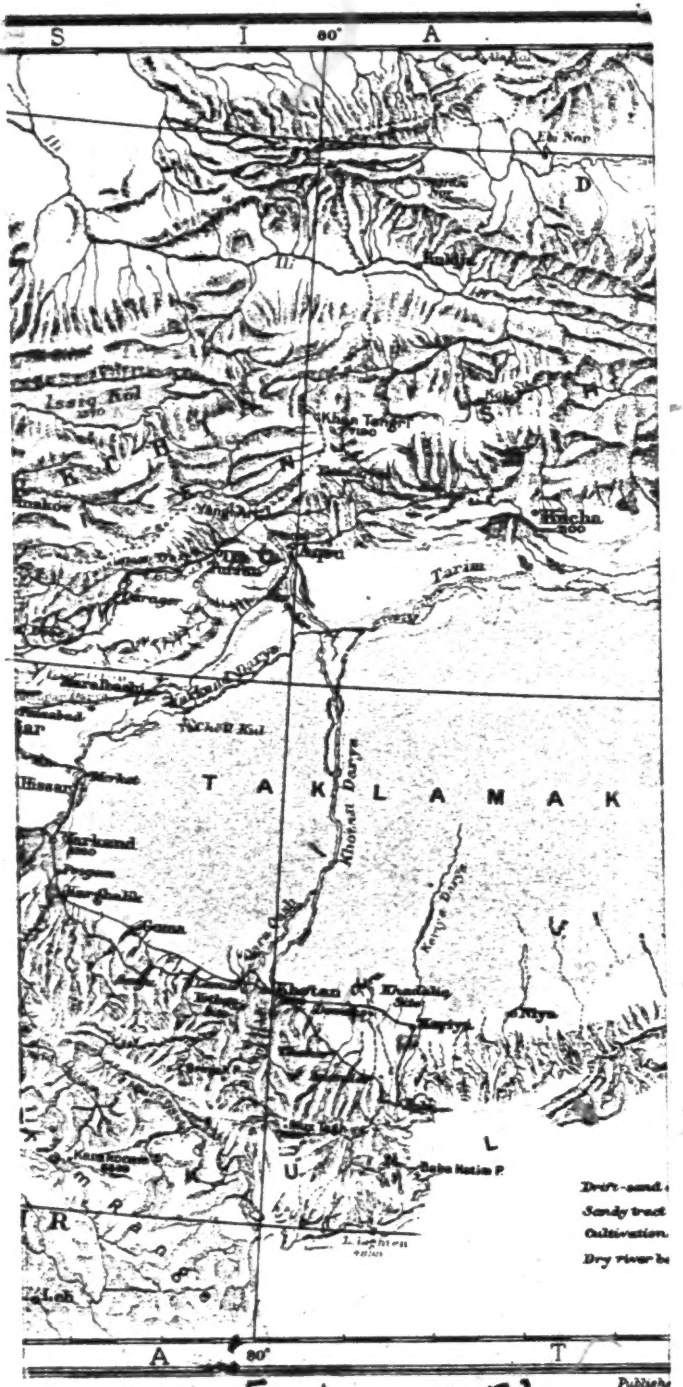


Ground Page Map with Meridians and Standard Parallels 35° and 40°

[End map A]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

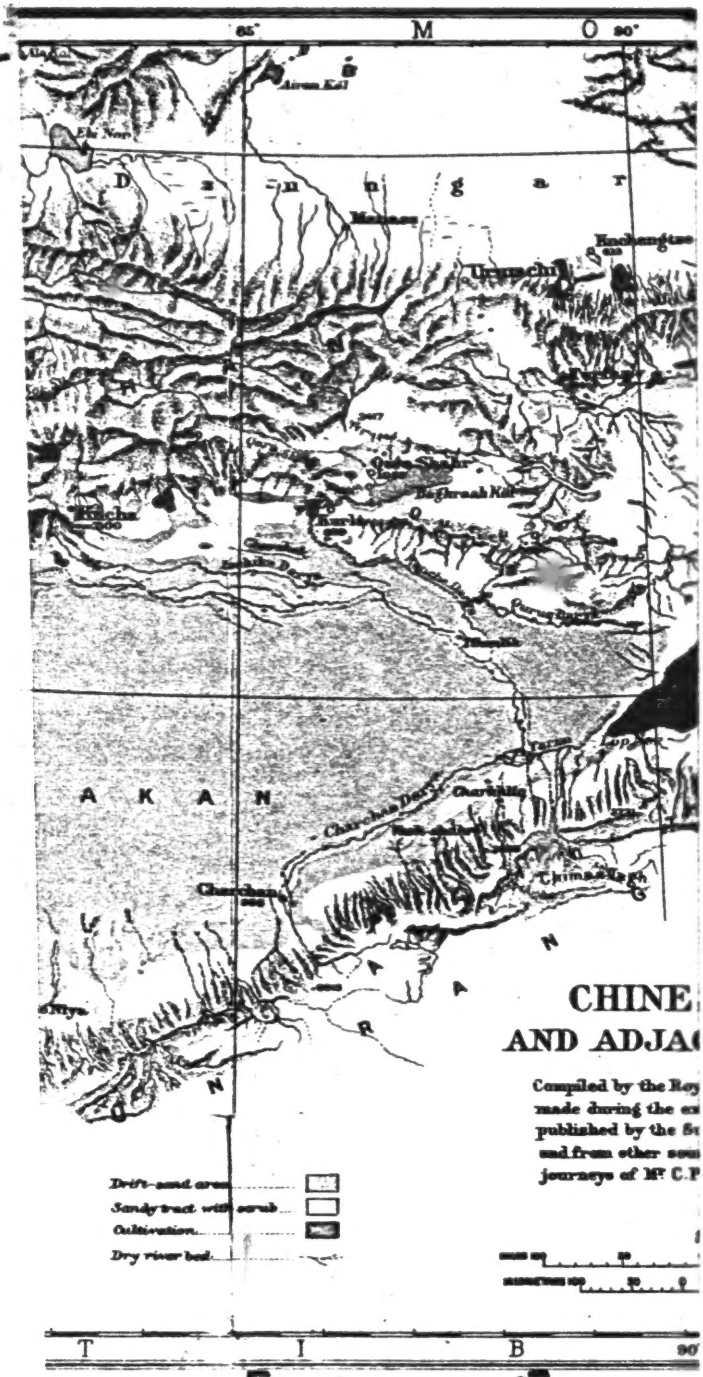
102



[End map B]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

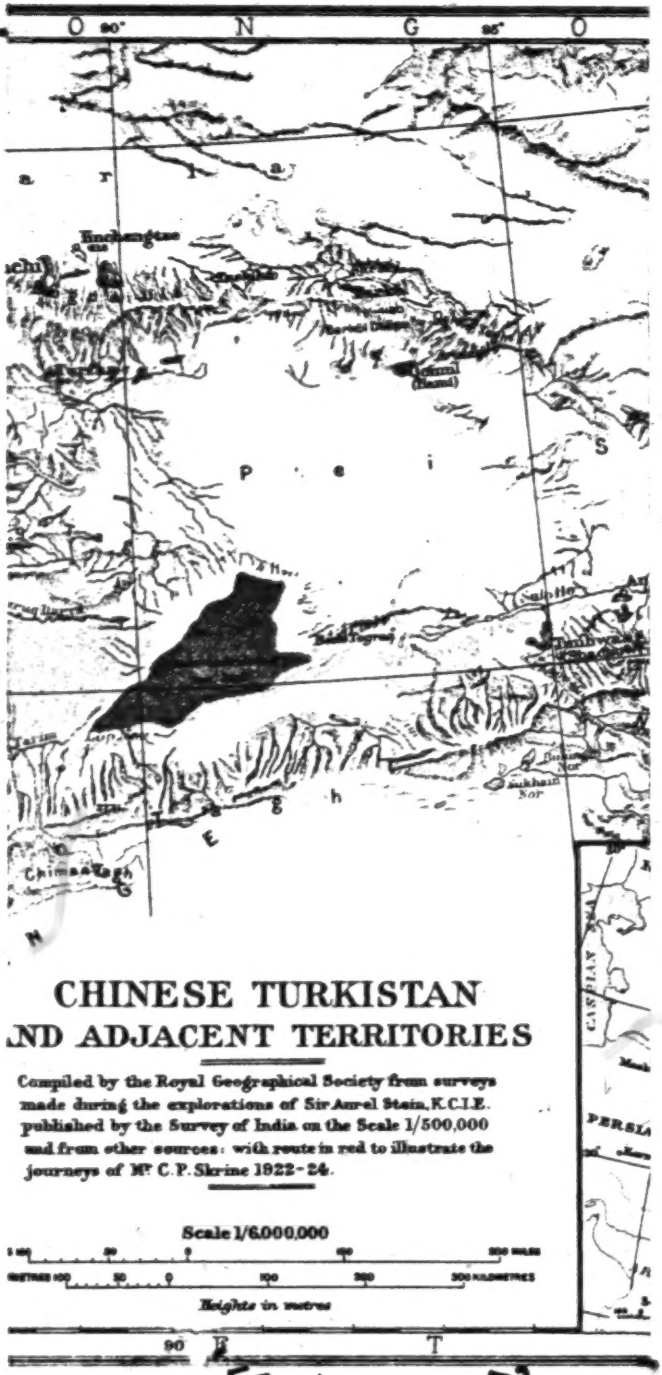
102



[End map C]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

162



CHINESE TURKISTAN
AND ADJACENT TERRITORIES

Compiled by the Royal Geographical Society from surveys made during the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. published by the Survey of India on the Scale 1/500,000 and from other sources: with route in red to illustrate the journeys of Mr C. P. Skrine 1922-24.

Scale 1/6,000,000

Heights in metres

[End map D]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•102

O L I A
100°
Gashun Nor
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Keriya
Cherchen
Kuchow
Urumchi
Turfan
Hami
Ili
Kuldja
Tarbagatai
Chuguchak
Kobdo
Uliassutai
Urga
Kiakhta
Selenginsk
Verkhne Udinsk
Irkutsk
Yakutsk
Nerchinsk
Blagoveshchensk
Vladivostok
Harbin
Mukden
Tientsin
Peking
Kalgan
Ningsia
Lanchow
Sian
Hankow
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
Hanoi
Saigon
Bangkok
Rangoon
Mandalay
Lashio
Bhamo
Myitkyina
Lhasa
Shigatse
Gyantse
Yatung
Gartok
Leh
Srinagar
Simla
Lahore
Peshawar
Kabul
Herat
Meshed
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bokhara
Khiva
Tiflis
Baku
Tabriz
Teheran
Ispahan
Bushire
Basra
Baghdad
Mosul
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Cairo
Suez
Port Said
Alexandria
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Fez
Tangier
Gibraltar
Madrid
Lisbon
Paris
London
Berlin
Vienna
Prague
Warsaw
Moscow
Leningrad
Kiev
Odessa
Sevastopol
Bucharest
Sofia
Belgrade
Zagreb
Budapest
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Malta
Athens
Salonika
Constantinople
Smyrna
Rhodes
Cyprus
Beirut
Haifa
Tel Aviv
Alexandria
Khartoum
Asmara
Addis Ababa
Nairobi
Mombasa
Dar es Salaam
Lourenço Marques
Beira
Tananarive
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
East London
Durban
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Luanda
Lobito
Elisabethville
Leopoldville
Stanleyville
Bangui
Fort Lamy
Khartoum
Kano
Lagos
Accra
Freetown
Dakar
Bathurst
Monrovia
Abidjan
Bamako
Timbuktu
Gao
Niamey
Zinder
Tripoli
Benghazi
Tobruk
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Riyadh
Hofuf
Muscat
Aden
Hodeida
Asmara
Massawa
Khartoum
Wadi Halfa
Aswan
Luxor
Cairo
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Jerusalem
Beirut
Damascus
Aleppo
Mosul
Baghdad
Basra
Bushire
Bandar Abbas
Muscat
Aden
Hodeida
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Riyadh
Hofuf
Kuwait
Bahrein
Doha
Abu Dhabi
Muscat
Karachi
Quetta
Kandahar

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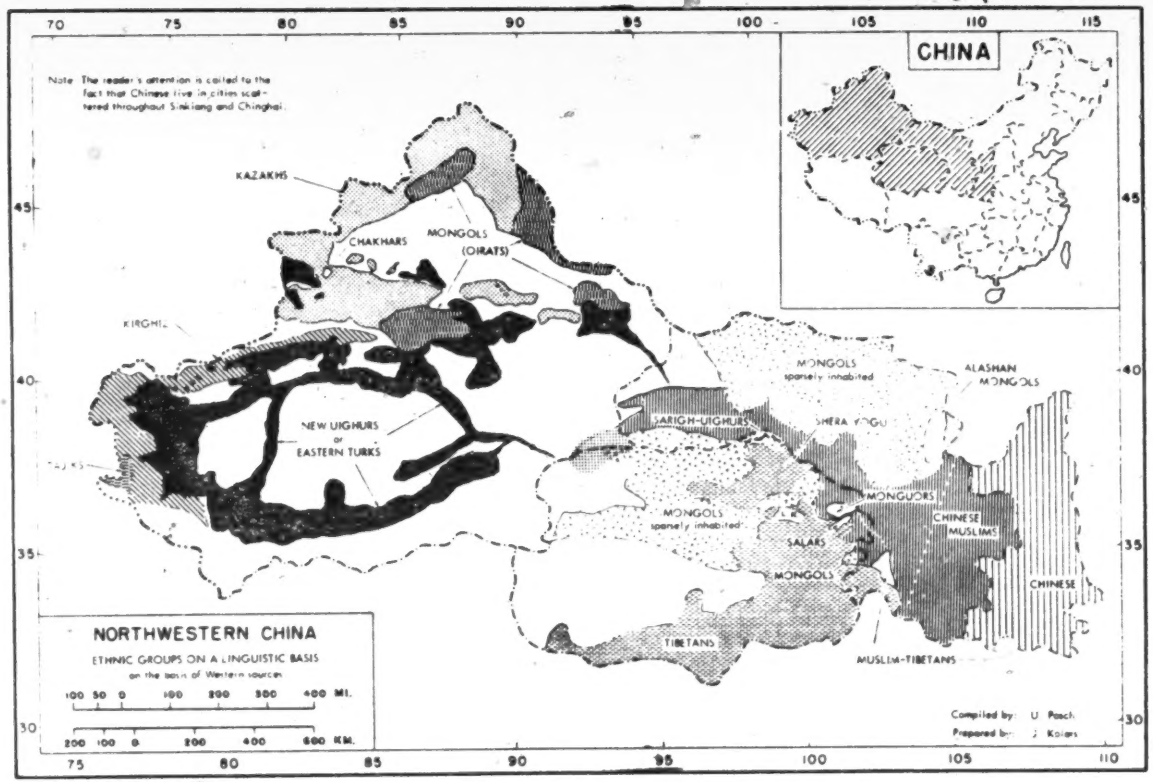
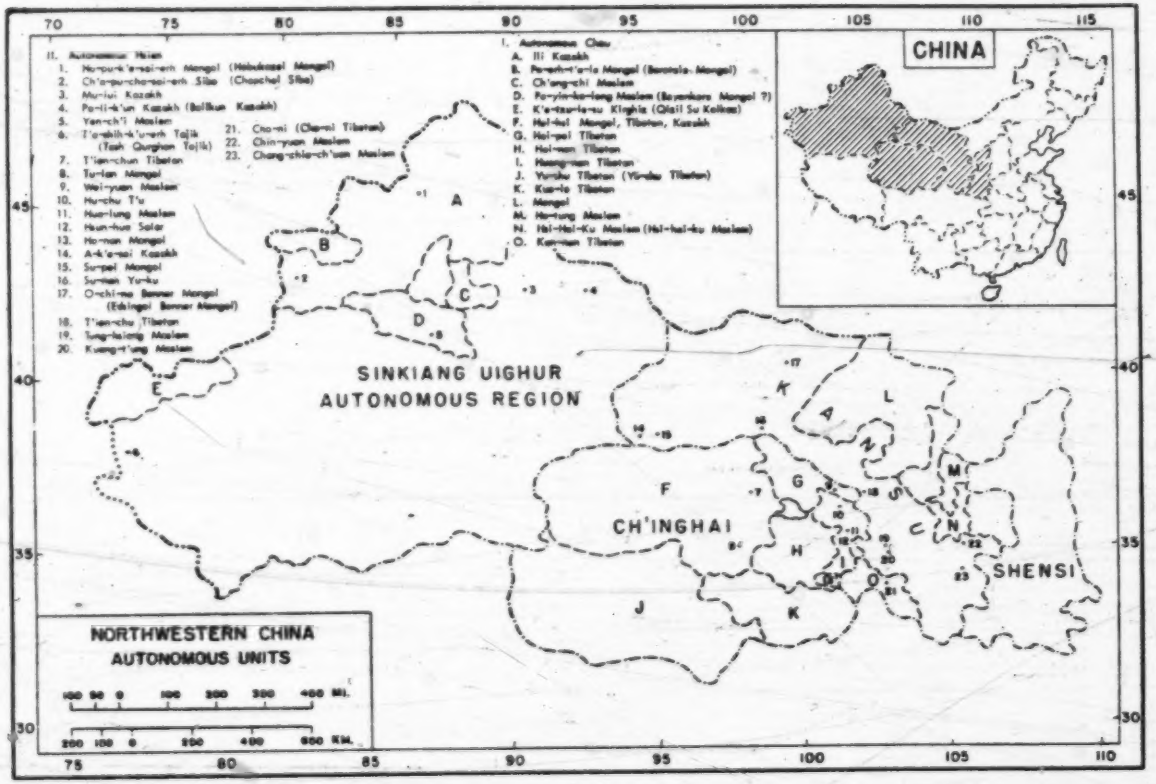
1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON.

following page 140

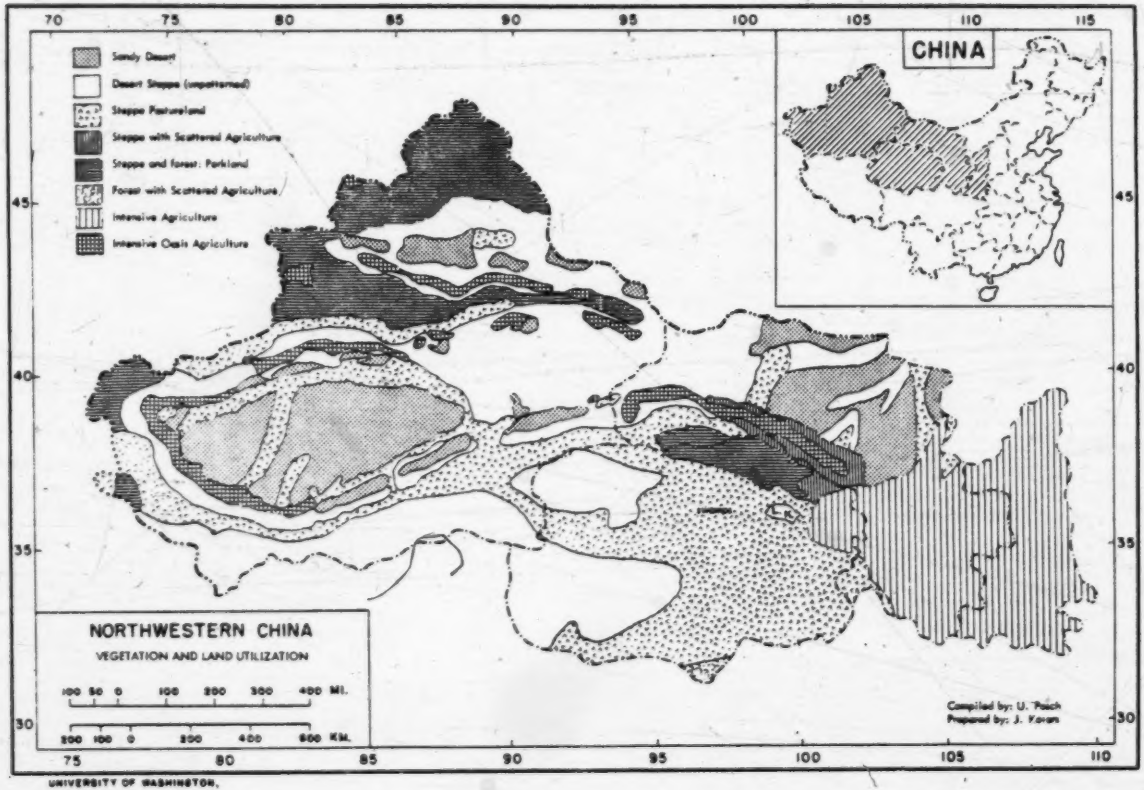
SN 102 631 131



1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

[following page 464

1: Washington S-4 [no date] 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11



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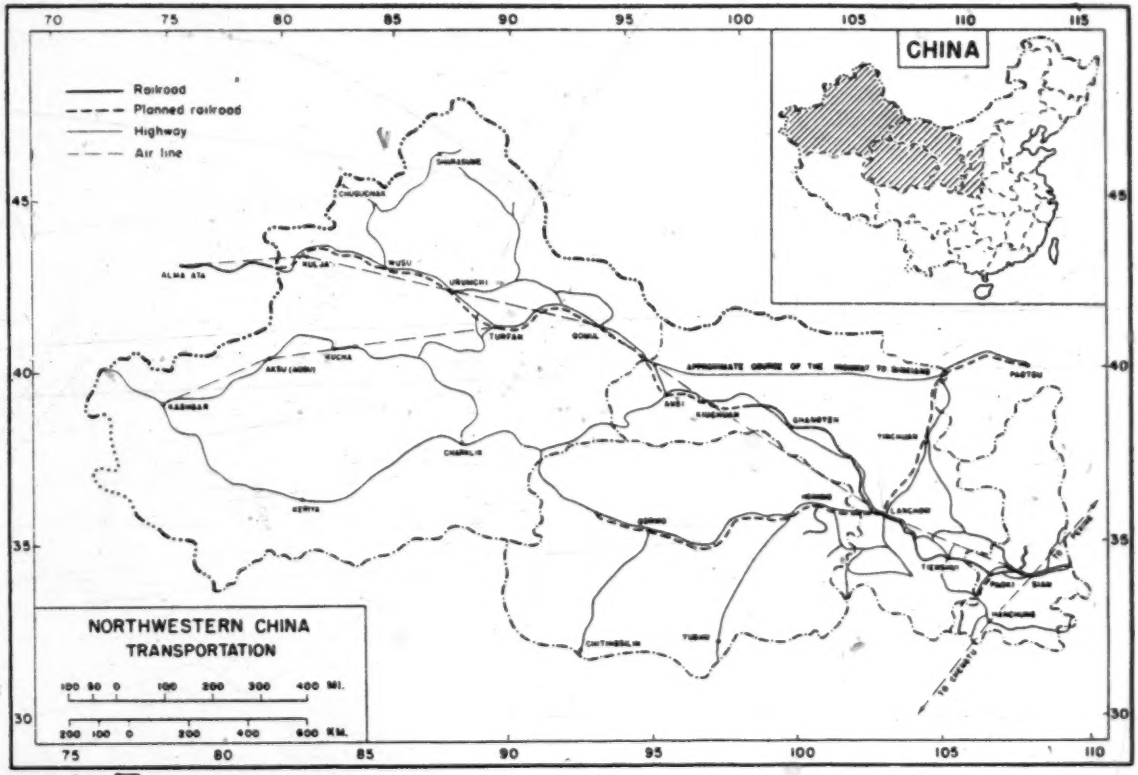
1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1



SN 103 102 496 491 509 131

[following page 704]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

• 103 APPENDIX VIII Some Sinkiang Place Names and Their Alternatives

Aksu (Wen-su)
Bai (Pai-ch'eng)
Baitik Bogda (Pei-ta-shan)
Barkul (Pa-li-k'un, Chen-hsi)
Charchen (Cherchen, Ch'ieh-mo)
Charklik (Cho-chiang)
Chingho
Chira (T'e-le)
Chuguchak (Tarbagatai, T'a-ch'eng)
Guma Bazar (P'i-shan)
Ili (River, Valley)
Kashgar (Shu-le)
Keriya (Yü-t'ien)
Kharakash (Mo-yü)
Kharashahr (Yen-chi, Yenki)
Khargalik (Yeh-ch'ing)
Khotan (Ho-tien)
Komul (Hami)
Kucha (Kuche)
Kuchengtze (Ch'i-t'ai hsien, Khitai)
Kulja (Ining)
Kurla (Kórla)
Lob Nor (Lop Nor)
Lukchun
Manass (Sui-lai)
Maralbashi
Merket
Muleiho
Sharasume (Shirasume, Ch'eng-hua-ssu, Altai, A-ch'eng)
Suchow (Hsü-chou)
Sui-ting (Ning-yuan)
Tarim (River, Basin)
Tien Shan
Toksun
Turfan (T'u-lu-fan)
Uch Turfan
Urumchi (Ti-hua)
Yangi Hissar
Yarkand (So-che)

[p. 280]

II

SINKIANG: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

131 SINKIANG or Chinese Turkestan is a spacious attractive land of about
161 550,000 square miles, approximately two and a half times the size of France. Yet the province is inhabited only by about four million persons, or an average of less than nine per square mile. By way of contrast Kiangsu Province, which contains Shanghai and other teeming port cities, is one-fourteenth the size of Sinkiang and yet, before the war, had a population density more than one hundred times as great!

131 By nature a distant and self-contained area, Sinkiang is enclosed on three sides by mountains and on one side by desert and barren terrain. On the west are the T'ien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains; to the south, the lofty K'unlun Mountains of Tibet; on the extreme north, the little visited Altai ranges; and on the east, the Gobi of Mongolia and the Tsaidam wastelands of Western Ch'inghai or Kokonor.

133 The interior of Sinkiang does have vast expanses of desert. But the T'ien Shan extend from west to east through the center of the province, the Manas and the Tarim River systems moisten immense parts in the north and south respectively, and there are not a few luxuriant, well-watered oases at the bases of her encircling and bisecting mountains. The forested slopes of the Altai ranges and the northern T'ien Shan, the fertile regions alongside the Manas River in the north and throughout the Tarim River basin in the south, and the numerous dot-like oases in the interior—these form the bases for provincial cities and east-west communications.

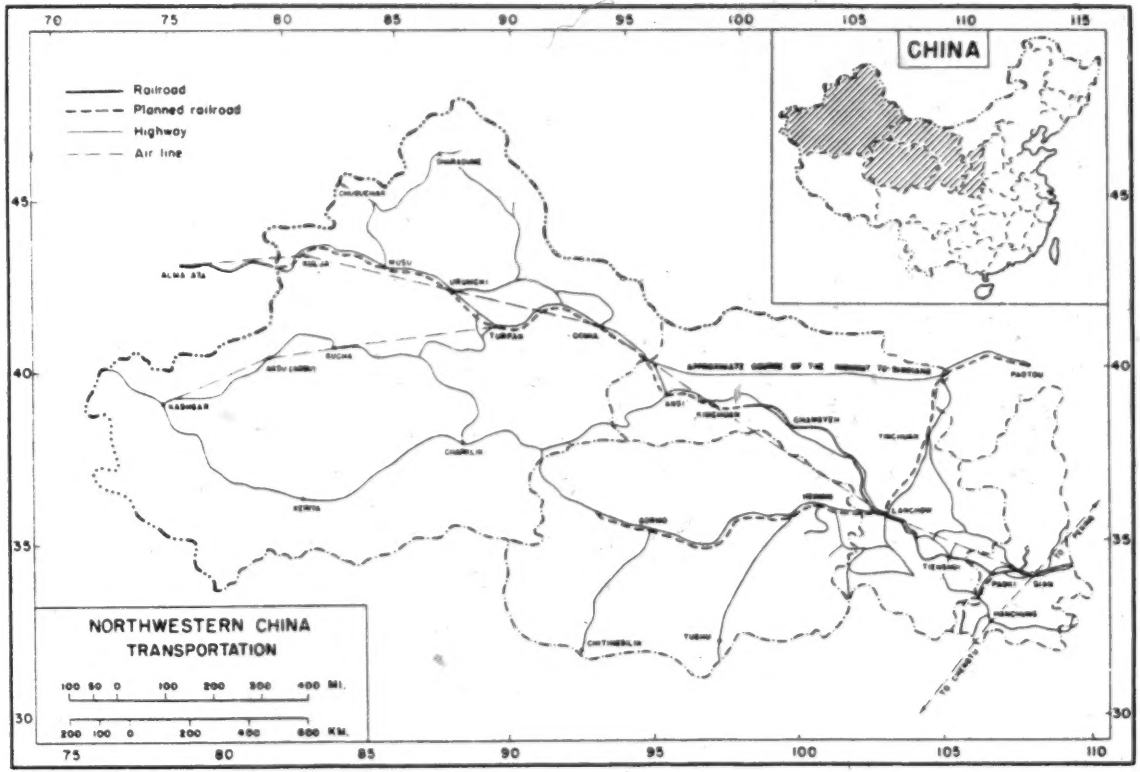
103 In early times Chinese often referred to what is now Sinkiang as *Hsi Yü* ("The Western Regions") or as *T'ien-shan-nan-lu* and *T'ien-shan-pei-lu,* i.e., a "Road South of the Heavenly Mountains" and a "Road North of the Heavenly Mountains." These two latter names fitted the natural caravan highways which progressed westward from Chinese Kansu Province on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

563 to a rare imported brandy. The rough, unkempt Kalmuck Mongols of the Tekes Valley of North Sinkiang are especially devil-may-care fellows; but they have, at times, got amazingly rich from their countless horses and sheep.

175 A vast sweep of nomad devastation, which won them the throne of China and carried their warfare as far west as the Danube, brought the Mongols to Chinese Turkestan. What is now both Chinese and Russian Turkestan, once those areas were subjugated, came under Jagatai, second son of Genghis Khan, and he and his successors remained in power for almost two centuries. But in 1368 the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China was overthrown by the House of Ming and soon afterwards Turkestan also seceded from Mongol rule. Thus temporarily the Mongol star seemed to have set, and differences between the peoples of Mongolia proper and those in the Altai area (the Western Mongols) set in.

563 One of the subordinate leagues of the Western Mongols, the Ölöts (Eleuths), soon came into military prominence in Turkestan under a [103] Khan by the name of Galdan. Galdan's nephew, Rabdan, gave the name of his branch of the Ölöts—the Jön Gar (Jungars, sometimes written Dzungars, Zungars)—to the kingdom when he succeeded to the Mongol possessions. The name has since stuck in geographies as Jungaria (Dzungaria or Zungaria), and it has reference to the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai, i.e., North Sinkiang. These same Ölöts took advantage of political differences to the south of them and came to dominate South Sinkiang, Ch'inghai, and Tibet for a brief historical period; this epoch has even been viewed by one Chinese historian as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions. Yet the fount of Ölöt power, for the Ölöts as for others of the Western Mongols, was Jungaria and the steppes, not the oases of South Sinkiang, where Uighur (present Wei-wu-erh) civilization appears to have persisted. For Mongol life has been the phenomenon of nomadism, and life in South Sinkiang has been that of the isolated, petty agriculture of the oasis. The power of the nomad is his mobility, and he requires extensive pasturage for his cattle; yet the life of oasis agriculture is essentially fixed and in South Sinkiang it seems to have continued with

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11



[following page 704]

SN 103 102 496 491 589 131

193 ə, and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ä		a, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			ř		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		ṙ	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ž	š		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	č							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						~~ɣ~~			
Back velars		q							ɣ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish

104 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is
114 the so-called " Association Phonetique Internationale, " according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script

The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

F. Tables of Transcriptions

• 104 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern
114 Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kunos	Raquette	API
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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114

Table I (continued)

Radloff[13]	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kúnos	Raquette	API
b	b	b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t, ṭ	t	t	t	t
		—	—	θ	[s]
ǰ, ǰ	ǰ, ǰ	ǰ, ǰ	ǰ	j	dʒ
č	č	č	č	č	c
h	h [h]	h	h	h	h
x	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ
d	d	d	d	d	d
			—	δ	[z]
r	r	r	r	r	r
z	z	z	z	z	z
				ẓ	[z]
	ẓ	ẓ, j	ẓ		z
s	s	s	s	s	s
ş	ş	ş	ş	ş	ʃ
		—	—	s	[s]
	—	—	—	z	[z]
	—	—	—	ṭ	[t]
	—	—	—	ḍ	[z]
	—	—	—	—	—
γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
f	f	f	f	f	f
q	q	k, q	k	q	q
k	k	k	k	k	k
g	g	g	g	g	g
l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ń	ń, ng[], ŋ	ŋ, ñ	ŋ	ñ	ŋ
v	v	v	v	v	v
—	w	w	—	w	β, w
h	h	h	h	h	h
j	y	j	j	y	j

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Table II. The Arabic symbols which are still in use.

ب b	ر r	غ γ	آ, ا	a, ɒ, ɛ, æ, e, i, ï, ü, u, o.
پ p	ز z	ف f	ع	a, ɛ, æ, i, ï, ü, u, ö.
ت t	ژ ʒ	ق q		
ث s	س s	ک k	و	a, ɔ, o, u, uu, ü, ü̈, ö, ə.
ج dʒ	ش ʃ	گ g	ه	a, ɛ, æ, e, i.
چ tʃ	ص s	ل l	ی	a, æ, ɛ, e, i, ï, ei.
ح h	ض z	م m	او	ɔ, o, u, uu, ü, ü̈, ö, ə
خ x	ط t	ن n		
د d	ظ z	و v, w	ای	ɛ, e, i, ï.
ذ z		ه h		
		ی j		

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

(Translation)

764 When you arose, oh my Lord, it was with God's name on your lips;
When you lay down, it was in God's name.
In summer you fed me, oh my Lord;
In winter you were my cloak.
I am left in a lake with no water in it,
I am left in a garden in which there is no shade.

•105 563 In considering the manners, customs, folklore, etc., of the Tarim Basin, it must be remembered that considerable differences exist between the four or five chief oases, corresponding roughly to their geographical positions. To differentiate between them and make a comparative study of material from the different towns would be impossible in the space at my disposal, even if I possessed the necessary knowledge. Speaking generally, however, it may be remarked that Kashgar is the least mediæval and at the same time the most Mussulman of the Six Cities. Culturally it belongs to the Transcaspian Khanates, Khoqand, Bokhara, Samarqand and Khiva, strongholds of Islam. Owing to its proximity to the Russian frontier and the strong interest taken in it by the Muscovite Government since the seventies, it has a thin—a very thin—veneer of Russian culture. Aqsu, 300 miles nearer Urumchi and separated from Russian territory by the tremendous barrier of the Central Tien Shan, is a predominantly Uigur city with strong Mongol and Chinese strains. Kucha, 200 miles further east, is also an ancient Uigur city, and has a history and an art of its own. Further east still, Qarashahr is the chief centre of that formidable and unpleasant race, Chinese by culture and Mussulman by religion, the Tungans. Yarkand is the meeting-place of the nations; in its culture neither China nor Russia are of much account, and such foreign influence as there is comes through Afghanistan from Persia and through Kashmir from India. The great oasis of Khotan or Ilchi is in many ways the most interesting of all, for it is the part of the Tarim Basin which has been least affected by outside influences, including Islam. It was probably a flourishing pagan State long before Buddhism reached it from India. For a thousand years it was the seat of an Indo-Scythian civilization under Chinese influence, with a rich and ornate Buddhism as its official religion; was it not to Khotan that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent in A.D. 65 the famous Mission which brought back Buddhism to Cathay? The Kingdom fought hard against Islam, holding out for

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

"When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, [534] a two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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105 nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan
175 and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and
648 pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations
182 were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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*175 In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the
N province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For
[101] a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

111 AI1 Sinkiang

1: Lattimore, Owen. Pivot of Asia: Sinkiang and the Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Russia. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950.

Pp. xiv, 288.

Yale: Bj 24H. 950L.

[This book represents an overview of Sinkiang from the special vantage the author adopts, i.e., Sinkiang as the 'front door' to China on the landward side, and Sinkiang as the focal point for international tensions in the Inner Asian regions. The emphasis, therefore, is strongly on the side of political history, although materials on the peoples of Sinkiang (Chapter IV), geography and economic development (Chapter V) and several of the appendices, dealing with art, archeological findings, literature and oral art, etc., are sufficiently elaborated to be of considerable interest for research in cultural terms as well. This book is possibly the best English language source for much of this material. It is fortunate that although this is a group product of the Inner Asian Seminar, the disparate authorships have been fused into a consistent, sometimes elegant style. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Historian--4
Processed in 1956

2: Norins, Martin R. Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang, Frontier of the Chinese Far West. New York: John Day Co., 1944.

Pp. 200.

Yale: Bj24.129.

[Based on a wide acquaintance of secondary sources, this book is largely an expanded paraphrase of Chinese material on Sinkiang, notably the writings of Tu Chung-yuan, the translation of which appears bodily in the appendix. The author spent two years in China during the Second World War but has not travelled in Sinkiang itself. An extended introduction by Owen Lattimore precedes the main text. Reference notes are found following the text. --Analyst]

Field date: 1939-1941
Analyst: Samuel C. Chu

Evaluation: Social Scientist--4
Processed in 1956

111 AI 1 Sinkiang

3: Skrine, C. P. Chinese Central Asia. London: Methuen and Company. 1926.

Pp. xvi, 306; 2 maps, 51 plates.

Yale: Eeab, 922s.

[The writer served as British Consul at Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan for over two years. During that time he made numerous trips throughout the area. Most of the information contained is on routes and travel conditions, but considerable data are also given on the native groups. Considerable space is devoted to Skrine's relations with the Chinese and other officials. --Analyst]

Field date: 1922-1924
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1956

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

APPENDIX III International Boundaries on the Pamirs

In the decades of Anglo-Russian rivalry described in Chapter II, the eventual junction of the expanding frontiers of the British and Russian Empires was an open question. In 1895, however, as part of the easing of relations between Britain and Russia, a Pamir Boundary Commission was empowered to lay down a jointly recognized frontier. 131

This Commission consisted of a Russian Mission under General Shveikovskii, which surveyed the approaches from the northern side, and a British Mission under General Gerard, which surveyed the approaches from the southern side. The two Missions met at Lake Victoria "and from that point to the eastward demarcated the line which was thereafter to divide Russian from British interests in highest Asia." This phrasing is cited from the article "Pamirs" in the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911), by Sir Thomas H. Holdich, who as Colonel Holdich had been an important member of the British Pamir Mission of 1895.

The principal sources for the description of the frontier thus established are:

1. *Report of the Proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, Calcutta, 1897, with chapters by Maj.-Gen. Gerard, Col. Holdich, Lt. Col. Wahab, and others. 131 112
2. *The Indian Borderland*, by T. H. Holdich, London, 1901.
3. Article "Pamirs," by T. H. H. (Sir Thomas H. Holdich),

[p. 259]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

131 in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Ed., Cambridge-New York, 1911.

• 112 4. *Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan*, 1837–1907, by William Habberton, Urbana, Illinois, 1937.

5. "The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus," by G. N. Curzon, *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, London, 1896.

131 The Anglo-Russian survey resulted in an "Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the region of the Pamirs" (1895). The essential paragraphs, cited here from Habberton's book (Appendix III, pp. 91–92) are:

> 4. Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia engage to abstain from exercising any political influence or control, the former to the north, the latter to the south, of the above line of demarcation.
> 5. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engage that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from the East end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan, that it shall not be annexed to Great Britain, and that no military posts or fortifications shall be established in it.

000 In *The Indian Borderland* Holdich unofficially but authoritatively describes the effect of this wording (p. 284):

> [It] defined a buffer between ourselves and Russia. It is not an imposing buffer — this long attenuated arm of Afghanistan reaching out to touch China with the tips of its fingers. It is only eight miles wide at one part, and could be ridden across in a morning's ride.

Neither Afghanistan nor China, though their interests were affected, took part in this important survey and frontier delimita-

113, 13 Sinkiang AI1

[For information on the geography of Sinkiang, see 81: Cressey, AF1 China, category 116, pp. 327-335.]

113, 648, 162 Sinkiang AII

[For a brief discussion of the political-military role assigned to the Dungan and Uigur minorities of Sinkiang by the Soviet regime of the USSR, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 296-298. Bibliographic notes appear on pp. 300-302.]

[Supplimentary information on Sinkiang in general can be found in AF1 China. See 1: Buxton, pp. 5ff, 53, 187, 202ff, 285, 315f.]

113, 13 Sinkiang AI1

[For general geographic information on Sinkiang see 2: Cressey, AF1 China AF1, category 116, pp. 249-271.]

113, 648 Sinkiang A11

/For information pertaining to relations with Russia, see 40: Rostow, AF1 China, Category 116./

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

worked at times in the past when oil could not be obtained from Russia. This field is known to be of the Jurassic Age. 315 135

A small field, known as Jushantze, is located twenty kilometers southeast of Wusu, about halfway along the main trade route between Urumchi and Kulja. The wells, which are known to be shallow, produce a paraffin-base oil under natural pressure. There is no recent information on production.

When the Russians withdrew from Sinkiang in 1942 they capped and turned over to the provincial authorities 25 wells which had been producing 49–52 gravity oil at a depth of 4800 feet. It appears probable that these wells were in the Jushantze field. Although the Russians were quoted as stating that they would return at a later date to work the field again, they took most of the oil-field machinery with them when they withdrew. 315

(Sources: Information from Chinese National Resources Commission, supplied by United States Department of Commerce; see also Huang Chi-ch'ing, *Report on Geological Investigation of Some Oil-Fields in Sinkiang*, by T. K. Huang and others. Nanking, National Geological Survey of China, 1947; No. 21 of Series A of *Memoirs* of Geological Survey of China. Text in English.) 315 113

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113 The following is but a brief working bibliography. The reader will find herein some of the best general references to the subject of Sinkiang. Should he be interested, he will find extended and technical bibliographies also attached to M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia* . . ., Robert J. Kerner, *Northeastern Asia, a selected bibliography* . . ., and Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China.*

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32. There are apparently no definitive figures on the area of Sinkiang Province, and the various estimates have ranged from 400,000 to well over 700,000 square miles. Similarly, estimates of the Sinkiang population have differed—running from as low as one to as high as six million persons. The *China Handbook 1937-1943 A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War* (Ministry of Information of the Republic of China, compilers, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1943, pp. 1 and 2) offers a 1938 figure of 1,828,418 square kilometers (which converts roughly into 131 161

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114 Members of the seminar who made direct contributions to the production of this book were, in alphabetical order of their names:

Mr. Chang Chih-yi, Fellow of the Page School and formerly a Research Associate of the Academia Sinica. Mr. Chang was largely educated in Manchuria, so that his frontier interests and associations go back for many years. In 1944 he carried out independent field work in Sinkiang, especially in the southern oasis region, under the auspices of Academia Sinica. His major contribution to this book was to the chapter on Economic Development (XI).

Dr. Chen Han-seng, a Fellow of the Page School in 1946–1947 and 1947–1948, took a leading part nearly twenty years ago, as a senior member of Academia Sinica, in setting up modern scientific methods and standards in the study of colonization in Manchuria. As organizer and supervisor he was also responsible for field studies in economics and sociology in many other parts of China. During the war he carried out independent field work on the China-Tibet frontier and the China-Burma frontier. One of China's outstanding authorities on agrarian economic history, he has also an exceptional insight into the working processes of non-Chinese frontier societies which are in the process of being modified by contact with Chinese culture and by the effects of Chinese administration. His principal contributions were to the chapters on Chinese Policies, Social Structures, and the Crossroads of Inner Asia (III, VI, VII).

Dr. John De Francis, of the staff of the Page School, was my indispensable assistant in directing the work of the seminar and in co-ordinating the research of its members. He himself carried out one of the most important sections of the research in analyzing the different schools of nationalism in Sinkiang and their relation to partly distinct but partly overlapping nationalities. Among American social scientists Dr. De Francis is establishing for himself a leading position in the field of nationalism in the Far East, especially as it is expressed in "nationalism of language" and other forms of cultural nationalism. His study of National-

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ism and Language Reform in China[2] is the authoritative discussion of this problem in contemporary China. In his work on this and kindred problems Dr. De Francis has had the exceptional advantage of travel in Inner Mongolia and Northwest China, followed by careful linguistic training in America, work on early Chinese history, and long-continued study of both the theoretical literature and the political programs of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and minor Chinese political parties and intellectual movements. His major contribution was to the chapter on the Peoples of Sinkiang (IV). 114

Mrs. Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, as a volunteer member of the seminar, kept the records of seminar discussions and was also responsible for the greater part of the arduous work of preliminary, intermediate, and final editing without which group research can never achieve the smooth efficiency of teamwork.

Dr. Karl H. Menges, of Columbia, facilitated the work of the whole group by his extraordinary knowledge of Inner Asian languages, the histories of these languages, and the relation of language to other aspects of culture. An expert in the Slavic languages as well as the Turco-Mongol or Altaic languages, Dr. Menges made two journeys in the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia in the period between the two world wars to collect materials, and has edited texts from Sinkiang.[3] His principal contribution to the seminar was in his translations from the Hoover Library materials.

Dr. Daniel Thorner, a Fellow of the Page School in 1947–1948 and now Research Assistant Professor in the Program of South Asia Regional Studies being conducted at the University of Pennsylvania, was with the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration in India during the war. His researches during the past decade on the modern political and economic development of India provided the background for work on the history of Anglo-Rus-

[2] *Nationalism and Language Reform in China*, Princeton University Press, 1950.

[3] *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan, aus dem Nachlass von N. Th. Katanov herausgegeben*, Berlin, I, 1933; II, 1943. (Dr. Menges's name was suppressed when these volumes were published in Germany.)

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114 sian Rivalry in Inner Asia. His principal contributions were to the chapters on this Anglo-Russian Rivalry and the Crossroads of Inner Asia (II, VII). In addition, his wife, Mrs. Alice Thorner, contributed a valuable study of the widely scattered international literature on the art and archaeology of Sinkiang (Appendix I).

Mr. Thomas Wiener, of Columbia, and now of Duke University, had undertaken research on nationalism in Russian Central Asia, especially Kazakh nationalism in the nineteenth century, before he joined the Inner Asian Seminar. His principal contributions were to the chapter on Nationalities and the appendix on Literature and Oral Art.

The fullest measure of credit is due to all these members of the seminar. The work of most members was devoted more to some parts of the book than to others. All work, however, was put through the process of seminar discussion, and was subject to revision as the result of this process. All final decisions, however, on what to say and how to say it have been mine. All facts used have been carefully checked. All statements of opinion have been made after deliberation, and worded with care. It is always possible that statements of fact may later prove to be incorrect or incomplete. It is always possible for statements of opinion to be challenged. For any inadequacy of fact or opinion, I am alone responsible.

OWEN LATTIMORE

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197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
162 of speakers of each, is as follows:[3]

		I Altaic	
A. *Turkic*[4]			
1. Uighur	2,941,000		
2. Kazakh	319,000		
3. Kirghiz	65,000		
4. Uzbek	8,000		
5. Tatar	5,000		
		3,338,000	
B. *Mongolian*			
6. Mongolian		63,000	
C. *Tungusic*			
7. Manchu		12,000	
			TOTAL 3,413,000
		II Indo-Chinese	
8. Chinese	294,000		
			TOTAL 294,000
		III Indo-European	
9. Iranian	9,000		
10. Russian	13,000		
			TOTAL 22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

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the frequently loose and unscientific use of terms by foreign travelers and, much more important, by political motives on the part of Chinese administrators and Turkic nationalist leaders. 144 114

It is paradoxical that the sorting out of the peoples of Sinkiang is made more difficult by the fact that there is a rich Russian and Western literature about Sinkiang. For nearly a century there has been incessant publication of books about Inner Asia by explorers, archaeologists, geographers and casual travelers. Unfortunately, in the greater part of the foreign literature the descriptions of racial type, national grouping and political affiliation are excessively loose. For example, an American writer refers to the "distinctly Aryan" features of a regional group, to a "Kirghiz race," and to evidence of "Turkish and Mongol blood" in Kashgar.[5] "Aryan" can only be used properly in the description of languages, not of races, and even as a linguistic term it has now largely been abandoned, while peoples who speak the Turkish, Kirghiz, or Mongol languages may be of the most various and mixed origin.

Loose terminology in the foreign literature leads merely to misunderstanding or irritation, but it is politically dangerous when it is used to clothe the theories of administrators who are in a position to act. Contemporary Chinese political theories applied to concepts of race and nationality are of critical importance where Chinese administrative policy is confronted at every turn by growing nationalist movements which compete both with each other and with the projects of Chinese politicians. It is therefore essential to sort out the terms used both by Chinese administrators and by nationalist leaders, before attempting an accurate and rational classification of the many peoples who make up the population of Sinkiang.

In China, attempts to classify the peoples of Sinkiang in ways which reinforce political theories have led to four main trends. 829

The first trend is called *Ta Han Chu-i*, the "Greater Chinese Theory," by the Chinese who do not support it, and by Mongol, Uighur, and other nationalists who fear it. According to this defi- 563* 186

[5] William James Morden, *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts*, New York, London, 1927.

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stress off all political cleavages, from the great cleavage between the Kuomintang and the Communists down to all minor factional quarrels. The National Salvationist point of view was thus well suited to the attempt to create a harmonious wartime morale in Sinkiang.

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In line with the National Salvationist influence in his entourage, General Sheng proclaimed a program of "Six Great Policies."[9] Under one of the policies the peoples of Sinkiang were officially classified as belonging to fourteen "nationalities." These, listed in the order of the documents of the period, are as follows:

Chinese	202,239	Taranchi	41,307
Manchu	670	Tatar	4,601
Mongul	63,018	Kirghiz	65,248
Moslem (Dungan)	92,146	Uzbek	7,966
Uighur	2,900,173	Sibo	9,203
Kazakh	318,716	Solon	2,489
Tajik	8,867	Russian	13,408

The criteria for this classification are not clear. The admiring translator of the admiring adviser of Sheng Shih-ts'ai comments that the confusion in criteria is such as "would tend to eliminate this as any 'scientifically' worked out ethnic list."[10] Nor can it be based on geographic criteria, for the groups are not delimited on a territorial basis. It is not based on economic criteria, for some of the groups consist of pastoral herdsmen and others of sedentary cultivators. It is not based on religious criteria, for only the Chinese-speaking Moslems are listed as "Moslems," while followers of other religions are not mentioned as such, and other Moslems, such as the Uighurs, are not identified by religion. It is not based on administrative criteria, for Sinkiang is divided into ten administrative areas which cut across the fourteen groups. It is not based, finally, on any observable combination of these criteria.

[9] See Chapter III.

[10] Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, John Day, 1944, p. 91.

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

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The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province."[11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so-
178 cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal, both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level, but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal." [1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

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feudalism to which equal acceptance is given by all students of the subject. Thus Dr. Helen Maud Cam, writing of English feudalism, points out that "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian approach it with different mental assumptions." To the social historian, it is the consecration of inequality or the insistence on subordination. To the economic historian it is the organization of land cultivation by the exercise of rights over persons. To the legal historian it is the contractual relationship guaranteed by land and determined by tenure. To the constitutional historian landholding is the source of political power, and government functions are bound up with land tenure.

"Thus in studying different periods," she concludes, "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian will each apply his own test to the state of things he finds, and declare that this is, or is not, 'genuine feudalism,' while his conclusions will be hotly questioned by those who use a different criterion." [2]

On the other hand a great deal of the most important modern literature on Inner Asia, including Sinkiang, is in Russian; and even in Tsarist times the vocabulary of feudalism was usual among Russian scholars in dealing with the societies of Asia. With the Soviet writers, this practice becomes universal. On the other side of Sinkiang, Chinese sources are of the greatest importance for early and medieval history, and Chinese scholars are doing increasingly important work in the analysis both of historical data and of contemporary problems. The terms of feudalism are quite as important in the work of these Chinese scholars as they are in the Russian literature. In China today, scholars are divided by a controversy similar to the famous nineteenth-century debate between "Westerners" and "Slavophiles" in Russia. As in Russia, the heart of the discussion is whether the Chinese culture is so much a thing apart that it is inappropriate to use the terms used in discussing other cultures, or whether the phenomena of Chi-

[2] Helen Maud Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 203; paper originally read before the International History Conference at Zürich in 1938.

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566 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and
174 can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted
114 terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[3]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[3] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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INTRODUCTION

Sinkiang's Place In the Future of China

By Owen Lattimore

There can be few large regions in the world that combine, in the way that Sinkiang does, isolation and a rich literature of travel and of natural and social sciences. Though Sinkiang has never been open to the casual tourist, it has been the setting of some of the major geographical, geological, botanical, archeological and historical investigation and writing of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The names of those who have contributed to the literature include, from the middle ages, William of Rubruck, Carpini, and Marco Polo; the British from Atkinson to Shaw, and Forsyth, and later Ney Elias, Younghusband, Stein and Skrine; the Russians, with perhaps the greatest list of all, including Prjevalskii, the Grum-Grjimailo brothers, Kozlov, Obruchev, and a host of others; the French with Grenard and Pelliot; the Germans with Grünwedel, von le Coq and many writers on linguistics; the Austrian Merzbacher; the Dutch historian De Groot; the Italian De Filippi; Sven Hedin and many younger Swedes and Danes like Bergman and Haslund; and Americans like Schuyler and Huntington. Indeed, it is easier to write a long list than a short one, because the material relating to Sinkiang has led to so much comment, research and speculation in so many countries.

It is noticeable, however, that in the literature of Sinkiang the most important contributions of the Chinese are to be found in the chronicles of the past. Were it not for the Chinese genius for compiling history, our knowledge of the peoples and tribes and politics of Sinkiang for more than two thousand years would be much more shadowy. In the nineteenth century, however, Chinese concern with Sinkiang became more and more perfunctory, and the Chinese literature less important and poorer in quality. Even when dealing with the distribution, characteristics, and political grouping of the peoples of Sinkiang, Chinese writers began to show a weak tendency to forego direct observation and rely instead on quotation.

114 This fading out of the Chinese interest in Sinkiang reflected a major change in China's fortunes. During the nineteenth century Western imperialism began to press heavily on China from the seacoast, and consequently Chinese thought drew away from the landward frontiers. It is true that Tsarist Russia threatened to penetrate and even to annex Mongolia and Sinkiang, while the British exercised more real control in Tibet than did the Chinese; but these were the least Chinese territories of China, most of whose people differed in their way of life from the Chinese, and few of whom even spoke Chinese. Naturally, in a long period of great danger to the Chinese nation as a whole, attention was concentrated on the areas of densest Chinese population near the coast, and on political relations with those countries which had the kind of power that expressed itself in the "gunboat policy" of the nineteenth century.

In our own time we can see why the Chinese, without turning away from their long maritime coast and the future developments in trade and politics with which they will have to deal along that coast, are also turning back to their long inland frontiers and enquiring into the future opportunities and problems of the deep hinterland. The Sino-Swedish Scientific Expedition, which carried on Sven Hedin's later exploration work in Sinkiang, included several Chinese scientists who published not only scientific papers but accounts of their travels, with comments on contemporary affairs in Central Asia. In the same period a Chinese diplomat, Aitchen K. Wu, published a lively personal account of the political intrigue and civil war out of which there finally developed the recent progressive tendencies of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. An English version of his book has been published under the title of *Turkistan Tumult*.

In the same period there flourished a considerable periodical literature, including such journals as the *Northwest Monthly* and many articles in other journals, like *New Asia* and the scholarly *Yü Kung*, or *The Chinese Historical Geography*. The early years of this literature have seen the publication of much that is of only secondary value; but there is a clear tendency for the literature to increase in importance, and the time will come when Western political scientists and econ-

omists who wish to deal authoritatively with the questions of Central Asia will have to depend more and more on Chinese materials. 114

Mr. Norins' work marks the beginning of this trend. He has not been able to travel in Sinkiang, but by study of contemporary Chinese source materials he has been able to expand the observations of Western travelers and to produce an interesting and important book. The trend will go on. There is a clear prophecy of this in the fact that in his use of Chinese sources Mr. Norins finds evidence of lively differences of views and interpretations. China's rediscovery of Chinese Central Asia will be accompanied by controversy, and the different policies advanced in controversy will have an international as well as a domestic significance.

Within the area occupied by Sinkiang there probably lies the geographical center of gravity between the Atlantic, Arctic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. There was a time, toward the end of the last century, when Kipling was writing about the "grey menace" of Tsarist Russia, and when Russian and British explorers, apprehensively watching each other and sometimes actually putting each other under arrest, were trying to discover and list all the passes across the Pamirs, the Karakoram and the Himalayas. What they were looking for was an "artillery pass"—a way by which wheeled vehicles could link up the zones of British and Russian imperialist expansion in Inner Asia. During this period Sinkiang, like Afghanistan, was in danger of being ground between the upper Russian millstone and the lower British millstone. The serious way in which the rival seekers of the White Man's Burden sent envoys, gifts, and windy despatches to Yakub Beg, a dancing-boy turned brigand, who had overthrown the Manchu-Chinese power at Kashgar, makes grotesque and sometimes bloody reading. 000

This period ended in an anti-climax. It was discovered that there was no "artillery pass." It would be too expensive either for the British to encroach on territory coveted by the Russians, or for the Russians to push their Central Asian conquests actually to within snatching distance of the "brightest jewel in the British crown." It then became convenient to recall the sovereignty of Afghanistan and China. With appropriate solemnity, frontiers were delimited in such a way that a

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influences from the China of the Han and Tang Emperors mingled with those transmitted through Iran and North-West India from the great world of Hellenism in the West. It was through the channel of the Tarim Basin and the medium of its settled populations that the fame of the "silk-weaving Seres" and the fine products of Chinese looms reached the Mediterranean and became known throughout the Roman Empire. It was by this same route that the elements of Indian as well as of Græco-Roman art and culture reached China's western borders. More important still, it was along the Khotan road that Buddhism, in Stein's words "India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of mankind," found its roundabout way in the first century of our era to China through the Central Asian kingdoms.

It would be presumption for me to attempt even the briefest survey of the immense field covered by the archæological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein among the sands of the Takla Makan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan and Kansu. I can but refer the art-loving reader to those monuments of fascinating if recondite erudition, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," "Serindia," and the rest. Here will be brought vividly before his eyes the splendour of Khotan's Græco-Buddhist civilization, in the days when that ancient kingdom was culturally an Indian colony.[1] He will discover for himself how exquisitely that civilization was tinged by the classic art of China; he will see, on the other hand, how in the east of the province and along the great Silk Road the powerful influences of Græco-Buddhist and even of purely Persian art modified the work of Chinese masters. The frescoes of Miran, the classical seals of Yotkan, the relievos of Khadaliq, the wood-carvings of Niya, the amazing painted silks, brocades, tapestries and embroideries of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas—these and many other beautiful things appeal to the lover of art, and not to him alone. They appeal even more strongly to the Western student of *les vieilles civilisations qualitatives*, as Ferrero calls them, which aimed at perfection rather than progress or power—the old civilizations which we have so ruthlessly destroyed in our pursuit of wealth and our conquest of the earth, and which now, too late, we find to be our lost Paradise.

My few excursions into this field of research may be dismissed briefly. In the course of long tours on Consular duty, when our programme had to be thought out carefully beforehand

[1] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 290–91.

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V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

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There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxy-m of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies,

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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S N 121 197 563 I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S N 635 161 The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

193 ə, and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ɑ		ɑ, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			r̥		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		ṙ	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ʑ	ɕ		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	č							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						ɣ			
Back velars		q							γ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

104 3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish

114 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is the so-called " Association Phonetique Internationale, " according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script

The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

F. Tables of Transcriptions

104 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern
• 114 Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff[10]	Le Coq	Hartmann[4]	Kunos	Raquette	API
i	*i*	*i* [i] [e]	*i, e*	*i*	*i*
ü	*ü*	*ü* [ü] [u] [ü]	*ü*	*ü*	*ü*
e [e] [æ]	*e* [e] [æ]	*e* [e] [æ]	*e* [e] [æ]	*e*	*e*
ö	*ö*	*ö* [ö]	*ö*	*ö*	*ö*
ä [æ] [e]	*ä* [e] [æ]	*ä*	*ä*	*ä*	*ɛ*
a	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
—	*ı* [ı] [ɨ]	*ı, ö, y, i*	*ı, ö*	*ı*	*ɨ*
—	—	—	*ü*	*ü*	*ü*
—	—	—	*ö*	*ö*	*ɔ*
ö	—	—	—	*ö*	*œ*
u	*u*	*u*	*u*	*u*	*u*
o	*o* [o] [ɔ]	*o* [o] [o] [ɔ] [ɔ]	*o* [o] [ɔ] [ɔ]	*o*	*o*
—	—	—	—	*ɔ*	*ɔ*
—	*a*	*ɑ*		*a*	*ɑ*
					ɑ

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Table I (continued)

Radloff [1]	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kúnos	Raquette	API
b	b	b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t, ʃ	t	t	t	t
—	—	—	—	ʃ	[ʃ]
ǯ, ǰ	ǰ, ʒ	ž, ǧ	ǯ	ǰ	dʒ
ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
h	h [ḫ]	h	h	h'	h
r	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ
d	d	d	d	d	d
—	—	—	—	ð	[z]
r	r	r	r	r	r
z	z	z	z	z	z
—	—	—	—	ẓ	[z]
—	ẓ	ẓ, j	ẓ	—	z
s	s	s	s	s	s
—	s	s	s	s	s
—	—	—	—	s	[s]
—	—	—	—	z	[z]
—	—	—	—	t	[t]
—	—	—	—	ð	[z]
—	—	—	—	—	—
γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
f	f	f	f	f	f
q	q	k, q	k	q	q
k	k	k	k	k	k
g	g	g	g	g	g
l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ń	ń [ńg], ŋ	ŋ, ñ	ŋ	ñ	ŋ
v	v	v	v	v	v
—	w	w	—	w	β, w
h	h	h	h	h	h
j	y	j	j	y	j

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Table II. The Arabic symbols which are still in use.

ب b	ر r	غ γ	آ, ا	a, ɒ, ɛ, æ, e, i, ï, ü, u, o.
پ p	ز z	ف f	ع	a, ɛ, æ, i, ï, ü, u, ö.
ت t	ژ ʒ	ق q		
ث s	س s	ک k	و	a, ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü, ö, ə.
ج dʒ	ش ʃ	گ g	ه	a, ɛ, æ, e, i.
چ tʃ	ص s	ل l	ی	a, æ, ɛ, e, i, ï, ei.
ح h	ض z	م m		
خ χ	ط t	ن n	او	ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü, ö, ə.
د d	ظ z	و v, w	ای	ɛ, e, i, ï.
ذ z		ه h		
		ی j		

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 177 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
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N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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N These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
[184] lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
S In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[212] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [554] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice
[461] shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[433] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

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PIVOT of ASIA

Sinkiang and the Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Russia

by

OWEN LATTIMORE

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

Chang Chih-yi
Chen Han-seng
John De Francis
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No I - III

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Introduction

SINKIANG is a Chinese province in which the overwhelming majority of the population consists of non-Chinese peoples. It stands at the back door of the old Empire of India, in which the new political, economic, and social forces of the Dominions of India and Pakistan are now at work. It stands at one of the front doors of the Soviet Union — the front door most inaccessible to those forms of power, prestige, and influence which are at the disposal of the foreign policy of the United States. It stands, finally, at an angle of the hinterland frontier which for centuries has been regarded as the back door of China, but which two thousand years ago was China's front door to the heart of Asia and is now becoming once again the most important front door on the landward side of China.

When Russia was expanding into Central Asia in the nineteenth century, American interest was lively. There was a strong traditional American bias against Britain, and in the rivalry between the British and Russian Empires the sympathy of Americans was rather markedly in favor of the Russians, who were regarded as benevolent and competent empire builders. Eugene Schuyler, a member of the American Diplomatic Service, wrote a classic account of the new Russian conquests which, under the simple but fascinating title of *Turkestan*, was widely read and influential in its day.[1]

American interest in Inner Asia died down after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. America and Britain, though not committed by any formal alliance, had by then become tacitly

[1] *Turkestan*, by Eugene Schuyler. New York, 2 vols., first edition 1876, second edition 1877.

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associated in support of Japan and in opposition to the Russian desire for a warm-water port on the Pacific. Even the Russian Revolution and the part played by America in intervention in Siberia did not lead to a sustained American interest in that part of the wide frontier zone between China and Russia which is inhabited by many peoples, but few Chinese or Russians.

Interest revived only after the defeat of Japan and Germany. Since 1945, the primary concern of American policy has been to limit and if possible to forestall the expansion of Russian power and the infiltration of Russian influence anywhere in the world. Around the Asiatic frontiers of Russia, this concern has even led to American "preventive infiltration" into such countries as Iran and Afghanistan.

It was in the period of minimum American interest in the frontier zone between China and Russia that my wife and I began, in 1926, to travel in those regions. For more than twenty years our activity in study and in writing has been primarily directed toward those regions, and toward those peoples of the frontier who are neither Chinese nor Russian.

In 1947 the Carnegie Corporation made a grant of $12,000 to the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University for an Inner Asian Seminar. Under this seminar a group study of Sinkiang Province was carried out. The aim of the group was to assemble the materials necessary for a description of the pivotal region where the frontiers of China, Tibet, India, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union approach each other, and through the study of these materials to analyze the forces at work in the region.

Not all of these frontiers touch each other, but each of them touches more than one of the others. The Inner Asian region as a whole is closed off on the Middle Eastern side by Iran, and on the Far Eastern side by the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia). Sinkiang is the pivot of this region.

For the region as a whole the term "Inner Asia" is coming into wider usage than the term "Central Asia." In the nineteenth cen-

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tury, and in its narrowest application, the term "Central Asia" was used for the territories also known as "Russian and Chinese Turkistan." The term "Inner Asia" may be applied to a group of countries, territories, and provinces which have no outlet to the sea, including Sinkiang, Tibet, Kashmir and several smaller states of the Indian frontier, Afghanistan, the Asiatic Republics of the U.S.S.R., the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), and the Inner Mongolian territories of China. Other countries and territories, such as Iran and the Manchurian provinces of China, which do have access to the sea, also have strong associations with the Inner Asian region. In this book the term "Inner Asia" is preferred.

This book was made possible by a range of institutional and individual co-operation which it is a pleasure to acknowledge. The point of departure was the grant made by the Carnegie Corporation. Among the "area studies" to which the Carnegie Corporation has given so much support, the work of the Inner Asian Seminar may be called an inter-area study, since the geographical focus of its research lies in an area of contact and overlap between the Chinese area, the Russian area, and the Iranian and Indian areas.

Columbia University and its Russian Institute made it possible for Dr. Karl H. Menges and Mr. Thomas Wiener to take part in the work of the Inner Asian Seminar. The Hoover Institute and Library of War, Revolution, and Peace, at Stanford, made an invaluable loan of newspapers and pamphlets from Sinkiang. Most of these were in Uighur, but there was also material in Chinese, Russian, Mongol, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Manchu. Extensive use was made of material in the Library of Congress, and to facilitate access to this material the Library set aside a study room for members of the seminar.

Dr. A. A. Horvath, of Princeton, New Jersey, as a visiting member of the seminar, was generous with the lending of material from his personal library, and gave invaluable bibliographical advice.

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114 Members of the seminar who made direct contributions to the production of this book were, in alphabetical order of their names:

Mr. Chang Chih-yi, Fellow of the Page School and formerly a Research Associate of the Academia Sinica. Mr. Chang was largely educated in Manchuria, so that his frontier interests and associations go back for many years. In 1944 he carried out independent field work in Sinkiang, especially in the southern oasis region, under the auspices of Academia Sinica. His major contribution to this book was to the chapter on Economic Development (XI).

Dr. Chen Han-seng, a Fellow of the Page School in 1946–1947 and 1947–1948, took a leading part nearly twenty years ago, as a senior member of Academia Sinica, in setting up modern scientific methods and standards in the study of colonization in Manchuria. As organizer and supervisor he was also responsible for field studies in economics and sociology in many other parts of China. During the war he carried out independent field work on the China-Tibet frontier and the China-Burma frontier. One of China's outstanding authorities on agrarian economic history, he has also an exceptional insight into the working processes of non-Chinese frontier societies which are in the process of being modified by contact with Chinese culture and by the effects of Chinese administration. His principal contributions were to the chapters on Chinese Policies, Social Structures, and the Crossroads of Inner Asia (III, VI, VII).

Dr. John De Francis, of the staff of the Page School, was my indispensable assistant in directing the work of the seminar and in co-ordinating the research of its members. He himself carried out one of the most important sections of the research in analyzing the different schools of nationalism in Sinkiang and their relation to partly distinct but partly overlapping nationalities. Among American social scientists Dr. De Francis is establishing for himself a leading position in the field of nationalism in the Far East, especially as it is expressed in "nationalism of language" and other forms of cultural nationalism. His study of National-

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ism and Language Reform in China[2] is the authoritative discussion of this problem in contemporary China. In his work on this and kindred problems Dr. De Francis has had the exceptional advantage of travel in Inner Mongolia and Northwest China, followed by careful linguistic training in America, work on early Chinese history, and long-continued study of both the theoretical literature and the political programs of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and minor Chinese political parties and intellectual movements. His major contribution was to the chapter on the Peoples of Sinkiang (IV). 114

Mrs. Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, as a volunteer member of the seminar, kept the records of seminar discussions and was also responsible for the greater part of the arduous work of preliminary, intermediate, and final editing without which group research can never achieve the smooth efficiency of teamwork.

Dr. Karl H. Menges, of Columbia, facilitated the work of the whole group by his extraordinary knowledge of Inner Asian languages, the histories of these languages, and the relation of language to other aspects of culture. An expert in the Slavic languages as well as the Turco-Mongol or Altaic languages, Dr. Menges made two journeys in the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia in the period between the two world wars to collect materials, and has edited texts from Sinkiang.[3] His principal contribution to the seminar was in his translations from the Hoover Library materials.

Dr. Daniel Thorner, a Fellow of the Page School in 1947–1948 and now Research Assistant Professor in the Program of South Asia Regional Studies being conducted at the University of Pennsylvania, was with the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration in India during the war. His researches during the past decade on the modern political and economic development of India provided the background for work on the history of Anglo-Rus-

[2] *Nationalism and Language Reform in China*, Princeton University Press, 1950.

[3] *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan, aus dem Nachlass von N. Th. Katanov herausgegeben*, Berlin, I, 1933; II, 1943. (Dr. Menges's name was suppressed when these volumes were published in Germany.)

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114 sian Rivalry in Inner Asia. His principal contributions were to the chapters on this Anglo-Russian Rivalry and the Crossroads of Inner Asia (II, VII). In addition, his wife, Mrs. Alice Thorner, contributed a valuable study of the widely scattered international literature on the art and archaeology of Sinkiang (Appendix I).

Mr. Thomas Wiener, of Columbia, and now of Duke University, had undertaken research on nationalism in Russian Central Asia, especially Kazakh nationalism in the nineteenth century, before he joined the Inner Asian Seminar. His principal contributions were to the chapter on Nationalities and the appendix on Literature and Oral Art.

The fullest measure of credit is due to all these members of the seminar. The work of most members was devoted more to some parts of the book than to others. All work, however, was put through the process of seminar discussion, and was subject to revision as the result of this process. All final decisions, however, on what to say and how to say it have been mine. All facts used have been carefully checked. All statements of opinion have been made after deliberation, and worded with care. It is always possible that statements of fact may later prove to be incorrect or incomplete. It is always possible for statements of opinion to be challenged. For any inadequacy of fact or opinion, I am alone responsible.

OWEN LATTIMORE

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PIVOT of ASIA

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CHAPTER I A New Center of Gravity in the World

Sinkiang, Pivot of Asia

101 A NEW CENTER of gravity is forming in the world. In terms of power politics it has two outstanding characteristics: accessibility from Russia, for the kinds of power which are at Russia's disposal, and inaccessibility from America, for the kinds of power that are at America's disposal. In terms of ideology, it is a whirlpool in which meet political currents flowing from China, Russia, India and the Moslem Middle East.

China's Inner Asian province of Sinkiang occupies a major part of the focal area within which lies this new center of gravity. Sinkiang is China's India. Of its people, 90 per cent are not Chinese. They feel themselves to be subjects, rather than citizens, of the Chinese Republic. Like the peoples of India, they are divided among themselves by differences of language and religion, while the increase of nationalism tends in some ways to unite and in other ways to divide them. As in India, Mohammedanism is not only a religion but a political force. And finally, many of these non-Chinese subjects of China have close ties of language and historical association with various peoples in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and to a lesser extent with Afghanistan.

A circle with a radius of a thousand miles, centering on Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, encloses more different kinds of frontier than could be found in any area of equal size anywhere else in the world.

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101 There are linguistic and cultural frontiers between Mongols, Chinese, Tibetans, Indians, Afghans, the peoples who speak one or another of the Inner Asian Turkic languages, and Russians.

There are religious frontiers between Mohammedans, Buddhists, followers of primitive religions, Orthodox Christian Russians intermingled with consciously atheistic Russians, and predominantly unreligious Chinese.

There are political frontiers between independent states, overlord states, satellite or dependent states, and states which have only recently been freed from colonial status, and also between the monarchy of Afghanistan, the principality of Kashmir, and theocratic Tibet.

There are frontiers between the recently industrialized economy of the Soviet Union, the rapidly changing pastoral economy of the Mongolian People's Republic, the traditional nomad economies of the Kazakhs and Mongols of Sinkiang, the ancient agricultural practices of China, partly infiltrated by such new agencies of transformation as the railroad and the factory, the oasis economy of Inner Asia, the Alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tien Shan, and the high plateau economy of such peoples as the Sarikolis of the Pamirs.

In all this welter of frontiers, however, there is not one state which provides a strong foothold for free capitalist enterprise organized politically around the kind of democratic institutions familiar in Western Europe or North America. In Sinkiang and also in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and China, the countries around Sinkiang, there is not a single political movement engaged in the defense of an old, established democracy, for in these regions no such democracy has ever existed. Nor is the aspiration toward democracy, anywhere in Asia, aimed at forms or institutions which are willingly recognized in America as democratic. In the midst of these problems of change and transition Sinkiang holds a pivotal position. If these problems are to be understood they must be studied in the full context of their historical development.

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The Historical Background

Sinkiang has lain within the political horizon of China for more than two thousand years, but only intermittently has it been under Chinese influence, control, or sovereignty. In periods when China's foreign wars and foreign trade were concerned with the land frontier, Sinkiang was a key sector of the frontier. In the nineteenth century, when China was dominated by foreign influences in the coastal treaty ports, Sinkiang faded in importance except when it was the scene of Moslem rebellions. It is now coming back into importance because the whole frontier zone between China and the Soviet Union has become one of the frontiers which determine the political balance of the world. 174

The historical material of Inner Asia is exceptionally rich. In addition to the early Chinese chronicles, there is material in all the languages of Inner Asia itself, some of it only recently and romantically recovered. The modern rediscovery of Inner Asia's ancient cultures began in 1879, when a Russian botanist returned from Turkistan with reports of a ruined city near Turfan which he believed to have been a Roman settlement. Later European travelers brought back stories of other ancient towns buried under the sands of the Taklamakan Desert. They were able to procure from local treasure seekers statuettes, terra-cotta figurines, pottery fragments, metal coins, and other small objects, all said to have been dug out of old places. In many cases these were of a high order of workmanship and reminiscent in design of ancient Greece. A few fragments of old Buddhist texts written on birch bark in an early Indian language were also turned up in this way.

No living tradition connected the simple Moslem Turkish-speaking cultivators, herdsmen, traders, and artisans of the nineteenth-century Inner Asia with these remarkable artistic and literary finds. But Chinese annals, particularly of the great Han and T'ang Dynasties, yield a great deal of information on the fortunes of numerous oasis kingdoms of the "Western Countries" from as early as the second century before Christ through the ninth cen-

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174 tury of our era. In the writings of two celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang, who had traversed the area in the fifth and seventh centuries respectively, were glowing descriptions of great temples and monasteries which were centers of learning and piety.

Expeditions to uncover the lost Buddhist culture of Central Asia set forth in the 1890's. It soon became clear that the possibilities for scholarship and artistic booty were even greater than had been expected. By the first decade of the present century English, Russian, French, German, and Japanese archaeological missions were engaged in a lively competition for the discovery of new sites and the carrying off of manuscripts, wall paintings, and sculpture.[1]

Scientific expeditions have also brought back from Inner Asia even older relics of the very beginning of human society. The prehistory of Inner Asia can now be traced all the way back to the Stone Age migrations and trade over the whole territory between Europe and China.

At the dawn of human history, mankind was distributed so thinly, and organized in social units of so small a size, that it would be misleading to think of geographical areas which dominated other areas. The Black Sea area in Europe and the Yellow River area in China were potentially capable of much denser populations than the Inner Asian area; but the central groups in which men lived were then probably just as large near the sources of water and food in Inner Asia as they were on the shores of the Black Sea and in the valley of the Yellow River.

Between the Black Sea and the Yellow River a very ancient line of travel, trade, and culture diffusion traversed Inner Asia. It may well have been established by the migrations of paleolithic man, but the evidence of it first becomes clear in the Neolithic Age.[2] In this "land of passage" three ancient forms of society were in contact with each other. On the southern side, in oases where

[1] For an account of the results of these expeditions see Appendix I.

[2] J. G. Andersson, "Der Weg über die Steppen," in *Bulletin* of the Östasiatiska Samlingarna, No. 1, Stockholm, 1929.

water was available, were settled agricultural peoples. On the northern side, in the vast forests reaching all the way from Russia through Siberia to Manchuria, were forest tribes. In between were the pastoral nomads. 174

Of these three forms, pastoral nomadism was later than the other two; in fact it evolved out of them. At the edges of the forests, some groups of hunters took to the domestication of animals and moved out into the grasslands to pasture them. Similarly, animals were also domesticated in the farming oases on the south, and at the edges of the oases some groups of people abandoned farming and moved out into the steppes as herdsmen. Thus the nomads of the steppes were in touch both with forest tribes and with farming peoples, and the "land of passage" which they occupied became a valve through which pulsated the movements of trade, migration, and conquest.

Through this valve, China began to exert pressure on Inner Asia in the Han period (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). China had by this time become a vast civilized empire. Within its own territory, this empire was based economically on agriculture, but on its northern fringes it faced, like the contemporary Roman Empire, the problem of dealing with barbarian tribes which resisted both absorption into the Chinese culture and control by the Chinese state.

The first "foreign policy" of China grew out of attempts to deal with this problem. It took the form of trying to exclude the barbarians physically from the area solidly occupied by Chinese agriculture and civilization, and led to the building of the Great Wall as a fortified frontier, just as the Roman Empire, in the same period, in its attempts to stabilize the cleavage between Roman civilization and Teutonic and Slavic barbarism, fortified the Rhine-Danube frontier.

The Chinese then found, however, that the barbarians whom they were trying to shut out into outer darkness were not mere savages. They were capable of social and political evolution, as well as of military evolution, enabling them to deal with the Chinese Great Wall frontier policy. They found that, as petty tribes, they could no longer cope with the massive Chinese Em-

174 pire and so their tribal warfare among themselves rapidly took the form of subordinating petty chieftains to a supreme ruler of all the nomads. Thus there arose the unified Empire of the Hsiungnu or early Huns, matching the unified Empire of China.

Sinkiang, lying out in Inner Asia beyond the northwestern end of the Great Wall, and on the southwestern flank of the Hsiungnu Empire, then became a pivotal strategic area. The small fertile oases of Inner Asia, widely scattered among deserts, steppes, and mountains, could support flourishing cities but not strong states. They were so far from China that transportation in bulk was expensive, and therefore they could not be incorporated economically within the Chinese state. If left to pay tribute to the Hsiungnu and to trade with them, however, they were a dangerous source of strength to the nomads. Of necessity it therefore became the Chinese policy to occupy as many of the oases as possible, as garrison points; to treat other oases as protected states, in order to keep them from falling under Hsiungnu control; and to keep their trade oriented toward China, rather than toward the Hsiungnu. Thus the expansion of Chinese long-range trade into Inner Asia was politically motivated. It was fostered by imperial policy — to keep the oases bound to China — and was not the outgrowth of an economic search for markets for the surplus production of China.

In penetrating into Sinkiang, the Chinese for the first time encountered not barbarism but an agricultural and urban civilization as sophisticated as their own. A story from the first century shows that the people of Inner Asia, though recognizing the power of the Chinese, were not overawed by their culture. The ruler of the oasis of Kucha spent a year at the Chinese Court, as a dutiful vassal, and returned with a Chinese wife. He then built a palace in the Chinese style and introduced ceremonies, costumes, music, and an administrative system in imitation of the Chinese; but the people of Kucha ridiculed this imitation as "half horse and half donkey" — a sterile, "mule" culture.

The high civilization of the oasis cities of Inner Asia had been stimulated by contact with surrounding areas. On the southern

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side, the most important civilized state was the empire founded in Northwest India by Chandragupta, whom the Greeks called Sandrocottus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. His grandson, Asoka, who reigned just before the opening of the Han period in China, first made Buddhism a great state religion. Buddhist missionaries soon established the religion in the oases of Inner Asia, and one of the results of Chinese penetration into Sinkiang was the entrance of Buddhism into China. The Chinese, in their Inner Asian expansion, were in fact not one-way carriers of a superior culture; they brought back with them ideas and practices which were accepted with admiration in China. 174

More faint than the influences from India, but also important, were the contacts which the Chinese at this time made with the centers of high civilization in Iran, west of Inner Asia. It was from this area that advanced irrigation engineering had penetrated into Inner Asia — making it possible to support dense populations, and a high culture, in small oases.

In the Han period each of the world's great empires had expanded from its center and had walled its outer frontier to exclude the barbarians. In the terrain between Iran and what is now Soviet territory, the geographical contrast between land best suited to the plow and land which favors the herdsman is not so clear as it is along the Great Wall frontier of China. Nevertheless, frontier walls were built in this region against the incursions of nomads,[3] as they were also in the Crimea.[4] Since the Roman Empire also built walled frontiers, it is clear that it was a common feature of the great civilizations of this period that they all faced, on the north, barbarian territory, from which they were periodically menaced, but which they did not wish to enter, conquer, and annex: a walled frontier marks a line which a state is prepared to defend, but beyond which it does not wish to expand.

All of these great empires were similar in structure and had

[3] W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale,* Paris, 1945, p. 32.

[4] K. Grinevich, "Defense of the Cimmerian Bosphorus," *Journal of Ancient History,* Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, No. 2, pp. 160–164 (in Russian).

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174 similar troubles along their barbarian frontiers principally because, just before this period, there had been several centuries of extremely rapid development. Iron became plentiful enough to displace not only bronze, but the stone weapons and farming implements which had continued to be widely used even in the Age of Bronze. Farming populations then multiplied very rapidly, spreading out and occupying land which had not previously been brought under the plow.

The whole agricultural world, from Britain and Gaul all the way to the Pacific, then became much more solid and tended to exclude from itself a "barbarian fringe" of forest and steppe tribes. In the civilized empires occupations became rapidly more diversified and specialized; the urban-rural relationship became more complicated; social classes became more sharply marked off from each other; and new, more complex and geographically much larger political states developed.

This evolutionary process then gave way to a devolutionary phase, during the period from about A.D. 200 to 600. The great states were exhausted, partly by the tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer, which produced internal crises, and partly by the economic drain of chronic frontier war. Among the new kingdoms which then formed, the frontier states especially tended to be dominated by barbarian conquerors.

In China, the tendency among such rulers to adopt Buddhism as a mark of civilization was important in keeping up contact with Inner Asia. Thus, in the fifth century, the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, passing through the oasis of Khotan[5] on his way to India, described four great monasteries and many smaller ones. He and his Chinese companions were lodged at a monastery where three thousand monks took their seats for meals in regular order and "perfect silence." He describes a new monastery, near the

[5] Most of the larger towns of Sinkiang have at least three names — the Uighur, Kazakh, or Mongol name; the Chinese name used under the Manchu Dynasty; and the Chinese name used under the Republic. Many have several other names. To avoid confusion, the name used by the local people in the local language will be used in this book. Variant names are listed in Appendix VIII.

city, the building of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns. It was "rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver and finished throughout with a combination of all the precious substances," and had a Hall of Buddha, "of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, Venetian doors and windows all being overlaid with gold leaf. Besides this, the apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated, beyond the power of words to describe."[6]

Ecclesiastical enterprise on such a scale indicates prosperity among the oasis states, and probably active trade. There must also have been an ample supply of food, very probably from serf-cultivated lands belonging to the monasteries. Labor for the great building projects may have been supplied partly by forced labor of the serfs in the winter season, partly by slaves captured by the barbarian kingdoms in their wars against each other and sold to the civilized lands. We know that there was a large traffic in slaves, especially farther to the west.

From about the year 600, great empires began to coalesce once more. In China, this was the age of the T'ang Dynasty, 618 to 907. This was also the period of the great Arab conquests; Byzantium reached the height of its power and influence; and, in the year 800, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor.

In the T'ang period, the centers of gravity were nearer to the periphery of civilization, and imperial power represented a welding together of military forces, which were largely of barbarian origin, and the revenues of civilization from agriculture, urban production, and trade. Such empires depended more on their ability to maneuver against barbarians in war, and less on static walled frontiers.

Following the rule that the organization of states among pastoral nomads follows like a shadow the formation of neighboring civilized states, there arose in the steppe, in this period, a series of "tribal nations": the Orkhon Turks in Mongolia; the Uighur

[6] *Fa Hsien's Travels*, tr. and ed. by James Legge (Chinese text and English translation), Oxford, 1886, Chapter 3.

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174 and other Turkish nations in Inner Asia; and the Khazar, Bulgar, and Pecheneg states in the Caspian-Black Sea steppe.

Sinkiang in this period continued to hold a pivotal position between the Chinese, Indian, and Iranian worlds, with distant connections with the South Russian steppe. In its culture the Indian, Iranian, and Near Eastern elements were still stronger than the Chinese influence. Merchants of the Sinkiang oases traveled widely. In the ninth century there were communities of them at Sian (Ch'angan, the T'ang capital), at Loyang in the main Yellow River Valley, at Yangchou on the Yangtze, and even at Canton on the southern coast of China.[7] They carried with them the practices of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam.[8]

The tradition of pilgrimage from China through Inner Asia to the centers of Buddhist learning continued, and accompanied a general growth of Chinese influence. In the middle of the seventh century, when the pilgrim Hsuan Tsang had departed eastward from the oasis of Komul, there were only three Chinese monks to see him off. About a hundred years later, there were many Chinese in the monastic communities of Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan; and one of their activities was the making of usurious loans to the local population.[9]

Hsuan Tsang himself writes of Aksu that "the customs and temperament of the people, as well as their script and law, are the same as in Kucha. The dialects are somewhat different. Monasteries number several tens and monks over a thousand in Aksu. The people in general are cunning and greedy, loans are often transacted between father and son. Virtues are not treasured but wealth is worshiped. The life of the very rich appears to be miserly, being shabby in dress and stingy in food. It would

[7] See Hsiang Ta, "The Chang-an of the Tang Dynasty and the Civilization of the Western Regions," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph series No. 2, Peiping, 1933 (in Chinese).

[8] Wang Jih-wei, "The Iranians in Sinkiang," in *Yü-Kung* semimonthly, Peiping, Aug. 1, 1935, Vol. 3, No. 11, p. 1–9 (in Chinese).

[9] See Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 206 ff. and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 527.

seem that half of the population is engaged in trading and the other half in field cultivation."[10] 174

In this period Tibetan invaders penetrated both Sinkiang and Northwest China. After they had been dislodged from Sinkiang, they continued to control the frontier kingdom of Hsi Hsia or Tanggot in Northwest China, with a capital at Ninghsia on the Yellow River, and a mixed population of cultivators whose languages were Chinese and Turkish and pastoral nomads whose languages were Tibetan, Turkish, and Mongol. It was as a result of this expansion that elements of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity were carried back from Inner Asia to Tibet, where they contributed to the transformation of Northern Buddhism into the new syncretic religion of Lamaistic Buddhism.

Most important of all, however, was the movement of wave after wave of Turkish invaders — Uighurs, Karluks, Kirghiz, and others — from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into positions which put them astride of the trade routes and in control of the oases. Gradually Islam became the prevailing religion among these Turks, and at the same time their languages displaced the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian languages which until then had been spoken in the oases. By the end of this dual process, which was not completed until after the close of the T'ang period, Turkish was spoken, in different variants, from the borders of Iran to the borders of China, and Islam ruled all the way from Northwest China to the Black Sea.

The forms of migration involved in these changes are important. They did not empty that part of the steppe in which they originated. Nor did they exterminate or drive away the populations of the territories into which they penetrated. The typical forms of movement, to which the terms "migration" and "conquest" tend to be applied without sufficient discrimination, were movements of warrior bands, not of the whole people from whom the warriors were recruited. At first these bands made raids for plunder. Then they settled permanently in territories from which

[10] Hsuan Tsang, *Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi*, Shanghai, 1922, Vol. 1 (in Chinese).

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174 they could take an annual revenue. It was not to their interest to destroy the whole of the population which provided the revenue. As for the defeated rulers, often they succeeded in leading bands of their own followers to "migration" or "conquest" in another region. Thus the transfer of tribal names was wider than the migration of whole tribes; and descendants of the original Indo-European or Indo-Iranian peoples of Inner Asia, though Turkized in language and Islamized in religion, continued to form a great part of the population, especially in the oases.

In the tenth century there began a new development, culminating in the Mongol conquests at the beginning of the thirteenth century and continuing until the Mongol empires fell apart in the fourteenth century. In this period conquerors of steppe nomad origin moved from kingdoms on the frontiers of civilization to empires with capitals in the heart of ancient civilized territory. Once more, developments in China had their parallels in India, Iran, and South Russia, which should not be left out of mind.

In North China the Khitans of western Manchuria and eastern Mongolia founded the Liao Empire, astride the Great Wall and reaching into the Yellow River plains. They were succeeded by the Jurchids of the Chin or Kin Empire, whose barbarian territory of origin in Manchuria lay farther from the Great Wall than the Khitan steppes, and whose conquests pushed beyond the Yellow River to overlook the Yangtze.[11]

Then, at the opening of the thirteenth century, the conquests of Jenghis Khan created an empire extending from northern China to southern Russia; but this empire broke up quickly, under the descendants of his sons, into separate empires and kingdoms. The process of parcellation was most rapid and most con-

[11] When the Jurchids overthrew the Khitans, a warrior band of Khitans broke away to the Northwest, through Mongolia, and set up a Khara-Khitai kingdom in Inner Asia, astride the present frontiers between Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Siberia. Throughout both the Khitan and the Jurchid period, Northwest China continued to be dominated by the Tibetan-ruled Hsi Hsia or Tanggot state; thus throughout this period neither the oasis nor the steppe peoples of Inner Asia were in touch with any Chinese state ruled by Chinese; and contact between Inner Asia and the older Indian and Iranian cultures was also cut off by Moslem conquests.

fused in Inner Asia. The Golden Horde in South Russia and the Yuan Dynasty in China ruled the two most solid Mongol empires; Inner Asia lay between them, and tended to break away from both of them. 174

Mongol rule ended in China when the Ming Dynasty was founded in 1368, and began to weaken rapidly in Russia a century later. When they first overthrew Mongol rule, the Chinese pushed their campaigns far into Mongolia; but through most of the Ming period (1368–1644) the Chinese horizon in Inner Asia was extremely limited. Rarely did even indirect Chinese influence extend beyond Komul and Turfan, the nearest large oases of Sinkiang.[12]

There was a similar situation all around Inner Asia. As civilization recovered from the Mongol onslaught, strong states were again formed; but they were not strong enough to make conquests in Inner Asia. In this period, moreover, Arab, Indian, and Chinese navigators developed a considerable ocean commerce, thus weakening the pressure which might otherwise have developed for the reopening of the long-distance overland trade routes. Inner Asia was therefore left more to itself than for many centuries. Innumerable small states were formed. By the sixteenth century, the last traces of Buddhism and Christianity disappeared from the oases, and Islam prevailed unchallenged except among the Mongol-speaking nomads, who still adhered to the Tibetan (or Lamaistic) form of Buddhism.

The oases were ruled from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century by the Moghuls, warriors of Mongol descent who had become Turkish in language and Moslem in religion. Their Khans — who claimed descent from Chagatai, son of Jenghis Khan, a claim which is of doubtful value — had split away from the Chagatai domains of Western Turkistan in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, following a pattern not uncommon

[12] D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols in the Period of the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1634 — Based upon Chinese Sources*, St. Petersburg, 1893 (in Russian). An English translation by Rudolf Lowenthal was published at Chengtu, 1947, as No. 1 of Series A, *Studia Serica*, the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, West China Union University.

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174 in Moslem lands, a line of hereditary religious potentates, the Khojas, established itself beside the Khans.[13] By the seventeenth century, the Khojas had displaced the last quarreling heirs of the Moghuls and taken over direct rule of the Sinkiang oases.

In the steppe, power was divided among three groups of nomads. In Russian Inner Asia the Kazakhs and other Turkish-speaking nomads prevailed. On the east, after many tribal wars, the dominant Mongol power was that of the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. In the center, in northern Sinkiang and western Mongolia, were the Oirats or Western Mongols — called "Kalmuks" by the Russians.[14]

174 By the year 1400 — when the Mongols in western and southern
175 Inner Asia had taken to the Turkish language and to Islam — the Oirats, who remained Mongol in speech and hostile to the Moslems, had become a warlike league which repeatedly invaded western Inner Asia and attacked the southern oases and Tibet. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they struck eastward and nearly made themselves masters of the whole of the ancient Mongol homeland. It was to break their power that the Manchus, who had conquered China in the preceding century, invaded Sinkiang in the eighteenth century, conquered the Western Mongol Confederation, and established strong military garrisons. In the same period the Russians began their expansion into Siberia and Inner Asia, and the British their expansion over India up to Afghanistan, the Pamirs, and Tibet. This triple process marks the confluence of modern world history.

175 In the nineteenth century there were prolonged and bloody Moslem rebellions against the Manchus both in China and in Sinkiang. It was only after the suppression of these rebellions

[13] This line was founded by Khoja Makhtum Azyam, who had come to Kashgar from Bokhara and who claimed descent from the prophet Mohammed. The possession of lands and revenues made the Khojas feudal nobles as well as hereditary religious officials.

[14] Traditionally, the Oirats were a tribe from the region of Lake Baikal and the present Buryat Mongolia. The tribes of this region were half forest hunters, half pastoral nomads. The Oirats were placed in Inner Asia in the course of the regrouping and redistribution of Mongol tribes brought about by the conquests of Jenghis Khan.

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that Sinkiang was placed under a form of administration comparable to that of other Chinese provinces. In 1884 it ceased to be a possession, and became a Chinese province. 175

Under the Chinese Republic, since 1911, Sinkiang has continued to be nominally a province like any other province; but in actuality the tendency of governors of the province has always been to rule as independent war lords. Sometimes this independence has been carried so far that governors have conducted their own foreign relations with Russia and India and have even treated the National Government of China almost as if it were a foreign power. China's present problem in Sinkiang is how to deal with the relations between the Chinese provincial authorities and the national government, the relations of both the provincial authorities and the national government with Russia and India, especially Russia, and the effort of both provincial and national Chinese authorities to maintain themselves in the face of the nationalist demands of the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. 175 186 668

Nationalism in Sinkiang is a modern outgrowth of traditional Mohammedan and tribal rebellions against Chinese rule. It began to take newer forms in the 1930's, when Sinkiang fell under the rule of a Chinese military adventurer named Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Since Sheng could not call on China for military reinforcements for fear of being supplanted, he followed a new policy of seeking support from each subject nationality separately, while at the same time preventing any coalition of nationalities. He also increased trade with the Soviet Union, obtained Soviet loans, and sent Uighur and other students to the Soviet Union for technical training. In 1943 he broke with the Russians and came to terms with the National Government of China. A policy of "firmness" toward the non-Chinese peoples was then reasserted; but in the meantime political nationalism had taken root. 186 668

There are now two major nationalist movements in Sinkiang. One follows a policy of "Sinkiang for the Uighurs." It seeks to win autonomy from the Chinese and at the same time to assert

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186 Uighur domination over the other peoples of Sinkiang. The sec-
668 ond movement is the "coalition nationalism," whose stronghold is at Kulja. It seeks to unite all nationalities in Sinkiang; it is as friendly to the Soviet Union as was the Azerbaijan nationalist movement in Iran, and some of its leaders were born or educated in Soviet territory.

Forces Converging on the Center of Gravity

000 China's colonial problems in inner Asia are enclosed in a framework of great power politics. The political interests of America and Britain are sensitive to changes in the area in which the territorial frontiers of China and Russia meet in Inner Asia.

Until the Age of Columbus the movement of man within the land mass between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Polar Sea, was more important than his enterprises on salt water. Coastal voyages were made, and early navigators crossed the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, and perhaps even the Pacific; certainly the Pacific Islands were reached from Asia; but the major interaction of cultures and the building of the great civilizations took place within the Eurasian land mass and in North Africa.

With the great voyages of navigation and circumnavigation at the end of the fifteenth century, a new mode of history began. The peopling of North America, the colonizing of Central and South America, and the conquest of India and Southeast Asia were the work of Western European man, moving across the oceans. Inner Asia, once a crossroads of the world, became a stagnant area of secondary commercial and strategic importance.

Then there came a period of fifty years, from 1580 to 1630, in which the histories of different parts of the world began to flow together as components of a true world history. In 1580 Yermak began the Russian drive into Siberia, sponsored by merchants interested in the expansion of the fur trade. After 1595, when Boris Godunov founded a gun-making industry at Tula, the eastward

thrust of the Russians became even more effective against Siberian and Inner Asian tribes still armed with the bow and arrow. In 1600 and shortly after, the British, Dutch, French, and other East India Companies were founded. In 1605 Akbar died; he was the real founder of the Moghul Dynasty, and the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth and of Nurhachih, founder of the Manchu Dynasty. In 1616 Nurhachih took the title of Emperor, though his Manchus did not establish their dynasty in China until 1644, after his death in 1627. In 1620 the Russians reached the Lena. A few years more, and they were reaching the Amur and the Pacific, just as the Manchus were establishing themselves in China. Modern world history had begun.

After the British defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588 and Yermak had presented Siberia to Ivan IV, the British and the Russians created the two most gigantic empires in the world. By the closing decades of the nineteenth century the two had met, at their frontiers of maximum expansion. British and Russians were clambering about the Roof of the World — the Pamirs — with knives in their teeth, and eying each other with suspicion across the ridgepole, the Hindu Kush.

Geographical conditions accentuated a primary difference between the British and Russian Empires. Of the two, Britain's was economically the more efficient. All of Britain's vast holdings were physically separated from Britain by the oceans of the world. In Dominions like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, there was actual British colonization organized under British institutions. To the conquered, well-populated colonial possessions — of which India was by far the most important — Britain exported garrison troops, small numbers of administrators and police officials, and an economic managerial personnel; she brought back, across the oceans, commodities and raw materials. Later, Britain exported both money capital and machinery and equipment for production and transport, and took out of the colonies not only increased quantities of raw materials but an increasing proportion of semi-processed materials and finished commodities. A part of this

output went into world trade without passing through Britain, and some of it even competed with the processing industries of Britain itself.

The whole process depended on efficient exploitation of the cheapness of water transport. Even the military power of Britain was mobilized primarily in its Navy, which could concentrate at any point on any coast, or stand across the supply lines of any rival. The number of men withdrawn from production to serve in the Royal Navy and the small "expeditionary force" Army was much less than the number economically neutralized in the standing armies of Russia or Germany.

When there is a great diversity in economic development in different parts of the world, cheapness of water transport is a vital factor in taking skill and equipment to backward areas and in bringing raw materials to developed industrial areas. Industrial, steamship-owning Britain was able to hold back the development of a modern textile industry in India for a long time. India grew the cotton; Britain processed it, and sold textiles to India, besides making a profit on the transportation in both directions. In proportion to the development of industries in the areas which produce raw materials, however, the process of exchange tends to shift from a footing of necessity to that of convenience. Politically, this change is reflected in the increasing importance of relationships in which the ability to dictate the terms of exchange has been superseded by the need to negotiate exchange on terms of mutual consent. Thus India's textile industry, after a long struggle, has now become independent; but as Britain is still a buyer of Indian cotton and other raw materials, Britain still has bargaining power in its commercial relations with India.

In contrast to the ocean-separated holdings which Britain *accumulated* all over the world, Tsarist Russia *incorporated* all of its holdings within one vast, continuous expanse of land. Though Russian expansion has been dramatically described by one eminent historian as "The Urge to the Sea," [15] the Russians, when they did reach the Pacific, did not go on to build a maritime empire.

[15] Robert J. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea*, Berkeley, 1942.

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They acquired Alaska, but having acquired it, sold it willingly. It was in the great land mass between Europe and Asia that the Russians created a nation and made that nation the master of an empire. Centuries of interpenetration with nomadic peoples on the steppe frontier made class warfare and politics as familiar as national warfare to both Russians and non-Russians. When nomad Khans had the upper hand, some of the Russian nobility became their vassals, and continued as a ruling class, though a subordinate ruling class. When the Russians, in turn, conquered the steppe, they took the steppe nobility into their service, and continued some of their privileges.[16]

Similarity (though not identity) of interest between Russian and non-Russian upper classes was an important consequence of this method of empire building. Many of the non-Russian upper classes were anti-Russian, up to a point, because their privileges had been encroached on by the Russian upper classes; but since the Russian state was the guarantor of such privileges as they retained, a hesitation of self-interest prevented them from becoming effective leaders of nationalist rebellion against the Russians. Consequently, when the Russian Revolution broke out the outcome was determined, among the non-Russian peoples, by a left-wing leadership which believed in revolution against the native privileged classes as well as rebellion against the Russian state. There was thus a community of interest between the left-wing nationalists and the Bolsheviks, who were determined to destroy not only the Tsarist state but the society which had supported it, and been exploited by it. This community of interest was given an institutional framework by the Communist nationality policy, which was formulated by Stalin himself. This policy, "nationalist in form but socialist in content," made possible a federative state based on a permanent alliance between Russian and non-Russian Communists. It combined nationalist separatism in language and other cultural characteristics — institutionally or-

[16] Owen Lattimore, "Inner Asian Frontiers," in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 7, pp. 24–52, May, 1947; and *The Situation in Asia*, Boston, 1949, p. 16.

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000 ganized under Republics, Autonomous Regions, and so forth — with homogeneity of political and economic institutions.

Economically, the incorporative Tsarist Empire also differed from the accumulative British Empire. The Russian extraction of wealth from newly conquered and added lands was far less efficient than was the British, because of the difference between expensive transport by land and cheap transport by water — even when allowance has been made for the system of river transport in the Russian homeland west of the Urals. The cotton textile interests of Russia, to take one example only, wanted to develop the growing of cotton in Russian Central Asia while retaining a monopoly of manufacture in Russia proper; but to grow cotton around Tashkent and Samarkand, to transport it by train to Moscow and other textile centers, and then to send out cotton cloth over the vast land expanses of the empire made possible a much lower rate of profit and capital accumulation than did the British system of cargoes carried by sea between America, Egypt, India, and Manchester.

This differential was overcome by the Communist-planned economic revolution, which was as drastic as the political revolution. Direct industrialization was undertaken in Inner Asia and elsewhere at the sources of the supply of raw materials. Soviet industrialization in Inner Asia and eastern Siberia has now built up the greatest total of horsepower, the widest technological diversification, and the highest level of skilled man power anywhere in Asia. The Soviet centers of industrialization are closer to India, the hinterland of China, Afghanistan, and Iran, than the industries of any Western state, and closer to coastal China than any industrial center except Japan. Success in industrialization has been made possible only by developing a higher level of general education and a higher proportion of graduates of advanced institutions than anywhere else in Asia, including Japan.

America is now advancing from the wings onto the stage from which Britain is withdrawing. After the establishment of American power in the Philippines in 1898, the enunciation of the Open Door Doctrine, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, the

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limiting of Russian power in the Pacific and in China became a permanent objective of American foreign policy. In addition, one of the pillars of our policy is now the principle that the weakening of Britain should not be allowed to form a vacuum into which the power of Russia might flow. As the rear guards of Britain withdraw, therefore, we advance our outposts. They are already in Inner Asia. During the war we established a Consulate General in Sinkiang for the first time. We have an active policy in Afghanistan, including a policy of road building. Since the war, we have opened diplomatic relations with Nepal. A Tibetan trade mission has been received in Washington. But we have blocked the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic, which we regard as an outpost of Russia.

This review of history shows how, to see the problems of Sinkiang in the round, the past and the present must be brought into focus with each other. In the past, influences flowed into Inner Asia from China, India, and Iran—long before the day of the Slav, the Anglo-Saxon, or the American. Inner Asia, however, also has its own history. There were always peoples firmly lodged in its oases, as well as peoples in transit through its steppes. Today again Inner Asia is a focus toward which converge influences from the outside. They stem from Russia, from China, from India, and from the Moslem Middle East. Through China and India are also transmitted the influences of America and the West. Today, as in the past, however, Inner Asia also has its own standing. Its peoples are not inert pawns on the vast chessboard of power politics. They are capable of political volition. Once more, as in the time of the Han Chinese and the Hsiungnu nomads two thousand years ago, their importance is of a peculiar kind. Though they cannot by the wiliest maneuver accumulate great strength for themselves, they can add a strength disproportionate to their numbers to the side in whose direction they move, and detract more strength than on a coldly mathematical reasoning would seem possible from the side they choose not to join.

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CHAPTER II Anglo-Russian Rivalry over Sinkiang, 1800–1917

Early British and Russian Empire Building

648 SINKIANG's modern international relations began in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Britain, moving westward and northward through India, became increasingly sensitive to the Russian expansion southward from Siberia. The concern of Britain and Russia with Sinkiang rose steadily during the 1850's and 1860's, and came to a climax in the 1870's, during the exciting days of the adventurer Yakub Beg, who for a time seemed to have succeeded in carving out a new kingdom in the no man's land between the great powers. The forerunners of both British and Russian interest were geographers, explorers, and other daring individualists. Some of these men were primarily in search of scientific information, while others were government officials, traders or intelligence agents.[1]

000 An impetus to obtain improved knowledge of Sinkiang was furnished in the first half of the nineteenth century by talk of the French and later the Russian menace to India. In his march to Moscow in 1812, Napoleon had carried with him dictionaries and maps of India. Perhaps he thought of persuading the Tsar to co-operate with him in a vast expedition to India which would dwarf

[1] The fullest description of the explorations in the third quarter of the nineteenth century is furnished by Herman von Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski (brother of the Adolph Schlagintweit who was murdered at Kashgar in 1857) in his *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*, 4 vols., Jena, 1869–1880, Vol. IV, pp. 217–404.

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the fourth century B.C. invasion by Alexander the Great. There had been discussion of such a move on India, in France and Russia, as early as the last decade of the eighteenth century. In both countries romantic proponents of such far-reaching plans were rebuffed by soberer officials who pointed to the well-nigh insurmountable obstacles which would have to be overcome. These plans, nevertheless, stirred fears in Britain which, in varying degrees of strength, have lasted throughout the century and a half since the days of Napoleon.[2]

For a brief moment early in 1801 the Russians under Tsar Paul had made active preparations for an invasion of India. When Tsar Alexander came to the throne in March 1801 he canceled that move on the first day of his reign. "The memory of the abortive attempt long remained in English minds," writes the British scholar, Cheshire, "and this date may be taken as the starting point of the suspicions which Great Britain subsequently entertained toward Russian action in Central Asia."[3] Preliminary reconnaissances were made of the various routes by which Russia might conceivably cross Central Asia and pass over the mountains to India. One British agent, Mir Izzet Ullah, traveled in 1812–1813 from Kashmir to Yarkand and all the way around to Kabul via Bokhara. His journey, H. W. C. Davis tells us tersely, "disclosed the main routes by which Russian traders could communicate with China, Afghanistan, and the Punjab." Izzet Ullah's

[2] The interest of France in India during the period of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon is the subject of a large literature — see for example A. L. P. Dennis, *Eastern Problems at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1901; especially Chapter III, "Napoleon Bonaparte and the Orient: The Egyptian Expedition." Samples of the immense mass of materials dealing with Russia and its interest in Central Asia and India are A. Rouire, *La Rivalité Anglo-Russe au XIXe siècle en Asie*, Paris, 1908, and Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Russia and Asia*, New York, 1933. The German historian, Hermann Oncken, sketches the development of British concern over the security of India in an uneven series of lectures on *Die Sicherheit Indiens: Ein Jahrhundert englischer Weltpolitik*, Berlin, 1937.

[3] Harold T. Cheshire, "The Expansion of Imperial Russia to the Indian Border," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XIII, 1934–1935, p. 90.

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000 journey was followed in the next decade by the celebrated reconnaissances of William Moorcroft, who also aimed to go from Kashmir to Bokhara via Yarkand. "Moorcroft hoped to capture for British manufacturers a considerable share of the trade of Central Asia and the Western provinces of China." In the 1830's a bold surveyor called John Wood "not only ascended the plateau of the Pamirs . . . but also explored the trade-route connecting the Oxus with Chinese Turkistan, and the cross-routes by which an army might reach Afghanistan from the middle Oxus."[4]

In the work of these and other British explorers the close connection between strategic and commercial purposes is manifest. The same is true on the Russian side. The British Minister to the Court of the Tsar reported in the 1840's that the great Russian landed proprietors, the most influential men of the day, almost all had money sunk in mills and factories. These men "had suffered much from the superiority of our [British] goods in the markets of Central Asia and latterly also in China . . ." thereby helping to give rise to a spirit of jealousy of England.[5] In the middle of the nineteenth century both Britons and Russians considered it quite likely that trade with Central Asia might yet be-

[4] In a masterly and exciting article — "The Great Game in Asia (1800–1844)," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XII, 1926 — H. W. C. Davis has described the part played by agents of the Government of India in Anglo-Russian rivalry over Central Asia (quotations from pp. 234, 245 and 236). Davis deals only with the first half of the nineteenth century. Russian activity throughout that century is traced by Cheshire who refers only in passing to the work of Russian explorers and geographers. That side of Russian activity is traced in detail by V. V. Bartold (or W. Barthold) *Die geographische und historische Erforschung des Orients, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Arbeiten*, Leipzig, 1913. A French translation of Bartold's work is now available. See also the recent work by B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870–1880*, London, 1937, Ch. I. Sec. 3, "Central Asia." A useful summary of British exploration in the Pamirs and nearby areas is given by Lord Curzon in *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, London, 1896, which is a reprint of three articles published by him that same year in the *Geographical Journal*.

[5] Vernon J. Puryear, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question*, 1844–1856, Berkeley, California, 1929, p. 436. Mr. Puryear brings out some of the connections of Central Asian affairs with events in the Near East.

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come large, flourishing, and profitable. Neither side wished to run the risk of losing a prize that seemed to be of such high potential value. The British were well aware of the fact that Russia's land position in Asia gave that country well-nigh unchallengeable access to Central Asia, and seemed to foreshadow the establishment of Tsarist power throughout the area. Some Britons wished to forestall Russia by daring moves of their own. They suggested that Britain endeavor to gain influence in Central Asia as far as the Aral and Caspian Seas. Thereby Britain, working in conjunction with the Moslem Khanates of the area, would head off Russia and itself become "the pacificator of Central Asia, the great conservative power bent upon maintaining the *status quo* for the special benefit of . . . [those] Mohammedan powers. . . ."[6]

Considerations of this kind played a part in the first British war with Afghanistan, 1839–1842. Despite the disasters and humiliations of that war, one school of British generals was in recent years still expressing regret at the failure of Britain's larger policy.[7] One element in that policy was to have been an alliance under British auspices of Khokand (due west of Kashgar) with Persia, to conquer the Amir of Bokhara and seal off the area against Russia. It was in this connection that Arthur Conolly, the principal British agent active in the field on behalf of such an alliance, was killed in 1842 at the command of the Amir of Bokhara.

Tsarist officers had all along regarded Central Asia as predestined to be Russia's prize. Tsarist agents, already active in the 1830's, were followed in the 1840's by military forces which seized advance posts at the corners of the Trans-Oxus country, between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya. The pace of Tsarist activity was stepped up rapidly after Russia's defeats in the Crimean War of 1854–1856. Tsarist officers truculently announced their intention of drawing near Britain's most sensitive land frontier, that of

[6] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[7] *Cf.* Lt. Gen. George MacMunn, in his review of Maud Diver's book *The Hero of Herat and the Judgement of the Sword*, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London, Vol. XVII (July, 1930), pp. 368–369.

India. As Terent'yev, one of the best known of the Tsarist writers on Central Asia, put it in the 1870's, in the Pamirs and Kashmir "Nature has left open for us a broad gate to India. These are the regions the Russian explorers ought to examine and toward which the attention of the Russian Government ought to be directed . . . in view of the immense advantages which we should gain from a discovery of England's most vulnerable point." [8] Thereby Russian forces would be able, in future periods of tension, to frighten Britain, pin down British troops in India, and distract British attention from the Black Sea, the area of greatest importance to Russia.

In these efforts Sinkiang shared very early. In 1857, the first year after the Crimean War, two explorers, Valikhanov and Semenov, examined the politics and topography of Kashgar and the Tien Shan area respectively. That same year the Tsarist Governor General of Western Siberia, General Gasfort, declared in his annual report: "The transformation of Kashgar into a State independent of China under a Russian protectorate would render a great service to its people, for whom the Sino-Manchurian tyranny has become insupportable. . . . We shall make ourselves masters of Central Asia, and we shall be able to hold all the Khans in respect, which will facilitate our march forward." [9] In the following decade Russia humbled in rapid succession the Khanates of Tashkent, Bokhara, Samarkand, Khiva, and Khokand. Russian merchants applauded these conquests, which improved the market for their manufactures and also provided a potential new source of cotton. Russian textile manufacturers did not wish to depend upon the American South for cotton, and during the American Civil War they sought frantically for alternative sources. This need was undoubtedly a factor of importance in the speedy Russian conquest of Turkistan in the 1860's and after.

Tsarist officers simultaneously sought to utilize for their pur-

[8] M. A. Terent'yev, *Russia and England in Central Asia*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1876, Vol. II, p. 114.

[9] N. Vakar, "The Annexation of Chinese Turkestan," *Slavonic Review*, London, Vol. XIV, 1935–1936, p. 119.

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poses the intense anti-British feeling which had developed at the Imperial Court in Peking as a result of the three Anglo-Chinese wars between 1839 and 1860. The Russian consul in Ili went so far as to suggest in 1860 to the Military Governor of the province that China revenge itself on Britain by attacking India through Yunnan and Tibet. The Military Governor passed on this suggestion to Peking and received in due course a complete rejection. The Imperial Court pointed out that Russia was not a disinterested party. That same year Russia extracted from Peking the right to station a consul in Kashgar (a similar right having been obtained for Kulja in 1851). On the other hand, Russia's success in securing the entire Maritime Province north of the Amur River, including Vladivostok, began to shift the emphasis of Russian policy from the Inner Asian end of the long frontier with China to the maritime end.

British interest in Sinkiang meanwhile had been mounting steadily since the final conquest of the Punjab in 1849, at the close of the Sikh Wars. Kashmir, which had been a part of the Sikh Empire, was made over to a renegade feudatory of the Sikhs, in consideration of his services to the British and upon payment of about 500,000 pounds. The British believed that their new position in northern India would put them "in possession of the key to the whole commerce of Central Asia . . ."[10] They noted with anxiety the spread of Tsarist power in the Khanates north of the mountains.

As early as 1864 the first of a series of elaborate reports was published on trading with Central Asia. That same year the Maharajah of Kashmir was made to agree to reduce his exactions on trans-frontier trade passing through his territory, while in 1867 a British official was stationed at Leh in Ladakh to aid the development of commerce with the north. In the same years one bold British surveyor, Johnson, visited Khotan briefly, and another, Hayward, went to Yarkand. A third, Robert B. Shaw — who in the familiar Inner Asian pattern was at once a government agent, a tea planter, a would-be trader, and a daring traveler —

[10] The *Economist*, London, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, June 2, 1849.

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000 became in 1869 the first Englishman to reach Kashgar. Shaw was the uncle of the still more famous Sir Francis Younghusband.

The pace of British activity was too slow for one group of impetuous military men and government officials. They called in the 1860's for an immediate show of Britain's strength, in cooperation with friendly Moslem potentates in Central Asia, to halt the Russian advance north of the mountains. The successful revolt of Yakub Beg in Sinkiang, described later, soon led the Punjab Government to recommend a more positive course of action to the Governor General of India. C. U. Aitchison, Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, wrote as follows on January 4, 1868:

> *Par. 10.* — The expulsion of the Chinese from the countries of Eastern Turkistan has at the same time removed one of the greatest obstacles to trade with Yarkand, Khotan and Kashgar, while the advance of Russia has caused all the Mohammedan races of the North to look with more favor than heretofore towards England. We have had ambassadors from Khokand, Bokhara, and Khotan, all professing on the part of their chiefs a strong desire to open out friendly relations with the British Government, and in particular to promote the development of commerce between their countries and British India. We have received similar communications (through the Maharajah of Cashmere) from Yakúb Koosh Begi, the new and energetic ruler of Yarkand, Kashgar, and Khotan; so that, in fact, all that now remains for us to do is to respond to the advances made to us on almost every side.
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> *Par. 13.* — The Lieutenant-Governor [of the Punjab] regards it as virtually certain, that of all Central Asia this (the country under Yakúb Koosh Begi's rule) is the portion which is the most inviting to the trader, as being richer, more populous and more eager for traffic and the arts of peace, than the regions which may be called Tartary Proper, etc.; from the tracts published from time to time in the public papers, derived mainly from Russian sources, it seems clear that the Russians are of this opinion.

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> *Par. 16.* — Every reasonable effort should, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, be made to establish friendly relations directly with the ruler of Yarkand. . . . The Lieutenant-Governor is strongly of the opinion that it will now be a wise policy on our part to depute a native officer, of intelligence and discretion, in whom we can repose entire confidence, with suitable introductions to Yakúb Koosh Begi's court, to assist our traders and watch over their interests, to collect detailed information in regard to the requirements and possible extension of the trade, and to keep the Yarkand ruler assured of the friendly intentions of our Government.[11]

To this suggestion the Governor General responded with a flat and total rejection. Writing one year earlier the *Economist* had argued that Britain already had its hands full in China and India. "While we cannot afford to keep the peasants of Orissa alive [a reference to the famine of 1866 in eastern India, which took more than one million lives], we certainly do not want any responsibility for the shepherds of Kashgar."[12] The view which prevailed until the end of the 1860's was that "watchful waiting" would be the wisest policy.

The British in London were then debating the much larger question of their entire policy toward the Manchu Empire, whose power they had already done so much to enfeeble. The Manchus were struggling with the immense Taiping Rebellion in South and Central China, and with Moslem revolts in Southwest China as well as in the Northwest and Sinkiang. If these succeeded, the

[11] C. L. Showers, *The Central Asian Question*, London, 1873, pp. 5–6.

[12] The *Economist*, London, Vol. XXI, Jan. 19, 1867. With the disasters of the first Afghan War (1839–1842) all too clear in his mind, Lord Lawrence, Governor General and Viceroy of India from 1864 to 1869, was firmly opposed to any spectacular adventures in Central Asia. The Secretary of the Foreign Department in Lawrence's Executive Council was John Wyllie, author of the celebrated essays on "Masterly Inactivity" and "Mischievous Activity." In an article on "Western China," in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1868, p. 225, Wyllie denounced any Englishman who would talk at that time of English embassies to Yarkand or Khotan as "an enemy to his country." Sir T. Douglas Forsyth (see below), in his *Autobiography*, p. 84, admitted that he was the individual to whom Wyllie had referred.

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British finally decided, the position of foreign powers and foreign trade would deteriorate. London's policy therefore switched over to support of the Manchus, to whom in the years after 1867 British banks extended a number of advances and loans. These helped finance the pacification force which the Manchus in 1867 began to organize to regain control of China's rebellious Northwestern Provinces. These were the first foreign loans obtained by China and it is noteworthy that they were made available for military rather than productive purposes.

Yakub Beg, Inner Asian Adventurer

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To the British in India, however, apprehensive about Russia and desirous of Central Asian trade, the future of Sinkiang was too important to be allowed to depend solely on the slow and uneven progress of Manchu arms. By the end of the 1860's, the adventurer Yakub Beg had already been in power in Sinkiang for half a decade. High British officials, influenced by a series of optimistic reports from Shaw and other travelers and agents in Sinkiang, came to feel that Yakub Beg was well entrenched in power. They saw in his "strong state" a possible "convenient buffer," not only between China and Russia, but also between British India and expanding Russia.[13] In language that has a quaintly modern ring, they referred to Central Asia as an area where "Russian influence immediately fills any space that is left vacant by the English powers. This political process has been aptly compared by a very high authority to the natural rushing of air into a vacuum."[14] Informed British writers pointed with alarm to the progress of relations between Yakub Beg and the Russians. This had occurred, they explained, because of the failure of Britain to respond to earlier overtures from the Kashgar ruler, who had been left with no alternative but "to obey the law of . . . POLITICAL GRAVITATION, under which his small kingdom, in com-

[13] Sir Valentine Chirol (part author), article "China," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed., Suppl. Vol. III, p. 81, London, 1902.
[14] Sir Richard Temple, *India in 1880*, London, 1880, p. 434.

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mon with all small States similarly situated in isolation between two large Powers, existed, viz. to lean upon one or the other."[15] At the very time that London policy was supporting the recovery of Manchu authority in China, therefore, the British in India ended the policy of "watchful waiting" and in the 1870's threw aid and support to Yakub Beg.

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This celebrated and colorful figure first appeared in Sinkiang in 1864, in connection with an effort to re-establish Khoja power. The Khojas had been hereditary Moslem potentates in Sinkiang from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, when they were driven out, first by the Mongols and then by the Manchus. They found refuge in Khokand (modern Ferghana), from which base they made periodic sorties toward Kashgar and other towns in the Tarim Basin. When the Manchus lost control of Sinkiang during the Moslem uprisings of the 1860's, the Khojas struck again. In 1864 a descendant of the former Khoja ruling house of Kashgar led a small band of men from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865 he had taken over Kashgar and Yarkand. His chief of staff was Yakub Beg, a Khokandi of humble birth whose youth had been spent as a dancing boy. In his manhood he turned to soldiering, and he played a part in the struggles of Khokand and neighboring Khanates to resist the tide of Tsarist expansion.

After the first wave of successes in the western Tarim Basin, the Khoja prince under whom Yakub Beg was serving devoted himself to dissipation. Yakub Beg soon displaced him and rounded off the Moslem reconquest of Eastern Turkistan by seizing Aksu, Khotan, and Urumchi.

Soon after seizing power, Yakub Beg had tried to buttress himself against the Manchus by securing recognition as an independent sovereign from his two powerful neighbors, Russia and British India. The British response, after an initial period of hesitation, was encouraging. For just as the Russians were arousing British sensitivity about India, the British were bringing pressure on Russia's weakest point, the Black Sea area. To this end the British, and particularly the British Indian Government, desired

[15] Showers, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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"to build up a common front between Great Britain and Islam against Russia. . . ."[16] As part of this program the British encouraged the pretensions of the Sultan of Turkey to the Caliphate — that is, to the primacy of the entire Islamic world, in the hope that the Sultan would direct that world against Russia.

When Yakub Beg, who had taken the title of Atalik Ghazi, sent an envoy to India in late 1869, he was received much more warmly than earlier emissaries from Kashgar. Partly this was because C. U. Aitchison, former Secretary of the Punjab Government, was now Secretary of the Foreign Department directly under the Governor General. More important was the fact that the attitude of the Government of India toward Inner Asian states was now colored by the conception of an Islamic front against Russia, in which Sinkiang might well play an important part. Even in its internal policy the Government of India was at this time in the process of swinging away from the pronounced anti-Moslem phase which characterized the decade after the great rebellion of 1857–1858, the outbreak of which had been attributed by the Government of India chiefly to India's discontented Moslems.

Yakub Beg's envoy was "honorably received" in Lahore by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and then granted an interview in Calcutta by the Viceroy. The envoy transmitted Yakub Beg's request that a British officer pay "a friendly visit" to the Atalik Ghazi's court in Yarkand. The Viceroy agreed to send T. Douglas Forsyth to Yarkand, but strictly as an amicable gesture and not for any official business: his "sole purpose" was to be that of "opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country."[17] Yakub Beg's envoy was permitted to buy four hundred muskets in Calcutta to be carried over the mountains to Yarkand. Forsyth

[16] Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1925*, Vol. I, *The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*, London, 1927, pp. 40–41; and L. E. Frechtling, "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Eastern Turkistan, 1863–1881," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXVI, London, 1939, p. 479.

[17] Sir T. Douglas Forsyth's *Report* of his visit to Yarkand, in *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, London, 1871, Vol. LI, p. 46.

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soon left at the head of a small party, but on his arrival at Yarkand he found that Yakub Beg was far away fighting around Urumchi. He thereupon turned around hastily and just managed to cross the mountains back to India in 1870, before snow closed the passes for the winter.

When a later envoy, Yakub Beg's own nephew Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora, appeared in India in 1873, he was received most warmly and was aided in journeying on to Constantinople. There, the Sultan gave the high title of Amir-ul-Mu'minn (Commander of the Faithful) to Yakub Beg, and advised him to be friendly with Britain and shun dealings with the Tsar. The Sultan also sent Yakub Beg two hundred rifles, three cannon, and three army officers as instructors. As Yakub Beg's envoy traveled through India on his return journey, he was joined by a well-staffed British mission, again headed by Forsyth. Together they crossed over the Karakoram Pass to Kashgar, where in 1874 Forsyth signed a treaty which threw Sinkiang open to trade with India and accorded Yakub Beg the high privilege — unprecedented for any other Central Asian ruler — of exchanging with India envoys carrying the full status of Ambassador. The Forsyth Mission reported that Yakub Beg was securely entrenched in power; British strategists began to look forward to setting up a protectorate over Sinkiang; arms flowed from India to Yakub Beg via a trading company established in 1873 under Government of India inspiration, and in 1876 the Government of India formally ratified the Treaty of 1874.

One year later Yakub Beg was dead, his power shattered, and his realm overrun by Manchu forces.

The Russians, in contrast to the British, had always regarded Yakub Beg coldly. They were extracting many concessions from the Manchus and had no desire to alienate Peking by recognizing the pretensions of Yakub Beg — who, in any event, was an old enemy of theirs and had fought against them before he left Russian Turkistan. They felt that his regime could become a rallying point for the Moslems of all Inner Asia, including Russian Turkistan, against the power of the Tsar. Uneasy Russian officers termed

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Kashgaria "a powerful Mussulman State, to which as to a center would be drawn the sympathy of the population, not only of the weak Mussulman States which had preserved their independence, but also of the population of the provinces which we had conquered. The importance of Kashgaria in our eyes was, moreover, increased in consequence of the attempts of the English to draw this country to their side so as to incorporate it, (1) in a neutral zone of countries, which was to separate Russia from India, and (2) to acquire in Kashgaria a fresh market for the sale of their manufactured goods." [18]

Throughout the period of Yakub Beg's rule Tsarist officers took care to safeguard what they considered to be Russia's basic strategic and commercial interests in Sinkiang. Strategically, their chief concern was with the Ili River Valley, an ancient inland trade and military highway between Russia and China, which a titled Russian historian has termed as important to Russia as the Khyber Pass was to the British in India.[19] About the time of the first Forsyth visit to Yarkand in 1870, Yakub Beg, who was operating around Urumchi, turned westward and seemed to be making a movement in the direction of Ili. "Under the spur of Yakub Beg's move, and concerned for the safety of this trade route, Russia in 1871 moved troops into Kulja and occupied the territory of Ili. . . ." [20] To reassure the Manchu Court in Peking, Tsarist officials announced that the occupied area would be returned as soon as Manchu forces were strong enough to maintain effective control there.

Impressed if not intimidated by Russian military action, Yakub Beg agreed in 1872 to Tsarist proposals for opening Eastern Turkistan to Russian commerce. Up to then he had tried to seal off his state against Tsarist merchants, largely from fear that they might pave the way for political penetration. His sweeping commercial treaty with Forsyth in 1874 was doubtless intended in

[18] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 4–5.

[19] A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, "Russian Imperialism in Asia: Its Origin, Evolution, and Character," *Slavonic Review*, London, Vol. VIII, 1929–1930, p. 44.

[20] H. B. Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 3 vols., London, 1918, Vol. II, p. 331.

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large part to balance the British against the Russians. Worse still, from the Russian point of view, was Yakub Beg's action, during the winter of 1873–1874, in accepting arms from the Sultan of Turkey and the title of Amir — the latter in such a way as to make Sinkiang something like a vassal state of the Sultan. Turkey was then the bitterest of Russia's enemies and strongly under British influence. Tsarist officers considered Yakub Beg's action tantamount to waving a red flag in their faces.[21] The Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan concentrated troops in 1874–1875 in locations where they could best be deployed against Kashgar. Perhaps they actually would have been used against Yakub Beg had not a serious uprising broken out in Khokand, in 1875, draining off all Tsarist troops available in the area. In 1876, however, a Russian mission under Kuropatkin descended upon Yakub Beg and made a peremptory demand for strategic posts in the mountain passes west of Kashgar. Yakub Beg reluctantly but speedily acceded.

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Yakub Beg's position, by 1876, was in fact becoming very difficult. To the west and north stood the menace of unfriendly Russia. To the east, the Manchu pacification force under the indomitable Tso Tsung-t'ang was moving slowly but relentlessly in Yakub Beg's direction, having already occupied Barkul, Hami, and Kuchengtze. Tso's forces, moreover, were by 1876 receiving at Kuchengtze (a little more than one hundred miles east of Urumchi) important grain supplies from the Russians — thanks to an agreement negotiated in 1875 between Tso and the famous Russian explorer, Colonel Sosnovskii. Funds to purchase that grain came in part from loans to the Manchus by British banks in China.

The British, still interested in preserving Yakub Beg's realm — for, despite their loans, they did not believe that the Manchus would be able to reconquer Eastern Turkistan — tried to medi-

[21] Kaufmann, the Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan, is said to have spoken of Kashgar as "*une création de Monsieur Forsyth*" and to have charged the British with making a strong Muslim state out of a hitherto unimportant country. (Louis E. Frechtling, *British Policy* [an unpublished Oxford dissertation], p. 62 *n.*)

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ate between him and the Manchus. Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister to Peking, proposed to the Manchus in 1876 "that Yakub Beg would surrender should China allow him to keep his kingdom under Chinese suzerainty. When the offer was reported to Tso he memorialized the throne that the status of Yakub was purely a domestic question and if Britain wished to create a buffer state in Central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory." [22] Whether or not Yakub Beg felt himself cornered, he did dispatch to London his nephew and chief adviser, Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora. Wade also journeyed on leave from Peking to London, and secret negotiations began on the basis of Wade's formula. Wade acted as intermediary for the Manchu minister in London, while Sir Douglas Forsyth served as go-between for Yakub Beg's envoy. Meanwhile Tso's soldiers penetrated deeper and deeper into Sinkiang. Even before a decisive battle was joined, Yakub Beg's forces became confused and disheartened, and Yakub Beg himself took (or was given) poison and died.[23] In the ensuing disorder Manchu dominion was quickly reasserted over the entire province, except for Russian-held Ili.

The Age of Stable Empires before the Russian Revolution

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The Russians were in no hurry to return Ili. They had expected the Manchus to win, and their grain supplies had played a significant part in the victory. But the Tsar did not intend to go unrecompensed. As early as March 1876 a conference of the half-

[22] A. W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1944, Vol. II, p. 766, article on Tso by Tu Lieh-che.

[23] There are many conflicting accounts of Yakub Beg's death. Mohammed Yusuf Effendi, a Turkish officer — one of the three originally lent as "instructors" by the Sultan in 1873 — has left us a valuable eyewitness account. His version is that Yakub Beg became prostrated after bleeding from the nose. Previously he had been despondent but not ill. The cause of the bleeding is unknown, but Yusuf Effendi believed "the probability is that the Ameer was poisoned." Statement of Mahd. Yusuf Effendi, September, 1878, in *Parl. Papers*, House of Commons, 1880, Vol. 78 (*c.* 2470), pp. 21–23. According to Bales, "the Chinese seem to have had no doubt about Yakub Beg taking his own life." (W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang*, Shanghai, 1937, p. 365, citing *Nien P'u*, VIII, p. 22).

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dozen highest Tsarist officers concerned with Siberia and Turkistan met in St. Petersburg and laid down a policy toward Eastern Turkistan. "Russia would keep Kulja from the Manchu power," they decided, "until an agreement was reached whereby the Tekes River valley remained within the [Tsarist] empire, commercial privileges were granted to Russian traders, and an indemnity paid to Russians for losses suffered during the rebellion in China. The provisions of the subsequent treaties with China compare remarkably closely with this *projet*." [24]

Negotiations for the withdrawal of Tsarist forces from Kulja led in 1879 to the initialing of a draft treaty. Russia was to retain the western part of the Ili area, the valley of the Tekes River (an affluent of the Ili River) and certain strategic passes. Also, Russia was to be given sweeping advantages in the overland trade with China and an indemnity to defray the costs of occupying Ili. The provisions of this treaty were violently denounced in Peking, and a sentence of decapitation was passed on the envoy who had agreed to them. For a time it looked as though the Manchus would rather fight than accept them. Repeated British advice made the Manchus realize that if they went to war the only outcome would be the collapse of the dynasty. Reluctantly, a new envoy of the Manchus signed at St. Petersburg in 1881 a treaty almost identical with that of 1879 — the chief change being the return to China of the Tekes River valley and the strategic Muzart Pass. The sentence of decapitation on the earlier envoy was not carried out.[25]

[24] Frechtling, *op. cit.*, p. 485. Frechtling found in the archives of the British Foreign Office documents describing the meeting in March, 1876, in St. Petersburg. "*F.O.* 65/957, Loftus to Derby, September 26, 1876, No. 444, secret; and enclosure, Hon. F. A. Wellesley (Military Attaché) to Loftus, September 18, 1876, No. 20, secret. This was one of the highly confidential Russian documents which Wellesley obtained through judicious bribery."

[25] Frechtling criticizes sharply previous writers on China's international relations who have characterized the treaty of 1881 as a "bloodless diplomatic triumph" for China (*cf.* Morse, II, p. 338). In Frechtling's view, Russia, by retaining the western part of Ili, ended up with *more* than the Tsarist officials had expected at their key conference in March 1876. It

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In addition to their general disappointment over the outcome of the Yakub Beg affair, the British in India were deeply disturbed by military intelligence received from the second Forsyth Mission. Several of its members took roundabout routes from India to Sinkiang, exploring the passes through the Pamirs between Russian Turkistan and Kashmir. They confirmed earlier suspicions that troops and wheeled artillery could cross the mountains with relative ease.[26] The Viceroy therefore prevailed on the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1876 to agree to take under his wing the several mountain chiefs controlling the southern approaches to the passes. Kashmir also consented to the stationing of a British officer in Gilgit, the pivotal point of the mountain country.

Later and more thorough reconnaissance in the 1880's demonstrated that no significant military force from Central Asia could approach India by way of Kashmir. British apprehension about danger of invasion from the direction of Sinkiang diminished, though anxiety about the area never completely disappeared.[27]

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might be more appropriate to call the treaty of 1881 not a "bloodless" triumph for China, but a "hollow" one.

Implicit in the judgment on the 1881 treaty pronounced by Morse, Cordier, and writers who have followed them is the assumption that Russia really meant to keep all of the occupied Ili area. In this connection it is noteworthy that the most recent detailed British account of the crisis over Ili from 1879 to 1881 notes that "Russian administrators [in Kulja], not knowing how long they were to remain, had not undertaken any work of development—a fact which tells against the idea that they had from the first a settled intention of keeping what they had got." (V. Kiernan, *British Diplomacy in China, 1880 to 1885*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 39.)

[26] East of the Pamirs, suspicions about the possibility of wheeled vehicles crossing the Karakoram through the Chang-Chenmo Pass had been voiced in 1869 by Col. Charles L. Showers, who wrote that "Messrs. Shaw and Hayward confirm Mr. W. H. Johnson's account of the easy gradients and general practicability of the Chang-Chenmo route for wheeled carriages throughout." (See Showers's memorandum of August 20, 1869, reprinted in his *Central Asian Question*, London, 1873, p. 10.) For Shaw's later opinion of the impracticability of the Chang-Chenmo route, see his note added to the English translation of Terent'yev, pp. 108–109.

[27] A tentative Tsarist move in 1878 no doubt helped to keep British nerves on edge. After being forced to give up some of Russia's recent gains in the Black Sea area the Tsar called for some anti-British diversions in Central Asia. As part of these, "General Kaufmann was ordered to move from Sam-

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After the Tsarist occupation of Merv in 1884, British officials were affected by what the Duke of Argyll called an attack of "mervousness." Russia was soon accused of fostering disaffection in Sinkiang. Sir Halliday Macartney voiced fears in 1886 that "the Russians are preparing a great 'coup' in that direction [Kashgar]." [28] To keep an eye on Tsarist activities in the area, England requested special facilities for British trade there. British intelligence officers were instructed to assess the capacity of the Manchu Empire to hold on to Sinkiang, should Tsarist forces in Siberia and Central Asia attempt to move farther south. It was in this connection that Colonel Mark Bell, Director of Military Intelligence in the Army of India, made a trip overland from Peking to Kashmir, via the borderlands of the Manchu Empire; at the same time, the twenty-three-year-old F. E. Younghusband made a parallel journey by a more difficult route through the Gobi to Sinkiang and over the mountain barrier to India. The reports of these and other travelers intensified British fears about the future of the Manchu Empire; moreover, they strengthened Britain's desire to attain some kind of formal status in Kashgar — particularly since the Russians, acting under the treaty of 1881, had been maintaining a Consul General there. All that the British were able to obtain, however, was the right, beginning in 1892, to station there a "Special Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir for Chinese Affairs." One of the first holders of this post was George Macartney, son of Sir Halliday Macartney.

Despite the worries of the British about possible Russian activity in Sinkiang or dickerings with the mountain chieftains of northernmost India (and similar Russian fears about British dealings with local potentates in southernmost Russian Turkistan), a basis of accommodation between the two great powers was found. To neither power was Sinkiang an area of major impor-

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arkand to Balkh, Bamian and Kabul, while General Abramov received orders to lead a column from Samarkand to Chitral and Kashmir. Nothing happened except some futile groping in the Pamirs; as one of the generals admitted later, 'We did not know either the ground to be traversed or the population we were to meet.'" (Cheshire, p. 96.)

[28] Cited in Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

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000 tance. They were both preoccupied with more serious rivalries in Europe, the Near East, and the Far East. In the 1890's, therefore, they worked out what amounted to a tacit agreement to let Sinkiang remain a backward, neutral zone, a buffer area between the two great empires. A key step forward in this process of accommodation was the delimitation in 1895 of Russian and British "spheres of influence" in the Pamirs; the follow-up to this was the Pamir Boundary Commission of the same year. Its chief work was to make certain that the Tsarist and British Empires would be separated from each other by a narrow finger of Afghan territory, the Wakhan Valley, which, it was agreed, would be considered to extend across the high mountains until it touched Chinese territory at the western edge of Sinkiang.

By the close of the nineteenth century there were no longer any sharp differences of opinion between Britain and Russia over Sinkiang. Britain's fears about Russia were distinctly lessened after the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.[29] In the comprehensive settlement in 1907 of Anglo-Russian differences, Sinkiang was not so much as mentioned. Speaking in London in 1909, George Macartney (then British Consul in Kashgar) praised Russia for its restraint in Sinkiang and virtually termed Russian policy there one of "conspicuous moderation." The improvement in Anglo-Russian relations about this time is usually attributed to common fear of Germany. A British writer points out that both powers were also moved by fear of growing unrest among the peoples of Asia, and cites a striking quotation of General Kuropatkin in his report as War Minister in 1900 to Tsar Nicholas II: "India in the 20th century would be a burden for Russia. In Asia there is arising a struggle of the non-Christian regions against the Christian ones. In this struggle we are on the side of England."[30]

[29] That alliance made the Japanese watchdogs of the British against Russia; when the treaty was renewed in 1905, at the close of the Russo-Japanese War, a new provision was added whereby the two parties guaranteed each other's "special interests," not only in the Far East, but in the region of India as well.

[30] Cheshire, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

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The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave rise to a fresh set of fears about the future of Sinkiang, but did not upset Anglo-Russian harmony in the area, which persisted right through the outbreak of war in 1914 and down to the Soviet Revolution of 1917.

This chapter may be concluded with two suggestive quotations. The first is from the aggressive Tsarist General Skobelev, who penned in 1881 his famous remark: "Without a serious demonstration towards India, in all probability in the direction of Kandahar, it is impossible to think of a war for the Balkan Peninsula." Skobelev's afterthought, however, is not cited so frequently: "It would be possible to give up the whole of Central Asia for a serious and advantageous alliance with England."[31]

The final quotation comes from a recent work by a distinguished British authority who served for thirteen years as Adviser to the Foreign Office on the Far East:

> Throughout the nineteenth century the expansion of Russia in Asia was the favourite bogy of British statesmen of all schools of thought. Occasionally a voice would be raised to point out that a sprawling, loose-knit and somewhat slack and inefficient empire such as that of Russia was not really capable of embarking on and carrying through so desperate an enterprise as the invasion and conquest of India, but it was always a voice crying in the wilderness. We continued persistently to overrate the offensive capacity of Russia as much as later on we underrated that of Japan. Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand why, when our chief fear was the threat to India, we should from the earliest times so persistently have thrown ourselves across Russia's path in the Far East. In other parts of the world we definitely disclaimed the role of the "Knight Errant of the world careering about to redress grievances and help the weak." We interfered only when a threat to British interests gave us a definite *locus standi*, but it is difficult to see what important British interest was threatened by Russian expansion in northeastern Asia in the middle of the nineteenth century. A realistic foreign

[31] Cited in Cheshire, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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policy, such as that adopted by our rivals on the continent of Europe, might well have encouraged such a development as tending to lessen the risk to India.[32]

[32] Sir John Pratt, *War and Politics in China*, London, 1943, p. 94.

CHAPTER III Chinese Policies in Sinkiang

The Crushing of the Moslem Rebellion

BEFORE Sinkiang became a Chinese province in 1884 this western borderland was known to the Chinese as *Hsi Yü* ("the Western Region"). The story of China's relations with this area is a long one. As early as 115 B.C. Emperor Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty began to send envoys to Hsi Yü with lavish presents, and by 36 B.C. nearly all the kingdoms of Hsi Yü had recognized the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor. In the late Han Dynasty about fifty kingdoms were asked to send hostages to China, some of whom were returned, with Chinese wives or Chinese troops, to succeed to the local thrones. One kingdom was set against another in a policy of "divide and rule." Military expeditions were sent — the largest, under General Li Kuang-li, comprising 100,000 troops — and a series of able commanders, aided by cavalry and military colonization, continued to keep order among the oases of the Tarim Basin up to the beginning of the third century A.D., when the Han Dynasty fell. 175*

After several centuries of confusion, a Chinese reconquest of Hsi Yü took place under the T'ang Dynasty when the Western Turks were defeated in Jungaria. The Chinese Emperor established two military governorships, one north and one south of the Tien Shan, and from 657 to 751 the oasis kingdoms acknowledged Chinese suzerainty.

Chinese policy during the T'ang period was more aggressive and resourceful than it had been under the Han Dynasty. Embassies were sent not primarily to offer bribes but to secure information. Instead of individual hostages, large numbers of Iranians were brought from Hsi Yü to Kansu and Shensi as settlers.

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*175 Not only were Iranian soldiers used in military campaigns but Iranian and Uighur generals were appointed in the Imperial Service. Military and civil administrations were expanded and developed on both sides of the Tien Shan. By 742 there was a Chinese frontier army with a total strength of 490,000 men and more than 80,000 horses, and ten marshals had been appointed to supervise the frontier military bases. Then, in a battle near the Talas River in 751, the Prince of Tashkent, aided by Arabs, disastrously defeated the Chinese, and the Inner Asian kingdoms were freed from Chinese rule.[1]

The next Chinese reconquest of Hsi Yü was under the Manchus in the second half of the eighteenth century; and after the Yakub Beg rebellion during the latter part of the nineteenth century Sinkiang became a Chinese province. Manchu policy in Hsi Yü was militarily much weaker than that of the Han Dynasty, and politically inferior to that of the T'ang. The crude and cruel nature of the Manchu policy was shown by their unprecedented massacres in Jungaria and in the Uighur revolts in the Tarim Basin which culminated in the Yakub Beg rebellion.

For the suppression of this rebellion, the Chinese (Manchu) Government for the first time in history resorted to foreign loans. In 1876 Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Chinese general from Hunan who had already done much to subdue the Taipings and prove himself loyal to the Manchu Imperial Court, was appointed commander in chief of the Sinkiang expedition. His second in command was Liu Ching-t'ang, who proved himself so able that later he became the first governor of Sinkiang. At Suchow in Kansu he accumulated a stock of grain large enough to last his army for two years. When his army reached Komul, Barkul, and Kuchengtze, it was divided into two groups. The best soldiers remained in the regular army, while the less able-bodied garrisoned the three cities, and, as colonists, raised their own food by farming.

Liu Ching-t'ang, continuing the westward advance, captured Urumchi and Manass. His troops then joined another column

[1] Fan Wen-lan and others, *A Short General History of China*, Shanghai, 1947, p. 279 (in Chinese).

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south of the Tien Shan, and Kharashahr, Toksun, and Turfan fell in quick succession in 1877. Yakub Beg, then at Kurla, committed suicide upon receiving this news. In the autumn of 1877, Kucha, Bai, Aksu, and Uch Turfan were taken by the forces under the overall command of Tso Tsung-t'ang. In the beginning of 1878 the four western cities of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yangi Hissar, and Khotan were also taken.[2] The people, who had been too heavily taxed by Yakub Beg to sympathize with his regime, were glad to welcome Tso's army. 175 *

Before the Sinkiang campaign was completed, however, there had been a serious debate in China as to its real worth. Li Hung-chang, the Viceroy of Chihli (now Hopei), and Pao Yuan-sheng, the Governor of Shansi, believed that the reconquest of Sinkiang should be abandoned in order to concentrate energy on coastal defense. Tso Tsung-t'ang, on the other hand, strongly advocated the continuation and completion of the land campaign in the Northwest, and even pointed out the great danger of not taking and garrisoning Urumchi.

According to Li and Pao, "Sinkiang is the limb but coastal defense is the heart of China. The capital is near the sea, and is closely linked with coastal defense. In case the capital is lost, there would be no use in holding Sinkiang. The Northwest land expedition therefore is not so urgent nor so important as coastal defense."[3] Second, it would be financially difficult and militarily risky to push the campaign beyond Suchow. The suppression of the Taipings had already heavily drained the national treasury, and the demands of a Sinkiang campaign would raise serious financial problems. As time went on, it was argued, the chances of military success would decrease.[4]

According to this view it was almost impossible to look after the defense of both the coast and the northwest land frontier, and to keep Sinkiang would in any case be a burden to China,

[3] Yao Hsin-an, "Development of Sinkiang policy toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty," in *Hsi Pei Yen Chiu* (Northwestern Research), Peiping, 1932, No. 3, p. 32 (in Chinese).

[4] Yao Hsin-an, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–29.

[4] *Ibid.*

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*175 because Sinkiang was not a revenue-yielding region and would have to be heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. Sinkiang would also be a disadvantage in international relations, because China was not strong enough to ward off Russia, Britain, Persia and Turkey, all of which had interests in Jungaria or the Tarim Basin. It would be more practical to give up Sinkiang than to attempt to keep it temporarily. In this connection, the unwarranted fear of Persia and Turkey is an interesting revelation of the limitations of the factual knowledge available to the Manchu Court.

Li Hung-chang therefore advised the Imperial Court to withdraw the Northwest expedition and to settle some of the troops as colonists, not in Sinkiang but in Kansu, in the Anhsi and Tunhuang areas, where they would be available as a permanent frontier militia. The local governments of Ili, Urumchi, Kashgar, and other areas should be acknowledged as Chinese protectorates or tributaries, similar to Annam, Korea, or the Miao, Yao, and T'ai tribal "principalities" on the borders of Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan.

In direct opposition to Li Hung-chang's policy of abandoning the Sinkiang expedition, Tso Tsung-t'ang vehemently advocated the suppression of the Yakub Beg rebellion and the preservation of Sinkiang. Tso's reasons may be summarized as follows: Sinkiang was of the utmost strategic importance to North China, in that the defense of Peking had to rely on the military posts at Kalgan, Uliassutai and Kobdo, and the defense of Mongolia depended on the security of Sinkiang. China's seaboard was not threatened by the foreign powers — which were interested only in obtaining commercial privileges, and not in the occupation of any territory which would involve them in military and civil administrative expenses. In order to have a firm hold on Sinkiang it would be necessary to keep Urumchi, as well as Barkul and Komul to the east and Chuguchak to the northwest. Tso argued that Jungaria was strategically more important than the Tarim Basin, and therefore he would not listen to any idea of retrenchment until these posts in northern Sinkiang were captured and well administered.

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Tso was genuinely convinced of the importance of Sinkiang. When the British Minister in Peking suggested to the Manchu court that Yakub Beg's realm might be treated as China's protectorate, Tso vigorously opposed the idea. Again when the Chinese Minister in London tolerated the British proposal of recognizing a separate kingdom in Kashgar, Tso countered, as described in Chapter II, by suggesting that if the British had been sincere in their intentions toward Kashgar, they should have ceded some Indian territory to it, and that if the British Minister in Peking had wanted to negotiate he might better have gone to Tso's own headquarters at Suchow.[5] With this resolute attitude and with a firm military policy, Tso Tsung-t'ang moved troops from Jungaria into the Tarim Basin and conquered it.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century China was virtually ruled by a triumvirate consisting of Tso Tsung-t'ang, Li Hung-chang, and Chang Chih-tung, the famous Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan. Chang leaned more toward Tso's policy than toward Li Hung-chang's, and advocated the sending of a Chinese mission to St. Petersburg for new negotiations regarding Ili.[6] Perhaps the Manchu Court in Peking ultimately decided in favor of Tso Tsung-t'ang's policy, out of respect for the military records of the Imperial Ancestors.[7] Since Jungaria and the Tarim Basin had been conquered and consolidated by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in the middle of the eighteenth century, it would have appeared to be neglect of filial piety if the Imperial Court had not restored Sinkiang, including Ili, to the empire.[8]

Tso Tsung-t'ang's policy in Sinkiang was marked by his caution in selecting civil and military officials and by his harshness

[5] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936, especially the preface by Ch'en Hsun-tze.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Yao Hsin-an, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[8] In 1871 an independent Khanate was organized in the valley of Ili, headed by Abil-Oghlu. It became a Russian protectorate as soon as Russian troops entered the region and occupied it. The population of the Ili region in 1900 was about 170,000 and that of Chuguchak in the same year was 130,000. (See *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, St. Petersburg, 1903, Brokgaus i Yefron, pp. 805–809.)

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*175 against the Tungans or Chinese Moslems, in order to obviate future rebellion. He employed many of his own relatives and supporters from Hunan Province in his administration, and this accounts for the fact that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Hunan officials almost completely dominated the Sinkiang administration. While Tso regarded the Uighurs as rebels, he regarded the Tungans as traitors, because they were Chinese in language, and largely Chinese by descent. Partly out of hatred against them as traitors and partly in order to "divide and rule," Tso massacred the Tungans in great numbers but showed the greatest clemency to the Uighurs, the Kazakhs, and the Mongols.

Even after the conclusion of Tso's military campaigns in the Tarim Basin there were debates among high officials and in the Imperial Court as to the status of the reconquered region. Finally the view championed by Tso Tsung-t'ang was adopted by the Manchu Emperor. On November 18, 1884, an Imperial Edict was issued which made Sinkiang a province (*Hsin-chiang*, "the New Territory," or, as it is frequently translated, "New Dominion").[9] Urumchi, under the Chinese name of Ti-hua, was proclaimed the capital and more than twenty district administrations were organized.

565 The Chinese in this new province may be classified in four
167 categories, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. First are the descendants of criminals and officials who were banished from China during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Second are the families of military and civil officers in Sinkiang, mostly from Hunan, Yunnan, Kansu and the Northeastern (Manchurian) Provinces. Third are the merchants, including money-changers from Shansi, traders from the Tientsin area, and brick tea merchants from Hupeh and Hunan. Fourth are the peasants, whose immigration began in 1776, when an Imperial Edict provided for a subsidy for those who would settle in Sinkiang.[10]

[9] *Tung-hua hsü-lu*, 1*a*–1*b*, Kuanghsü 66; *Ta Ch'ing Te Tsung Ching Huang-ti Shih-lu*, 190, 27a–28a; and *Ch'ing Shih Kao, Pen-chi*, Vol. 23, 17a.

[10] Wang Hsien-chien, *Tung-Hua Lu* (Collection of State Papers), Imperial Edict of June, 1776.

Merchants from Tientsin have flourished as far north as the city of Kulja in the Ili Valley. Nearly twenty years ago a British observer remarked that "successful merchants at Kulja come from the towns of Tou Liu and Yang Liu Ch'ing near Tientsin; the commerce of Ili has been kept in the families for generations, and considering the numbers of relations and connections every Chinese has, it is not to be wondered at that Tientsin people form a whole community, ranging from barbers to landowners, at Kulja." [11] 441

Ever since Sinkiang became a province a small Chinese minority has ruled it by the indirect methods which many colonial governments have found effective. The traditional Uighur and Kazakh and Mongol feudal structures have been left more or less undisturbed, with the existing Begs and princes used as instruments of Chinese rule. In Sinkiang, just as in Sikang and the southernmost parts of Yunnan, the result of this indirect rule is an administration with a Chinese upper stratum and an indigenous lower stratum. The chief defect of this system is that instead of promoting political and administrative progress, it fortifies and preserves the feudal system, and hinders the evolution of a more modern form of society. 631 648

While bribery, corruption and venality are almost endemic in the lower stratum of administration, the quality of the upper administration is naturally subject to the policy of the governor or the chairman of the provincial government. At this top level Chinese policy has passed through three distinct stages. From 1884 to 1933 there was a period of about half a century dominated by an old-fashioned feudal bureaucracy. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin and Governor Chin Shu-jen can best be described as the last of the old imperial bureaucrats, though both served under the Chinese Republic. Then followed a decade of war lord rule from 1933 to 1944, under General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whose policy was at first liberal and later harshly repressive. Finally, from 1944 until Sinkiang became enveloped by Chinese Communism on the east as well as Russian Communism on the west,

[11] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Jan. 1931, Vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 140.

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Kuomintang policy in this frontier region can best be described as one of fitful opportunism in the face of chronic emergency.

Feudal Bureaucracy, 1884

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Of all the feudal bureaucrats in Sinkiang the most able was Yang Tseng-hsin. He was born in Yunnan, though his family originally moved there from Nanking. After having successfully passed the Imperial Civil Service Examinations, he was appointed district magistrate in Kansu and later promoted to be prefecture head and regional administrative head (Taot'ai) in that province. His record was so good that it attracted the attention of Wang Shu-t'ang, Commissioner of Civil Affairs in Sinkiang, who recommended his appointment as Taot'ai of the Aksu region. Still later he became Taot'ai (Intendant of the Circuit) of Urumchi and Barkul. In 1912, after disturbances accompanying the Chinese Revolution, the Governor of Sinkiang resigned and made Yang Tseng-hsin his successor. Yang negotiated with separatist leaders in Ili, prevented a Moslem revolt in Komul, quickly suppressed a rebellion of the Ko Lao Hui (Elder Brethren) secret society in the Tarim Basin, and unified the whole provincial administration.

Most of the important military and police officers under Yang were from Yunnan. These were young men, enthusiastic about the new Chinese Republic. When in 1916 General Ts'ai Ao in their distant home province of Yunnan raised the banner of revolt against Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to set up a monarchy, they wanted to join the Republican movement. Because Yang Tseng-hsin refused to join, they plotted to kill him, but the plot was discovered by one of his intelligence agents. The steps that Yang then took showed his alertness and cunning.

First he called the Yunnanese officials before him to answer the charge. When they denied it, he executed his own intelligence agent to convince them that he believed they had been falsely accused. He then had their families moved into his own residential quarters. Shortly afterward, when he had to entertain an inspector from the Peking Ministry of Education, he invited all

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the important Yunnanese officials to the feast. There he had his bodyguards murder two of them right in the dining hall; the rest were imprisoned or banished.[12] 175 *

Of middle height, with a strong face, Yang looked remarkably dignified; but he was a cunning and suspicious person. He ruled the province as an autocrat, taking very little notice of the Central Government in Peking. Though the central authorities made several attempts to depose or retire him, he kept his position by a mixture of bribery and force. Officials sent from Peking were either held up at his headquarters until he was sure that they did not or could not oppose him, or given presents and politely sent back. In the fifteen years of his rule he built up a family hierarchy, posting his relatives from one end of the province to the other. In 1927 all the district magistrates in southernmost Sinkiang, from Keriya to Kashgar, with two or three exceptions, were related to him either directly or by marriage.

Throughout his rule, Yang was troubled by the fear of revolt, and showed an extreme caution in handling people and affairs. Chinese and foreign newspapers were regularly censored. Any news that might encourage disturbances was excluded from the province as far as possible. No newspapers were permitted in the Uighur or Kazakh languages.[13] The telegraph office at Yang's headquarters was attended to by the Governor himself. He locked and unlocked the door every day, and the office staff were not allowed to talk with outsiders. He himself took custody of all important documents, which could not be consulted, even by heads of bureaus, without his permission.

Yang made an important change in the lower or "native" administration at the level of the Begs, or Uighur "headmen." At some time prior to 1910, and probably shortly after Sinkiang became a province, the Chinese administration had given these 175 * 622

[12] This story is told by Hsieh Pin, in his *Account of Travels in Sinkiang*, Shanghai, 1925, p. 135 (in Chinese). The author was the inspector from Peking who was present at the feast.

[13] W. Bosshard, "Politics and Trade in Central Asia," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 4, 438; also Hsieh Pin, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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*175 Begs the Chinese designation of *Hsiang Yeh* ("District Elders").
622 Chinese magistrates came and went, but these Hsiang Yeh often held office for twenty or thirty years, or even for life. In this way the Uighur District Elder, solidly entrenched, often had an advantage over his superior, the temporary Chinese magistrate. Not infrequently a wealthy and locally powerful Elder, dismissed by a higher Chinese official, was able to obtain reinstatement when there was a change of administration. In 1915 Yang Tseng-hsin found a device which undermined this kind of local strength. He ordered that District Elders must first be locally elected; then recommended by the Chinese magistrate; and finally appointed by himself. After appointment, the District Elder might be dismissed at any time, but had the privilege of re-election.[14] The significance of this ladder of election, recommendation, and appointment was that it was also a ladder by which talebearers could reach the provincial capital and make accusations against locally powerful men.

*175 As a bureaucrat of the old school Yang was both generous in cultivating good will and severe in punishing offenses, with the result that the tales told about him reflected the popular conviction that even in justice he was despotic. According to one of these tales the old Governor, while walking in the streets of his capital like a Harun al-Rashid, saw a soldier stealing boots from a shop. After watching him successfully remove fourteen pairs, he shot him.[15] At the same time, he was generous to Russian refugees in Sinkiang; for many of them he found employment, to others he gave money allowances. It was also said that he gave money for the education in Peking of the son of Fan Yao-nan, his Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the man who in the end murdered him.

In his policy toward the non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin followed tradition in setting one people against another, and also in exploiting quarrels between factions within

[14] Tseng Wen-wu, *Chung Ku Kin Ying Hsi Yü Shih*, Shanghai, 1936, p. 592 (in Chinese).

[15] Anonymous, "His Excellency Yang Tsen-hsing," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929. Vol. 16, pt. 1, pp. 88–89.

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each nationality. Under Manchu rule, the Torgut Mongols of Sinkiang had been favored against the Kirei Kazakhs. The basic rights to pasture were considered to belong to the Mongols, and Kazakh clans or tribes were treated as "tenants" of Mongol tribes. Disputes over primary and subsidiary rights, and over the use of migration routes, forested lands, and water were frequent. It was traditional also to exploit antagonisms between nomads and settled peoples, and among the settled groups themselves.[16]

When Yang Tseng-hsin came to power there had been a revolution in Outer Mongolia as well as in China. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might make common cause with Outer Mongolia, Yang turned his favor away from them and toward the Kazakhs. The Mongols were forbidden to carry arms, but the Kazakhs were allowed to hire arms from the Chinese provincial forces. An exception was made, however, for the Kharashahr division of the Torgut Mongols, who were most distant from Outer Mongolia and whose territory lay strategically between the Ili Valley and the Tarim Basin. This one group of Mongols was allowed to maintain a good cavalry force, trained by Russian Cossacks.

Yang was not unaware, however, of the modern aspects of nationalism. In a memorial to the National Government at Peking in 1925, when revolutionary influences were stirring all over China, he pointed out that power and privilege had been the basic factors in Pan-Islamism among all the Moslem peoples in both Europe and Asia. His idea of the appropriate policy in Sinkiang can be seen from the following quotation:

> Only by a Republican federation can racial antagonisms be gradually dissolved. Most important of all is to realize political and administrative reform. The land of the Moslems should not be regarded as "fish or meat" — an object of exploitation. It must be demonstrated that the indirect rule of the Chinese is superior to the autonomy of the Moslems.

[16] M. Nemchenko, "The Colonial Regime and Agrarian Relations in Sinkiang," in *Problems of China*, Moscow, 1931, 8–9 (3–4), pp. 181–190 (in Russian).

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*175 Otherwise it would be difficult to avoid internal conflicts and to ward off aggression from without.[17]

He was also fully aware of the underlying weakness of Chinese rule in this distant frontier province. In the same memorial he wrote:

> It is a pity that what is called five races in one family [Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans] has been only nominal and has not become a reality. Chinese officials, without a sense of moral obligation but full of ideas for selfish gain, are rarely talented in administration. There are too many bad officials and too few good ones. This is why there have been more days of trouble and fewer of tranquillity. This is true of all provinces, but it is worse on the frontier. It will be impossible for the Chinese officials to control the Moslems permanently unless administration is greatly improved.[18]

*175 231 441 In keeping with the ideas expressed in his own memorial, Yang Tseng-hsin made certain attempts to improve the economic situation in Sinkiang. As early as 1915 he put an end to the monopolization of the trade in silkworm eggs. In Yarkand, Khargalik, Guma Bazar, Khotan, Lob, and Keriya especially Chinese magistrates had been accustomed to import silkworm eggs from Russia and India. These they sold to the peasants, charging over three taels and sometimes as much as five taels for a case of eggs that cost one tael at most.[19]

*175 651 In 1916, Yang made an attempt to end the special form of *corvée,* known by the Manchu term *wula,* widely prevailing in such frontier provinces as Sikang, Szechuan, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, under which officials and travelers with official authority can requisition food, lodging, and transport. The requisitioning is done through local officials, and is a source of abuse because of the extra requisitioning which the officials exact on their own be-

[17] Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.,* p. 599.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 595–596.

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half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued. 175* 651

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent. 175* 426 655 661

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private 175* 426 661

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426 loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the
661 complete withholding of government loans.[20]

More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's
*175 policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to
439 limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change
652 its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established
436 in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

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The maintenance of different exchange rates in different parts of the province enabled the Governor to keep a political check on remittances. The undue concentration of money in any one part of the province, possibly indicating preparations for a political move of some kind, would be detectable through the resulting pressure on exchange rates. 175 * 436

Until the Russian Revolution, Tsarist Russia had by treaty the right to maintain branches of the Russo-Asiatic bank at Urumchi, Ili, Chuguchak, and Kashgar. (After the Russian Revolution, these branches continued to operate for some years under French protection.) Like other foreign banks in China, the Russo-Asiatic bank had the right to issue its own paper currency. In 1916, under the stress of war financing in Russia, it suddenly increased its note circulation in Sinkiang from one million to five million rubles.[22] Then, when the Russian ruble fell, it dragged the Sinkiang tael with it, thus aggravating the inflation in Sinkiang. In that year the total provincial revenue was a little over 5,200,000 taels and the budget deficit amounted to more than 700,000 taels. The most important source of revenue was the tax on cultivated land, which then totaled 10,500,000 *mu*.[23] The gold mined in Sinkiang in that year, under government license or monopoly, was worth less than 5000 taels. 175 * 436 648

The Provincial Government at this period had no money for irrigation schemes which might have opened large areas for cultivation. Poor finance and inflation not only hindered economic improvement through public works but intensified corruption among officials. While in all fairness it must be repeated that Yang Tseng-hsin was both an honest and a competent official by old mandarin standards, it must also be admitted that economic and political conditions toward the end of his rule were shrewdly summed up by the Swiss traveler Bosshard: 175 * 661

[22] *Hsi Pei Yen Chiu* (*Northwest Research*), Peiping, 1932, Vol. 6, issue of April 15, pp. 55 and 129 (in Chinese).

[23] The *mu*, a traditional land measure, varies from place to place. Six *mu* to the acre is often taken as an average figure.

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In Chinese Turkestan, where corruptness permeated all classes, advancement, like other marketable commodities, was bought and sold. . . . The result was that nothing was done which was not specially paid for, and the people were plundered in order that their rulers might grow rich. Such were the ways in which villages and towns were vampired.[24]

*175 648

As an official of the old school, Yang's attitude toward foreign civilization was definitely conservative. Though he was too courteous to show his feelings to foreigners directly, it is known that he disliked them. When a Chinese student attached to the Sino-Swedish Expedition under Sven Hedin asked him why he did not employ foreign engineers to introduce modern techniques into his province, he flew into a rage and said: "Yes, that is just like you students, ready to sell your country to the foreigner."[25]

Yet he was a realist in handling as best he could the international situations with which he was confronted. In 1912, when he was inaugurated as Military Governor, he said in an official statement:

> From the Han and T'ang Dynasties on, whenever China was at peace and powerful the frontier people became obedient; but whenever China was weak and in confusion they revolted. Today the situation has greatly changed. We are being threatened by Outer Mongolia and powerful foreign nations. We shall not be able to come back to Sinkiang if we once lose it.[26]

As soon as he took office as Governor in 1912, Yang Tseng-hsin had to concern himself with problems on the Sinkiang frontier with Outer Mongolia. Then, in 1916, there was a revolt of the Kazakhs in Russian territory, set off by a Tsarist order for la-

[24] Bosshard, *op. cit.*, p. 437.
[25] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 1, p. 89.
[26] *A Survey of Sinkiang*, edited by the Provincial Government, 1938, p. 111 (in Chinese).

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bor conscription.[27] When it was crushed, many armed Kazakhs crossed into Sinkiang, plundering and murdering as they swarmed in thousands over the frontier passes, especially near the mountain lake of Issik Kul. They then dispersed among the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. Governor Yang did not attempt to prevent their entry, and let them go where they pleased.

As soon as the October Revolution broke out in Russia, refugees began to enter Sinkiang. In 1920 and 1921 two groups of armed "White" (anti-Red) Russians retreated into Sinkiang. They totaled between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Some wished merely to retreat through Sinkiang into China proper; others wished to reach India; others attempted to join up with the counterrevolutionary Russian bands in Outer Mongolia. Yang, who had only about 10,000 troops under his command, dealt with the emergency cautiously but firmly. He disarmed some of the Russian troops and interned them in and near Kuchengtze. He then negotiated with Moscow for amnesty for all those who would return peacefully to Russian territory. At the same time, he asked for help from Moscow to dislodge armed "White" Russians from the Altai region on the Outer Mongolian frontier. He also took advantage of this emergency to revise the administrative structure of the Altai region — which before 1912 had been in some ways subject to the jurisdiction of the Manchu Amban in Kobdo, in Outer Mongolia, as well as to the provincial authorities in Sinkiang — a stronghold of Mongols and Kazakhs, by dividing it into three districts and three subdistricts.

In his dealings with the new Soviet regime across the frontier from him, Yang Tseng-hsin was cautious but not hostile. The National Government at Peking to which he was nominally subordinate was virtually powerless, and for some years had no relations with Moscow. He himself, however, had to deal with a dual

[27] *The Rising of the Year 1916 in Kazakhstan. Documents and Materials.* Edited by B. S. Suleimanov. Compilers: F. N. Kireev, Sh. Ya. Shafiro. Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. (In Russian). We have not had access to this volume but there is a review of it by M. Kim in *Questions of History,* Moscow-Leningrad, 9, 1948, pp. 111–13 (in Russian).

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heritage of Russian interests in Sinkiang and Chinese interests in adjoining Russian territory. In 1920 he closed the frontier toward Russia west of Kashgar — a move which may have been prompted by the fact that the British, who were especially hostile to the new Soviet regime, had strong influence in Kashgar and had, at the beginning of the Russian Revolution, used it as a subsidiary base for their activities in Russian Central Asia.[28] In the same year, however, he concluded a trade agreement between Sinkiang and the local authorities in Soviet territory. Under this agreement he encouraged the return of Russian refugees, while the authorities at Tashkent agreed to take a friendly attitude on the problem of the private property of Chinese citizens which had been affected by the Soviet program of confiscation.[29]

At the same time, the trade route through the Ili Valley was fostered as an alternative to that through Kashgar. Instead of the previous seven Russian consulates, there were to be only two, both in the Ili Valley. A Chinese consulate was provided for at Semipalatinsk and another — in spite of the fact that this was a local agreement made by a Chinese province, not by the National Government — at Verkhne-Udinsk, on the frontier between Siberia and Outer Mongolia. The reason for a consulate at the main gateway of trade between Russia and Outer Mongolia is not clear; there can have been little trade of concern to Sinkiang passing by this route. Most important of all, extraterritoriality was abolished and traders and travelers were made subject to the law of the locality where they happened to be.

This makeshift arrangement was superseded in May 1924 when diplomatic relations were restored between China and the Soviet Union under a treaty signed at Peking. In December of the same year a Soviet consulate was opened at Chuguchak; in the spring of 1925 one at Sharasume and one (already provided for under the provincial agreement) at Ining; in August, a Soviet consul

[28] Among accounts by British officers, see L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1922, and F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946.

[29] M. R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia*, N. Y., 1944, p. 62.

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general arrived at Uru[illegible] and finally toward the end of 1925 a Soviet consulate w[illegible]olished at Kashgar. Reciprocally, the previous "provincial" Chinese consulate at Semipalatinsk was made a consulate general, and consulates were opened at Tashkent, Andijan, Zaisan, and Alma-Ata.

In the period of civil war leading up to the establishment of the National Government of the Kuomintang, organized at Nanking by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, Yang Tseng-hsin continued to observe neutrality in China's domestic politics. In 1926, he feared that Sinkiang might be entered by the troops of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang, who was then retreating before the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. He therefore negotiated with Moscow and agreed to a Russian proposal for opening a motor service from the Siberian frontier to Urumchi. Since the Russians were at that time on good terms with Feng Yü-hsiang, to whom they had supplied arms (by routes leading across Mongolia, not Sinkiang), there is a suggestion that Russian good offices averted a retreat of Feng's troops into Sinkiang.

In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek broke off Chinese relations with the Soviet Union, Yang Tseng-hsin kept up his contacts with the Russians and with the staffs of the Chinese consular offices in Soviet territory within the field of Sinkiang trade. Thus on December 28, 1927, the Consul General at Semipalatinsk and his secretary sent a statement to the local newspaper in which they declared: "The Consulate at Semipalatinsk has nothing in common with Central China and is not able, consequently, to take upon itself the responsibility for events which have occurred recently in Central China. This consulate is dependent upon Western China, which does not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R." In conclusion the statement, as cited by *Izvestiya*, referred to "relations between Western China [Sinkiang] and the friendly Republic of the U.S.S.R. . . . so dear and so necessary for us, from the point of view not only of commerce but also of politics." [30]

Only in June 1928, when he ordered a change from the old

[30] *Izvestiya*, Moscow, Jan. 8, 1928.

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five-barred flag of the Chinese Republic to the new blue-field, white-sun national flag of the Kuomintang, did Yang Tseng-hsin acknowledge the Nanking Government; but in practice the internal administration of Sinkiang was scarcely affected. In this year, the Sino-Swedish Scientific Expedition, headed by Sven Hedin and backed by the authority of the Chinese Government, reached Sinkiang after a journey through Inner Mongolia. The movements of its Chinese members as well as its Swedish and German members were carefully circumscribed by the provincial authorities. Only reluctantly was Sven Hedin permitted to leave Urumchi for Komul; and in his own words his "reception by the Chinese officials of Hami was as disagreeable as that by the Sultan [of Hami] was the reverse." [31]

In the same year of 1928 Yang Tseng-hsin was assassinated, after he had ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years, dealing successfully with the events that followed the Chinese Revolution, the Outer Mongolian Revolution, and the Russian Revolution. When in 1928 he changed flags and nominally proclaimed allegiance to Nanking, he seems to have anticipated an early end to his career. He had transferred his enormous wealth to British and American banks, and placed his family in Manila, beyond Chinese jurisdiction.[32] To that extent, he was ready for the death that came to him at the hands of his trusted subordinate Fan Yao-nan, in a manner that recalled the way in which he himself, at the outset of his career as Governor, had murdered his Yunnanese colleagues.

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Fan Yao-nan, Yang's Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, gave a feast on July 7, 1928, on the occasion of the graduation exercises of the Government Law School in Urumchi. As that school used the Russian language in its curriculum, Soviet consular officials and other Russians were invited together with all the leading Chinese officials. Yang Tseng-hsin arrived with an escort of two hundred soldiers in addition to his regular bodyguards. Fan's

[31] Sven Hedin, "Hami or Kumul," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 92.
[32] Bosshard, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

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own bodyguards, of whom eighteen were serving as waiters, had 175*
red bands on their arms and Browning pistols in their sleeves. As soon as the guests sat down to lunch, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Fan's men fired on Yang Tseng-hsin and he fell dead at once. The commander of Yang's bodyguards and some other officials were also murdered, and the foreign guests fled.

Fan Yao-nan went at once to the Governor's office, took the official seals, and sent for Chin Shu-jen, Chief of the Political Department. Instead of going, Chin sent troops headed by the son of the commander of Yang Tseng-hsin's bodyguard, who had just been killed. They seized Fan and killed thirteen of his bodyguard. Fan is said to have been tried at once by a special government committee, and on the next day, July 8, he and a number of his accomplices were executed. Others were executed later. Chin Shu-jen was immediately chosen by the other officials as Commander in Chief and Chairman of the Committee [Governor] of Sinkiang.

Like Yang Tseng-hsin, under whom he had held high office for many years, Chin Shu-jen was a bureaucrat of the old school; but he was not to be compared with Yang in ability and wisdom. On becoming Governor he increased the number of secret service men — presumably out of fear. He entrusted all important posts to his relatives or men from his own native province of Kansu. He promoted one of his bodyguard to be a brigade commander. One of his younger brothers was made military commander at Kashgar; another became the head of the Military Bureau of the province.

Chin's administration was shot through with corruption. Land 175*
revenues were collected to almost double the legal amount, and 661
in this process the corruption of the Chinese officials intensified venality among the Uighur Begs. The working of gold at Keriya and of jade in the Khotan district was managed by private contractors, but the output was sold under government monopoly at high prices.[33] The export trade in newborn lambskins was also monopolized. With the backing of military and police power, the

[33] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, as already cited, p. 137.

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*175 661 lambskins were collected at only a tenth of the market value. Monopolies of this kind, through collection at the source of supply by the assertion of official authority, were common in China — especially in the frontier provinces. A Russian observer estimated that in Urumchi only 12 per cent of trade capital belonged to local merchants, 37 per cent to agents of foreign firms, and as much as 51 per cent to Chinese officials.[34]

*175 436 While Governor Yang had issued paper currency to a total of 10,000,000 taels, Governor Chin increased the inflation by expanding the issue to 145,000,000 taels. Under Yang, the paper currency had a uniform face value of one tael (subject to an exchange differential between regions, as described previously); under Chin, notes were issued in denominations of one, three, five, eight, ten, thirty, and fifty taels. At one time, a tael of silver (about one and one-third ounces) could be bought for two paper taels; by the end of Chin's regime, it took 80 taels in paper to buy a tael of silver.[35]

*175 Both Yang and Chin could be described favorably as "cautious" or unfavorably as "suspicious" in their dealings with foreigners. According to Sven Hedin: "Chin hated foreigners. He took a cynical pleasure in tripping them up, in hindering or frustrating their endeavors. . . . Marshal Yang had decided that a house should be placed at the disposal of the expedition so long as it remained in Sinkiang, arguing that our work was of benefit to the development of the province. For this house Chin demanded an unreasonable rent, which he made retroactive. For that matter, the narrow-minded despot treated everyone with the same meanness."[36] On the other hand, my wife and I, when traveling through Sinkiang in 1927, met with the most cordial treatment from Chin Shu-jen, who was then administrator of Aksu oasis.[37]

The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close

[34] M. Nemchenko, "The Colonial Regime and Agrarian Relations in Sinkiang," as already cited, p. 187.

[35] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, p. 136. Chin frequently issued paper notes, the total of which amounted to 145,000,000 taels.

[36] Sven Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* New York, 1936, p. 3.

[37] Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, Boston, 1930, pp. 304–306.

The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close 175* 67648

Chinese Policies in Sinkiang

to the Chinese frontier in the Ili region, naturally encouraged Sinkiang-Soviet trade, which in that year passed the level of 32,000,000 rubles. In the following year, 1931, shortly after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Urumchi was threatened by Ma Ch'ung-ying, the leader of a Moslem invasion from Kansu, who had already captured Barkul and Komul and was taking over the leadership of a Moslem rising within the province. Since Ma was accompanied by Japanese "advisers" and believed to be backed by Japanese militarists, he was not only a menace to the province but a danger to Soviet frontier interests. Chin Shu-jen, in order to obtain arms from the Russians, and because the rising cut off trade with China, signed a trade agreement in October 1931 which gave Soviet interests new privileges.

Under this agreement eight Soviet trade agencies were established, at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan. Customs duties on Soviet goods were reduced, and new Sinkiang-Soviet telegraph and radio communications were opened. Chin signed the agreement without authorization from Nanking and without reporting it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for this he was imprisoned when, later, he fled the province and returned to China.

Chin was forced out of Sinkiang by a combination of insurrection, invasion, and a mutiny of "White" (exile) Russian mercenary troops. The insurrection began in the Komul oasis in 1931 and was joined by Chinese Moslem (Tungan) invaders from Kansu. Urumchi was attacked in the winter of 1932 and again in January 1934. In November 1933 an Eastern Turkistan Republic was proclaimed in Kashgar. In the main, the rebellion was brought under control by June 1934; but as late as the fall of 1935 there were still 20,000 Tungans, who had originally come from Kansu, holding out in Guma Bazar on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin. It is estimated that these dark and bloody years cost about 100,000 lives. 175* 669

The original revolt in Komul was certainly precipitated by the weak and avaricious Chin. In the winter of 1930 the last Uighur ruler of the ancient principality of Komul died. His son and suc-

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cessor, who was opposed by the people, went to Urumchi to offer bribes for assistance. In the meantime the Chinese garrison commander at Komul advised the Governor to discontinue indirect rule of the oasis as a "native state," and to divide it instead into three administrative districts under appointed magistrates, thus making it possible to collect revenues directly. The advice was accepted, and the "natives" were alarmed by the fact that a new land survey threatened to double or treble their taxes.

The situation that developed illustrates the complexities of a multinational frontier province. Most of the people of the oasis had no strong loyalty to the old ruling house to which they had paid their customary taxes; but they resented the new direct administration which, though established in 1931, declared that back taxes for 1930 would also be collected. There was general hostility to the Chinese garrison commander. At the same time, a minority faction which supported the prince who was claiming the succession feared that he might be arrested in Urumchi.[38]

Into this situation there entered some eighty Chinese non-Moslem refugees from a drought-stricken district in the province of Kansu. The Governor ordered the magistrate of one of the three new administrative districts to provide for them, which he did by expropriating land cultivated by Uighurs. The Uighurs were transferred to new land, not yet brought under cultivation. It is a general tradition in Chinese frontier provinces that settlers of such land should be exempted from taxes for the first few years; but in this case the Uighurs were assessed for the same taxes that they had paid on their old land, while the refugees to whom this land had been given were exempted from taxes for three years. In addition to this injustice, the salt bureau of Komul embarked on a program of forced sales. Everyone was either to buy a quota of salt every day, or pay cash for a "salt certificate."

Revolt was touched off when an "infidel" (non-Moslem) Chinese tax collector tried to force the parents of a pretty Moslem

[38] Tu Chung-yuan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang*, Hankow, 1938, p. 65 (in Chinese). Actually the prince was not harmed in Urumchi, because while there he bribed Chin heavily.

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girl to give her to him in marriage. The people rose and killed not only the tax collector but the Chinese refugees from Kansu. Thousands joined the revolt. Delegates were sent to Kansu to solicit help from Ma Ch'ung-ying, a young chieftain belonging to the most famous, powerful, and warlike Chinese Moslem clan in Kansu,[39] who was then in command of the 36th Division, who though nominally troops of the National Government were actually his personal followers. With only 400 Tungan cavalry, Ma Ch'ung-ying successfully attacked Barkul, Ch'ichiaoching ("Seven-cornered Well," on the main truck route from Kansu to Urumchi), and Komul. After suffering a wound he retired to Kansu, but returned to Sinkiang in May, 1932.

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Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Chameleon War Lord

In the winter of 1932 Ma Shih-ming, a subordinate of Ma Ch'ung-ying, marched to the outskirts of Urumchi. Under Chin Shu-jen's orders, the defense of the city was taken over by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a professional soldier of Manchurian origin. Sheng took command of over a thousand troops who had reached Urumchi from Manchuria. These troops, after fighting the Japanese, had retreated into Siberia, where they were interned. The device of repatriating them to Chinese territory in Sinkiang had enabled the Soviet authorities to strengthen the Provincial Government of Sinkiang with a reinforcement of trained Chinese soldiers. As non-Moslems, they could be counted on to resist the insurrection; as men from the Manchurian provinces, they were disposed to be more loyal to Sheng Shih-ts'ai than to any other officer. With the aid of this force, Sheng drove Ma Shih-ming back to the south.

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Then in April 1933 "White" Russian troops in Urumchi mutinied, joined with local Moslems in an attack on the provincial headquarters, and killed Chin Shu-jen's younger brother, who was head of the Military Bureau. These Russian troops had been recruited or conscripted among exiled Russians living in the

[39] He is related both to Ma Pu-fang, war lord of Ch'inghai (Kokonor) Province, and to Ma Hung-k'uei, war lord of Ninghsia Province.

*175 province — who, though considered formidable fighters, had been badly treated and irregularly paid. Their mutiny broke Chin Shu-jen's nerve, and he fled to Russian territory, whence he returned to China. The remaining officials in Urumchi then elected the head of the Education Bureau, Lin Wen-lung, as acting provincial Chairman, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai as acting commander of the military forces.

[701] Ever since the regime of China's first modern war lord, Yuan Shih-k'ai, a provincial governor who does not control his own troops has usually been overshadowed by the commander of the provincial military forces. It was not surprising, therefore, that Sheng Shih-ts'ai soon dominated his nominal civil superior. Sheng was born in Liaoning Province, in the south of Manchuria, and educated partly in Shanghai and Nanking. He went to Japan in 1915 and again in 1925 to study political economy and military science. During his second stay in Japan he was already under the patronage of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1926–1927 he served on the staff of Ho Ying-ch'in, Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek on the "Northern Expedition" which resulted in the capture of Nanking and Shanghai and Chiang's rise to power. At this time it was not sure whether or how the Kuomintang would be able to take over the Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria), and it was advisable to have in reserve a promising young Northeastern officer. Eventually, however, the Northeastern Provinces came over to the Kuomintang under their own war lord, the "Young Marshal" Chang Hsüeh-liang, which left no room for Northeasterners who did not belong to his personal following. The hopes of Sheng Shih-ts'ai went into eclipse, and for lack of other prospects he went to Sinkiang in 1929 on the personal staff of a bureaucrat who had been appointed General Secretary of the Provincial Government. By 1930 he had worked up to the position of Chief of the General Staff Office of the Frontier Army.

*175 As soon as he took over the real power in 1933, Sheng an-
185 nounced an "Eight-point Policy" for Sinkiang, which was to become famous: equality between nationalities; religious freedom; immediate rural relief; financial reform; administrative reform;

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extension of education; encouragement of self-government; judiciary reform.[40] [185]

Before he could do much in the way of reform, however, Sheng had still to cope with the Moslem rebellion led by Ma Ch'ung-ying. While Sheng was taking the first steps toward power in the north, Ma was threatening to secure control in the south, most of which he now held from Komul in the east to Kashgar in the west. By June 1933 Ma's forces had also entered Kuchengtze, in Jungaria, and begun to push toward Urumchi. By this time, however, Ma's ruthlessness and his plundering of the countryside were weakening him by arousing the hatred even of his fellow Moslems. At Komul the shops were closed and the villages nearby had become heaps of rubble. At Ch'ichiaoching, on the main trade route, the streets were littered with the bodies of dead horses. Trade through Turfan had been suspended. 175*

As Sheng Shih-ts'ai at the head of his Manchurian troops went out to meet him, Ma cut south across the mountains and took Turfan, main valve of the trade routes both eastward to China and westward to Kashgar. At the beginning of 1934, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai had to detach some of his forces to face a fresh revolt in Ili, Ma advanced once more from Turfan against Urumchi — only to meet, this time, his decisive defeat. Sheng had been able to obtain war materials from the Soviet Union, including even planes. He threw back Ma's attack and harassed his retreat by bombing the road between Toksun and Kharashahr. Ma himself barely escaped to Kucha, and fled on to Kashgar. There he remained from April to June, 1934; but when Sheng's troops approached, he fled once more — this time to Soviet territory. He was reported to have been seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936.[41] For some years, Soviet policy was to hold an exceptionally advantageous position. Sinkiang was now to be governed by a non-Moslem Chinese who depended on Russia not only for arms but for economic co-operation. Yet the chief alternative 175* 648

[40] Tu Chung-yuan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang*, Hankow, 1938, pp. 67–72 (in Chinese).
[41] Hedin, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

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*175 648 claimant to power, the Moslem leader Ma Ch'ung-ying, was living in Soviet territory.

There can be no doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in addition to being dependent on good relations with Russia, was genuinely opposed to Japanese imperialism — which, like many Chinese who had studied in Japan, he thoroughly understood. There is also no doubt that Ma Ch'ung-ying had Japanese agents at his headquarters — agents who can be described as adventurous forerunners rather than acknowledged representatives of Japanese policy. Had Ma won, Japanese policy could have followed up these agents; when Ma lost, Japan had nothing to say in public.

The operations of Japanese agents, however, did not end immediately with the flight of Ma to Russia. As late as 1937, from February to October there was a revolt in Kashgar in which the Japanese were accused of having a hand. In October 1937 Sheng told Tu Chung-yuan, a former fellow student in Japan who was then working with him in Urumchi, that he knew of Japanese intelligence agents in the Moslem strongholds of Ninghsia and Ch'inghai (Kokonor) — Chinese frontier provinces adjoining Inner Mongolia and Tibet — and that Japanese remittances to Sinkiang through the coastal Treaty Port of Tientsin in recent months had amounted to more than three million yen. He believed that another ten million yen or more would be sent into Sinkiang. Tu Chung-yuan describes how four important government officials and some merchants with traitorous connections were then arrested.[42]

*175 185 In the meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had embarked on a period of real reform. His "Eight Points," announced in 1933, have already been listed. In the following year he declared that Sinkiang was to be considered "the New Sinkiang," and that his "Eight Points" were to be implemented through "Six Great Policies." The first of these was anti-imperialism (subsequently to be interpreted in a strongly anti-British as well as anti-Japanese sense); this was followed by rapprochement with the Soviets,

[42] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 62–63, 97.

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racial or national equality, clean government, peace, and reconstruction. [185]

Uighurs and Kazakhs were immediately appointed to high posts in their own districts. All non-Chinese nationalities were allowed to promote education in their own languages and schools. The number of students increased from 3000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and in addition 329 non-Chinese students were sent to the Soviet Union to study medicine, veterinary science, engineering, and agriculture. Under the provincial Bureau of Education in Urumchi, five branch bureaus were opened: at Sharasume, Chuguchak, Kulja, Aksu, and Kashgar. 175* 178

The provincial newspaper *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* set up branch offices at the same five places, and another at Chingho. Editions were published in seven languages. "Cultural associations" began to function for Uighurs, Kazakhs, Tungans, Tatars, Russians, and Chinese. Of these the most active was that of the Uighurs, the majority people, with 8 regional and 41 district branches, supporting 1736 primary schools with 124,174 students, and also conducting teacher training and adult education.[43]

For a time, there was even relatively clean government. Under Yang and Chin it had been possible for a magistrate to pocket 80,000 to 100,000 Chinese dollars a year. At the beginning of Sheng's administration, inspectors and auditors were sent out to prevent such speculation. More than any other reform, however, this one depended on the degree to which the system as a whole really functioned in a democratic way. After 1940, when Sheng was officially appointed Chairman of the Provincial Government, he became more and more autocratic and suspicious, and an old provincial saying began to be heard again: "The provincial Chairman may be less fat than the Bureau head, and the Bureau head may be less fat than the Regional Administrator, who in turn may be not so fat as the District Magistrate" — the District Magistrate, as the closest to the people, being the official with primary access to sources of "squeeze."[44]

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–84.
[44] Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84.

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*175 Like many another official insuring himself against a fall from power, Sheng in his last years in Sinkiang put by an immense fortune. In 1945 when, after a series of political deals, he had returned to Chungking, the man who had formerly been the head of his Reconstruction Bureau in Urumchi was quoted as saying that he had contributed 500,000 Chinese ounces of gold to the Kuomintang party treasury; and it was further alleged that it was because of this gift that Chiang Kai-shek did not take action against him for his record in Sinkiang.[45]

In 1940, when Sheng was at the height of his power, a British official who visited Sinkiang informed me that as far as he personally was able to form an opinion, from his own observation and from documents such as the Governor's own speeches, the system of government was decidedly autocratic. He compared the authority of the Governor in Sinkiang to that of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in China, but he had the impression that the Governor was not much influenced by any of his lieutenants. The Governor inspired fear, and demanded that his authority be consulted even in minor details.

On the other hand, this observer conceded that the policy being carried out was relatively progressive and enlightened. He considered that the policy was clearly under the influence of developments close at hand in Russia. He attributed the existence of the secret police, and such practices as convictions and executions without trial, to the fact that while the Governor was determined to hold onto power, he was a prey to suspicion and fear. In his opinion, the Governor could not be called a follower of either the Kuomintang or the Communists. The facts, as this British observer saw them, were that the geographical situation and mixture of peoples in Sinkiang made a special policy for the province necessary.[46]

[45] Sa Kung-liao "Talks about Sinkiang," in *Wen Tsia*, Shanghai, March 21, 1946, No. 22 (in Chinese).

[46] In 1937 and 1938, while the Chinese National Government was at Hankow, between its withdrawal from Shanghai and its retirement to Chungking, and while co-operation between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang was relatively cordial, Sheng Shih-ts'ai invited a group of

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Sheng himself is quoted by the man who was the director of his provincial newspaper as saying that he was not a member of the Kuomintang, so that "It is strange that they should have elected me a member of the Kuomintang Central Control Committee!"[47] 175*

After coming to power with Soviet military assistance, Sheng negotiated a Soviet loan of five million gold rubles for reconstruction purposes. This loan, which involved no political or economic conditions, carried an interest of 4 per cent.[48] Sheng also asked for Soviet technical assistance. In 1937 he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction, during the course of which he obtained a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans. In 1938 the Provincial Commercial Bank was reorganized as the Sinkiang Commercial Bank, with partly private and partly Provincial Government capital. It issued new notes, and the currency was to a large extent stabilized. By the end of 1939 the old paper currency was declared invalid. During 1939 credits of $17,872,500 (Chinese) were granted to the bank to promote commercial and agricultural capitalization. Funds from the Soviet loans were used to build more motor roads, and trucks in use increased from only 20 in 1933 to 400 in 1938 and eventually to 3000 in 1941. In the same period, 1350 miles of telephone lines were installed. By 1939, there were some 20 factories in the province, and over 400 tons of Soviet machinery had gone into the construction of a refinery at an oil field northwest of Urumchi. 175* 178 648

The development of aviation involved the National Govern-

Communist advisers from Yenan to come to Sinkiang. He later executed some of these advisers and jailed the rest. Miss Anna Louise Strong has kindly let me see her unpublished notes of interviews with survivors of this group, at Yenan, after the war. These notes suggest that the Communists are inclined to claim credit for all the reforms of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his "progressive" period, even before 1938; but the record as a whole seems to make it clear that the reforms were initiated by National Salvationists and other liberals, before the arrival of the Communist advisers. The currency reform of 1938, however, appears to have been the work of Mao Tze-min, brother of Mao Tze-tung, who was executed by Sheng Shih-ts'ai in 1943.

[47] Sa Kung-liao, *op. cit.*

[48] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

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*175 178 648 ment as well as the Provincial Government. Under the Nanking Moscow Nonaggression Agreement of 1937, a through air rout had been stipulated. Under the Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreemen of June 16, 1939, a Sino-Soviet Aviation Corporation was organ ized. By the terms of these agreements, Russia obtained priorit over other countries in air traffic, jointly with China, over Sin kiang.

*175 648 185 436 In 1941 Sheng decreed a second three-year plan. The economi activities of the Provincial Government were expanded throug "Foreign Trade and Local Resources Companies." Reconstruc tion bonds were issued; and the combined effects of inflation i China and a trade boom in Sinkiang raised the exchange valu of the Sinkiang dollar from the low point of 4000 to one Chines national dollar in 1934 to a rate of six to one national dollar i 1942. At the time Sheng left the province in 1944, the rate wa five provincial dollars to one national dollar. The boom wa largely promoted by an arbitrary linking of the "official" ex change rate between American dollars and Soviet rubles, whic enabled Sinkiang to buy from the Soviet-operated Sinkiang Trad ing Corporation at artificially favorable rates. During this perio many Russians entered the province as technicians, but — ac cording to the British observer already quoted, who visited th province in 1940 — there was nothing to suggest that Soviet ad ministrative control was being forced on Sinkiang.

*175 648 In retrospect, it is clear that Sheng Shih-ts'ai was guide throughout by opportunity rather than by principle. Even whil carrying out reforms, which for some years were encouragingl successful, he did not lose his concern for his own interest. Thi concern led him into a policy of sudden shifts in his relation with Russia, in contrast with the policy of steady neutrality pur sued so long and so successfully by Yang Tseng-hsin. From 193 to 1940 he leaned toward the Soviet Union and away from th National Government of China. From 1941 to 1942 he cut off hi relations with the Russians roughly and suddenly, and threw him self on the support of the National Government in a manner sug gesting he had little confidence in his own power in his ow

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province. In 1944, however, he tried — this time unsuccessfully — to break away again from the Kuomintang and the National Government, offering to assume a position of satellite dependency on the Soviet Union.

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During the first period, Sheng Shih-ts'ai ran Sinkiang very smoothly, on the three wheels of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, democracy, and increased recognition of the identities and interests of the "nationalities" or ethnic groups of the province. In October 1938 he held a provincial congress of all nationalities, which condemned Japanese machinations in Inner Mongolia, pledged money to contribute ten airplanes to the Chinese Air Force, and promised to keep open an overland route through Sinkiang, facilitating the movement of Soviet supplies to China. Sheng himself visited Moscow, ostensibly in search of medical care.[49] Two years later, on December 8, 1940, he joined other Chinese leaders in condemning the Nanking puppet regime under Wang Ching-wei. In 1941, after the New Fourth Army incident (when Kuomintang troops attacked Communist-led troops in the Yangtze Valley), Sheng told a correspondent of *Ta Kung Pao,* China's great independent newspaper, that Sinkiang was devoting all its strength to transport work and reconstruction in order to hasten victory, and that all parties and cliques in China should continue in their united resistance to Japan.[50]

When Germany invaded Russia, Sheng was informed that he could no longer receive material aid from hard-pressed Russia. Later, with Nazi forces besieging Leningrad and Stalingrad, he appears to have been convinced that Russia, even if not defeated, would no longer be one of the dominating great powers. He turned about-face and made contact with Chungking, indicating that in his belief a man who holds power in Sinkiang must rely on outside support in addition to concentrating control within the province in his own hands. Adjusting his rule within Sinkiang to his new orientation toward Chungking, he converted his earlier

[49] Sa Kung-liao, *op. cit.*
[50] Chen Chi-ying, *A Bird's-eye View of Sinkiang,* Chungking, 1941.

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*175 and relatively democratic policy into authoritarian repression of
648 the Uighurs and other non-Chinese national groups, and began to round up not only his Communist advisers but liberal Chinese as well.

*175 The sudden shift of policy was marked by the imprisonment and secret murder of Tu Chung-yuan,[51] a famous nationalist and liberal, once a schoolmate of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who had been invited to come to Sinkiang during the democratic period to head up cultural work, and had brought with him a considerable number of progressive young Chinese. By 1944 about 80,000 people had been imprisoned, including Sheng's own Soviet-trained brother and his wife. Torture was used to obtain confessions. Christopher Rand, correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, reported the case of a man "whom General Sheng's experts began to skin alive. After a square inch of skin had been removed, the victim wisely signed a 'confession.' The terror conflicted badly with General Sheng's 'new deal' program. He imported teachers and experts from China to develop the province; then he would become suspicious of them, throw them into jail and proceed to import more of the same. His schools turned out an increasing number of literate men who might conceivably spread ideas among the people — and a diploma came to be a ticket to jail."[52]

The idea of a transportation route through Sinkiang but independent of Russia was explored — which meant an orientation more friendly toward Britain, although previously Sheng's "anti-imperialism," while emphasizing the menace of Japan, had also brought pressure on the trade between India and Sinkiang. In February 1942, however, when Chiang Kai-shek flew to India, he inspected part of an old trade route from Northwest India into Inner Asia which might be made part of a supply route to Sin-

[51] For some details about Tu Chung-yuan's activities in Sinkiang and his final fate at the hands of Sheng, see two articles by Sa Kung-liao, in *Kuo Hsin National News*, semi-monthly, Hongkong, Nov. 11 and 25, 1947, New Series, Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4 (in Chinese).

[52] *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1947.

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kiang. At the same time Chu Shao-liang, the general who was then the head of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters at Sian, flew to Urumchi to talk with Sheng Shih-ts'ai (who had once been a subordinate of his); and a British-educated official, Chaucer H. Wu (Wu Chai-hsiang), was subsequently appointed Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. As part of the same series of moves, the Chinese Moslem General Ma Pu-ch'ing, who could be expected to consider himself a potential rival of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, was appointed Pacification Commissioner of western Ch'inghai, a border region forming part of the Tibetan plateau and overlooking the "back doors" of the southern deserts of Sinkiang. 175*

For his successful mission Chu was offered, according to a Chinese report, a reward of 500,000 Chinese dollars, of which he accepted only a fifth.[53] Later in the same year, when Chiang Kai-shek was at Lanchow, capital of the province of Kansu, General Chu flew again to Urumchi, taking with him no less distinguished a person than Madame Chiang Kai-shek, together with Wu Chung-hsin, who was destined to become Sheng's successor in Sinkiang two years later.

In the fall of 1943 Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. The Treasury was then instructed to allocate ten million Chinese dollars a year for reconstruction in Sinkiang. Chungking undertook a program of widely advertising the prospects of colonization in Sinkiang. The province was compared with California before 1849, and its Altai region with Alaska before 1867. Refugees from a severe famine in Honan in 1942–1943 were sent out to Sinkiang. Over 4000 of them arrived at Kuchengtze, and 1500 reached Urumchi, but though each household was supposed to be allotted fifteen acres of land, the project was mismanaged and in the end the refugees became tenants and hired farm hands. 175* 167

In 1943 Chungking began to strengthen its position by sending 175*

[53] Sun Hai-cheng, "Chu Shao-liang on the Wu Chuan Shan," in *Hsin Wen Tien Ti* (monthly), Shanghai, No. 12, April 30, 1946 (in Chinese).

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officials and troops into Sinkiang. At the same time the Russians capped the main oil well they had been exploiting west of Urumchi, and carried their refinery equipment back to their own territory. They also withdrew the armored and motorized unit known as the Altai Volunteers. This unit, which included Soviet-trained troops and men recruited among the "White" or non-Soviet Russians domiciled in Sinkiang, had been stationed since the 1930's near Komul, where it could guard the eastern approaches to Sinkiang against the possibilities of a motorized Japanese raid through Inner Mongolia. Since by 1943 it was clear that the Japanese were no longer able to strike so far west, the withdrawing of this unit made it clear that the Soviet Union was not intending to challenge a reassertion of China's own policies in Sinkiang.[54]

For Sheng Shih-ts'ai himself, the comparisons between his period of dependence on the Russians and his new dependence on the government of his own country must have been ironic. The Russians had supplied him with a great deal of material assistance and had also looked with favor on his program of democratic reform, which had for the time being made him popular among the non-Chinese nationalities of the province. Under the assertion of Chungking control, he received very little material aid, while the officials appointed by Chungking encroached on his personal power. At the same time his abandonment of his reform program had destroyed his popularity among the non-Chinese.

By 1944, accordingly, Sheng was ready for another shift. The Russians, in the meantime, had held and thrown back the German invasion. It was evident that, at the end of the war, they would be much more powerful than Sheng had once thought. In February of this year, therefore, Sheng declared himself ill and declined to appear at official conferences. In April, he began to arrest officials loyal to Chungking. During June, students and teachers were also imprisoned, on charges of being involved in plotting. In August, more Chungking appointees were impris-

[54] Eleanor Lattimore, *Far Eastern Survey*, New York, April 11, 1945.

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oned without trial, and their property was confiscated.[55] With some 200 Chungking men out of the way, General Sheng, according to one report, "asked Generalissimo Stalin to incorporate Sinkiang into the Soviet Union. The Russian leader, who evidently had had quite enough by this time, refused. Chungking also had had enough, and decided to remove General Sheng by a delicate operation."[56] 175*

General Chu Shao-liang was again sent to Urumchi, and persuaded Sheng Shih-ts'ai to leave Sinkiang and accept the post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Chungking. (Under the Kuomintang, this Ministry had become a sinecure for men out of power, because of its inability to do anything challenging the interests of the landlords who had increasingly gained control over the Kuomintang.) On September 2, 1944, the provincial *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* published the news that Sheng had been transferred to Chungking, and on September 11 he departed from Urumchi airfield. His reign was over.

Breakdown of Chinese Frontier Policy

Yang Tseng-hsin, Chin Shu-jen, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai had one after another established themselves as the rulers of Sinkiang, and had then been "recognized" by the National Government. After the deposition of Sheng, on the other hand, the National Government was able to name four men in succession as its own appointees to the post of Chairman of the Provincial Government. These men were Wu Chung-hsin, Chang Chih-chung, Masud Sabri and Burkhan. The constrast shows that since 1944 Sinkiang has once more come within the orbit of Chinese national politics. 175* 635

After the surrender of Japan in 1945 the C.C. Clique and the Political Science Group became the main sources of Chinese national policy in Sinkiang. The C.C. Clique — the "Tammany" of 175* 665

[55] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Tides of the Dry Sea*, or *Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January, 1947, p. 19; also Shanghai edition of the same date, p. 21 (in Chinese).

[56] Dispatch from Christopher Rand, dated Urumchi September 22, 1947, in *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1947.

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*175 665 the Kuomintang, controlling more political machinery and more key appointments than any other faction — was known for its impatient policy of direct repression, and its preference for the use of force in extirpating any challenge to its supremacy. Its strength came from the brothers Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu, nephews of an early political patron of Chiang Kai-shek and confidential secretaries to the Generalissimo who helped to engineer his original rise to power. The Political Science Group — made up of experienced bureaucrats and administrators, with something of the subtlety and refinement of the old mandarinate — preferred moderation whenever possible.

Both factions, however, required a strong military leader as a pivot around which to revolve, and both always revolved around Chiang Kai-shek. They have been used by him, at his discretion, in alternating phases of policy. They represent different expressions of the Confucian tradition that the function of officials is not to represent the people but to rule over them. Despite the friction of rivalry between them they held basically the same view with regard to minority peoples within the Chinese realm: these peoples are not entitled to equal representation in a Chinese federation, but should be ruled over by the Chinese.

*175 642 This view differs from that of Sun Yat-sen, who definitely recognized the Moslem Turkis (the Uighurs) in Sinkiang as a distinct nationality. According to Article Four of his National Reconstruction Program, and also the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, all such "nationalities" in China are entitled to self-determination. Sun Yat-sen only developed this view fully at the very end of his life, almost certainly under the influence of Russian and Chinese Communist advisers, and probably under the influence of the successful example of the Soviet policy toward national minorities. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, however, this approach was abandoned by the Kuomintang. Even Kuomintang members who recognized the distinct nationality of such peoples as the Uighurs had no policy providing for self-determination in practice. The narrowest

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view of all is well expressed by Li Tung-fang, a historian patronized by the C.C. Clique, who asserted that the Uighurs are descended from the Huns, that the Huns (Hsiungnu) were in turn descended from the ancient Chinese, and that therefore there is no real difference of "nationality" between Uighurs and Chinese.[57] 175* 642

The latest trend of Kuomintang theory was to ignore self-determination, and to discuss instead "equality of treatment" and "promotion of autonomous government." Both formulas, as will be seen, are subject to very special interpretation. At the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek declared that the essence of nationalism was to liberate the Chinese and to treat all nationalities within China on a basis of equality. In November 1944 Sun Fo restated this view.[58] The practical limits of this approach were laid down by Li Tung-fang, in stating the opinion that self-government — not self-determination — should not be applied to a unit larger than a district within a province, and should never be extended to a whole province. Chang Chih-chung apparently feared that self-determination might lead automatically to secession and independence. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, when he was Governor of Sinkiang, he declared that though "scores of years or several centuries hence" Sinkiang might become independent, it could not be independent now.[59] Thus, in the later trend of Kuomintang theory, self-determination has apparently been fully identified with independence.

Under actual conditions in China, however, a demand for self-determination is not necessarily the same thing as a demand for independence. "Self-determination" is often in fact an assertion of the right to stay within the Chinese comity on the basis of a federation of provinces with equal status, and the demand for self-

[57] Li Tung-fang, "Are the People of Sinkiang Turki?" in *Altai*, Chungking, April 25, 1945, Vol. 1, No. 2 (in Chinese).

[58] Speech by Sun Fo at the celebration in Chungking of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State, November 1944.

[59] Speech by Chang Chih-chung published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese).

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*175 642 determination often stems not from separatism but from resistance to the assertion of a central dictatorship over outlying provinces.

Thus the *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin, in a Mukden dispatch of February 3, 1948, noted that "Perhaps the main cause of bitterness against the government among the Manchurians has been the policy of officials appointed by Nanking of treating the Manchurians as a people to be dominated militarily and exploited economically." The "Manchurians" are, of course, Chinese, closely related to the main stock of North China. The situation in Sinkiang, where most of the people are not Chinese, is similar but more marked. Thus even Masud Sabri, an Uighur who was regarded by other Uighurs as subservient to the C.C. Clique, felt constrained to say in 1945 that while the war against Japan was still going on the main characteristics of Chungking policy in Sinkiang were military domination by a large number of troops who were regarded as "human-faced locusts," and promotion of the kind of Chinese colonization that had contributed so much to such uprisings as that in Komul.[60]

*175 701 When Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang in September 1944 he left behind six divisions of his own troops. In addition, four divisions of Chungking troops had already entered the province. Two divisions of Chinese Moslem cavalry from Ch'inghai were added a year later, bringing the total up to twelve divisions. Strong fortifications facing west were then built, and though there have been a number of reorganizations, the total military force has remained at about 100,000.[61] The economic strain and social friction associated with the maintenance of such a force in a distant and thinly inhabited province have been described by a Chinese

[60] *New York Times*, January 30, 1948. The comment on troops by Masud Sabri is contained in his article "Regarding Politics in the Northwest," in *Altai*, Chungking, April 25, 1945 (in Chinese).

[61] This figure was reported by Frank Robertson, who in 1947 spent about eight months in Sinkiang. See his dispatch of January 28, 1948, published in *New York Times*, February 1, 1948. For military establishment at the time Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang, see press interview with Chang Chih-chung published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 4, 1947 (in Chinese).

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writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese, accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

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*175 665 from 1935 to 1937, and Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission from 1938 to 1944. During this period he headed an important and personally profitable mission to Tibet, and supported a land-grabbing colonization policy which did much to turn Inner Mongolian nationalism against China.

His appointment in Sinkiang was backed by General Chu Shao-liang, who has already been mentioned, who was then active on behalf of the C.C. Clique. The most important members of his staff were also members of the Clique, including Tseng Shao-lu, Secretary-General; Teng Chiang-hai, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Yu Tao-yun, Reconstruction Commissioner; and Hsü Lien-chi, Educational Commissioner. Only his Finance Commissioner, Lo Yo-wen, was an adherent of the Political Science Group.

*175 669 By the end of November 1944 Wu had set free most of the Chungking appointees who had been arrested by Sheng Shih-ts'ai;[65] but many prisoners who had no connections with the C.C. Clique or with Chungking remained in jail, and much confiscated property was not returned. Political refugees who had fled to a number of cities in China, and even to Mecca, India, and Afghanistan, were not allowed to return. The passport fee for a merchant leaving the province was first trebled and then multiplied by ten.[66] Inflation and corruption increased to the point where the saying became current in Sinkiang that "one Sheng Shih-ts'ai went out, but two came in."

Opposition to the new trend in Chinese rule was not long in crystallizing. A rebellion broke out in the Ili Valley in November 1944. Fighting lasted for more than forty days, until Chinese forces gave up the city of Kulja and withdrew. This rising, referred to in the Chinese political literature as "the Ining Affair," marked the opening of a new phase of nationalism in Sinkiang.

A regime calling itself the Eastern Turkistan Republic was set up at Kulja, headed by a council of three — an Uighur, a Kazakh,

[65] Yu Han, "Sinkiang Memoir," in *Tu Chih Wen Choi* (*Reader's Digest*), Shanghai, July 16, 1946, Vol. 1, No. 6 (in Chinese).

[66] *Hsin Wen Tsa Chih* (*News Miscellany*), No. 8, Chungking, March 15, 1946 (in Chinese). Under Sheng, the passport fee had been $150,000 (Chinese). By 1946 it had increased to $2,000,000.

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and a "White" or non-Soviet Russian, a resident of the region. The military leaders were Ali Khan Türe, Osman Bator (a Kazakh who later turned against the regime), and Abdugani Bator. Leaders in administration and propaganda were Akhmedjan Kasimi, Rakhimjan Klojaev, and Abulkhair Türe.[67] The Chinese residents of Kulja cautiously declared that they had nothing in common with the oppressive policy of the Provincial Government. The Sibos, holding agricultural land near the city, delivered supplies.[68] Uighurs and Kazakhs joined in the fighting; an important development, in view of the fact that the Ili Valley is the most important region in Sinkiang in which Uighurs do not form the largest part of the population.

An American correspondent who reached the region somewhat later reported that there was "no evidence" to support Chinese charges that the insurgents were armed with "modern Russian equipment."[69] Most of the Uighur troops were in fact without rifles, and were armed only with hand grenades. The most important mobile troops were Kazakh cavalry. After hard fighting through the months of July, August, and September, the Kulja regime extended its control into the Chuguchak region. The insurgent forces then turned eastward and drove to Manass, the important town near which the trade route from Urumchi divides, with one fork leading to Ili and the other to Chuguchak. The fighting at Manass was so severe that the population was reduced from 40,000 to 17,000, and the physical devastation was proportionately great.[70] By this time the Kulja insurgents were reported to have 40,000 men under arms, and were considered a grave threat to Urumchi itself. Crack troops from the command of Hu Tsung-nan, which throughout the war against Japan had been garrisoned in Northwest China to "contain" the Chinese Communists, were sent to Sinkiang, but failed to throw back the insurgents.

[67] *Revolutionary Eastern Turkistan*, Kulja, July 30, 1946, p. 1 (in Russian).
[68] Same publication, Dec. 26, 1946, p. 2.
[69] Frank Robertson.
[70] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, February 22, 1947 (in Chinese).

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At this point it was considered necessary to negotiate, and General Chang Chih-chung was sent from Chungking to Sinkiang in September 1945. Although a military man, General Chang, who has since become of steadily increasing importance both in Sinkiang and in Chinese national politics, has never been a war lord basing himself on a territory with troops of his own. After graduating from the Paoting Military Academy and studying in Germany, he was given command of a division and later of the Fifth Army. He took part in the defense of Shanghai against the Japanese in 1932, and later was made Dean of the Central Military Academy, since when he has not held active command of troops. From 1937 to 1939 he was Chairman of the Hunan Provincial Government; in 1940 he was aide-de-camp to the Generalissimo, and during the war he was head of the political training board of the National Military Council. Concurrently he was Secretary-General of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, a stronghold of the C.C. Clique. He has never been fully identified with either the C.C. Clique or the Political Science Group, but has been one of the few important men able to co-operate with either of them in specific enterprises. Although his known preference for compromise set him aside from the disciplined authoritarianism of the C.C. Clique, the Clique did not oppose his assignment to Sinkiang to attempt to settle by negotiation a situation that could no longer be handled by force.[71]

In the course of his negotiations with the Kulja insurgents, Chang Chih-chung had to make three journeys by air between Urumchi and Chungking, in September and October 1945 and January 1946. His first meeting with the Kulja delegates was promising. They were willing to abandon the "independence" of the "Eastern Turkistan Republic," if Chungking would grant autonomous self-government to the whole province of Sinkiang.

[71] In 1949, after serving as chairman of a six-man Kuomintang delegation to Peiping to attempt to negotiate peace with the Chinese Communists, Chang Chih-chung — with four other members of the delegation — blamed the failure of the negotiations on the unrealistic intransigence of the Kuomintang, and remained in Peiping, reconciling himself to a Communist-controlled future for China.

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Chang was willing to let Kulja retain its armed forces as a local "peace preservation corps" (a common arrangement in China), but insisted that Chungking retain top military command in the province and full authority over diplomatic relations.

The second conference took place in Urumchi in November, 1945. The insurgent movement had by then spread into the Tarim Basin. In the south of the province the government had lost control of Yarkand and Khargalik, and Khotan was surrounded by armed rebels. Chungking was unable to detach large forces for operations in Sinkiang. Although the war against Japan was over, delicate negotiations with the Chinese Communists were in progress. In this period, therefore, interesting parallel negotiations took place. While General Marshall, although America was regarded as primarily the friend and supporter of the Chinese Government, acted as mediator between the Kuomintang and the Communists, the Soviet Consul General in Urumchi, although Russia was regarded as friendly to the insurgents, acted as mediator between them and the Chinese authorities.

Between October 1945 and June 1946 there were eighteen official meetings and more than ten unofficial meetings. To enhance the prestige of General Chang in carrying on the negotiations, he was made Head of the Generalissimo's Headquarters for the Northwest.

The negotiations resulted in three agreements. The basic agreement comprised eleven articles. Attached to Article Nine of this agreement was a supplementary agreement on the reorganization of the Provincial Government. Both of these agreements were signed by General Chang and by three Kulja delegates — Akhmedjan Kasimi, Abulkhair Türe, and Bakhimjan Klojaev. A second supplementary agreement, attached to Article Ten and dealing with the reorganization of armed forces, was not signed until June 6, 1946 — on which day there was a grand celebration in Urumchi, and Wu Chung-hsin, as Chairman of the Provincial Government, telegraphed to all districts to release political prisoners.[72]

The main agreement provided for adult suffrage, with district

[72] *Ta Kung Pao*; Chungking edition, June 7, 1946 (in Chinese).

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officials to be elected locally instead of being appointed by the Provincial Government. The non-Chinese nationalities were granted the use of their own languages in primary schools, with Chinese to be taught as a compulsory language in middle schools. The Provincial Government was to be partly appointed by the Chinese National Government, partly nominated by Sinkiang provincial delegates. Moslem provincial troops were to be allowed Uighur and Kazakh as their languages of command. Their organization was to be brought in line with the national military establishment, but provincial troops and National Government troops were not to be stationed in the same places.

The first supplementary agreement dealt in detail with the fifteen members of the Provincial Government to be nominated by provincial delegates, and with the offices to be held by them. The second supplementary agreement dealt in detail with the organization, command, and expense of maintenance of Provincial Government and National Government troops, and provided for future agreement as to the places or districts where troops were to be stationed.[73]

If these three agreements had been carried out, the non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang would have achieved a large measure of self-determination and autonomous local administration, backed by the preservation of a part of their armed forces. Equality of treatment would have been promoted by this improvement in status. The agreements were, however, never put into full operation. Their implementation was held up principally by the delaying tactics of the C.C. Clique, whose devotion to the "leader principle" required a stubborn resistance to representative government.

Under the first application of the agreements, however, Chang Chih-chung replaced Wu Chung-hsin as provincial Chairman in July 1946. One of his Vice-Chairmen was an Uighur, the other a Tatar. Liu Meng-hsun, a close associate of the C.C. Clique, was appointed Secretary General, with a Kazakh and an Uighur as his

[73] The three documents were first published in full by the official Chinese Government Central News Agency, Nanking, June 29, 1946.

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deputies. Wang Tseng-shan, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Chao Chien-feng, Social Welfare Commissioner, and Ku Chien-chi, Vice-Commissioner of Reconstruction, were all active C.C. Clique members. 175* 669

With this mixed team, General Chang made a real effort to improve government, at least in Urumchi. A basic law for the province, in ten articles, was immediately adopted. Under this law officials were forbidden to engage in trade, and private banks were encouraged to increase production. Requisitions were limited and tax reduction was provided for, at least as a hope. All district councils and magistrates were to be elected within three months.[74] To implement this law, the government ordered the liquidation of the provincial trading corporation which had been set up by Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[75] (General Chang ordered 25,000 Chinese ounces of opium to be burned in front of his headquarters.) To reduce the danger of riots, intermarriage between Moslems and non-Moslems was forbidden. Taxes in arrears were canceled, and a reduction of taxes was promised for 1947.[76] To cover the budget deficit, General Chang went to Nanking to ask for an annual subsidy of $165,000,000 in Chinese dollars.[77] 175* 635

More than a hundred Chinese Communists who had been put in prison by Sheng Shih-ts'ai (many of them being men who had worked for him in his reform period), were released by Chang Chih-chung and sent to Yenan in a special convoy of trucks.[78] In taking this step, he was following consistently the line which for some years had marked him as a moderate man who favored compromise. Certainly General Chang was sincere in his efforts to reach a workable compromise in Sinkiang. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, for instance, he said, "Whenever I 175*

[74] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947, pp. 9–11 (in Chinese).

[75] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, August 13, 1946 (in Chinese).

[76] Details of sixteen tax reductions were published as an official announcement in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, January 12, 1947 (in Chinese).

[77] Same publication, April 11, 1947.

[78] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Shanghai edition, January 1947 (in Chinese).

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*175 found myself not in accord with the minority over a question, I always settled the difference either by negotiation or by concessions. For this reason, a false impression has been created among outside circles that we were too weak and permitted the group led by Vice-Chairman Akhmedjan to control everything." [79] This reference to unfriendly criticism may well have been intended for the C.C. Clique, with which General Chang had to contend on the one hand while negotiating on the other hand with the non-Chinese nationalists.

Compromise was, in fact, the policy of realism at this time. At the end of 1946 the National Government troops, over which Chang had some degree of authority, though not the authority of actual command, were unable to push beyond the Manass River. Products from west of the Manass, including gold, oil, coal, grain, flour, meat, and hides, were not coming into the Urumchi region. Most of the Uighur leaders, including many in the Tarim Basin, were still demanding that Nanking punish Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[80] They were unaware, presumably, that Sheng had already purchased immunity by his enormous gift of gold to the Kuomintang treasury.

*175 665 Against the realistic moderation of Chang stood the intransigence of the C.C. Clique. Its influence had penetrated into Sinkiang as early as 1942, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai was beginning to shift from reliance on Russia to dependence on the Kuomintang. By January 1943 a provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang and a branch of the Central Political Training Institute, both controlled by the C.C. "machine," had been established at Urumchi. By the end of 1946 there were more than 2000 graduates of the Political Training Institute; and early in 1947, when the first provincial congress of Kuomintang delegates was held, a Sinkiang membership of 50,000 was claimed.[81] As soon as General Chang became Chairman, branches of the Kuomintang (San Min Chu I)

[79] Speech by Chang Chih-chung, published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), August 14, 1947 (in Chinese).

[80] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, November 16, 1946 (in Chinese).

[81] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, March 1, 1947; also *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947 (both in Chinese).

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Youth Corps were set up at Urumchi, Aksu, and Kashgar. The C.C. Clique member controlling all of these activities was Ch'en Hsi-tseng, who was able to count on co-operation not only within the Provincial Government but on the part of the garrison commander and the police. 175* 665

Whereas Chang Chih-chung had no strong staff of his own, the C.C. membership penetrated all political ranks. In spite of the unpopularity of the Chinese, it was able to recruit members among all non-Chinese nationalities through its ability to open the way to public office. The Clique has never hesitated to use graft as an auxiliary to party organization, and accordingly in Sinkiang, as elsewhere in China, its party officers and magistrates and military officers affiliated with it have been accused of organized corruption.[82] Organized association with gangs is also widely attributed to the C.C. Clique, especially for the purpose of breaking up elections and popular meetings. Among "incidents" attributed to the C.C. Clique were the murder of a government delegate at Emin, near Chuguchak, in November 1946; a big riot in Urumchi in February 1947, in which five were shot and many wounded; and riots in Turfan, Toksun, and Shanshan during July 1947. The pattern follows that long established by the C.C. Clique in China, down to the detail of having such incidents reported in controlled newspapers in such a way as to imply that the blame for them lay on the Uighurs and other non-Chinese.[83] 175* 665 661

With a deteriorating situation in China itself, Chang's policy of moderation and compromise in Sinkiang was bound to appear more and more like a policy of temporizing, and to seem, to the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, more like a reluctant retreat 175*

[82] Detailed accusations in *Observer* (weekly), Shanghai, March 22, 1947 (in Chinese).

[83] See editorial in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 1, 1947 (in Chinese); also article by Chang Chi-yun (member of the C.C. Clique), in *Ta Kung Pao*, Tientsin edition, September 21, 1947 (in Chinese). The other side is given in a manifesto of Chinese in the Chuguchak district (under control of the Kulja dissidents), denouncing the Chinese riot of February 1947 in Urumchi, published in the Chinese edition of *Ta Cheng Min Sheng Pao* (*Justice and the People's Livelihood*), Chuguchak, April 30, 1947.

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*175 from reason and less like a hopeful, though cautious, approach toward reason. First deadlock and then crisis developed in the early months of 1947.

*175 186 In February of that year Akhmedjan declared that "the expression 'Eastern Turkistan' does not mean that we advocate an independent Eastern Turkistan. It means solely that the people have finished with the former policy of oppression and do not want it to continue. . . . The problem of our day is the confirmation of national unity [i.e. the unity of the "nationalities" of Sinkiang] and the putting into action of the democratic policy." He put forward his program under three headings: unification of all the peoples of the province; executive power to rest with the Uighurs and other non-Chinese nationalities, except for defense; and a Kurultai, or assembly of the nationalities of the province, to be the supreme judiciary body. He declared that in Sinkiang the supremacy of any one nationality was not needed. "The condition for peace and unity is unity of the nationalities and a democratic policy. This is written in the Kulja Declaration." [84]

Akhmedjan made the accusation, supporting it with considerable detail, that in many oases of the Tarim Basin elections had been interfered with by the police and the Chinese troops. People were beaten, students and teachers imprisoned, meetings forbidden or broken up, and once the military even boasted that they had the atom bomb with which to destroy Sinkiang.[85] While making a stand against Chinese claims to arbitrary authority, however, and by clear implication against the C.C. Clique influence in Sinkiang policy, Akhmedjan held out the possibility of reconciliation between the Chinese people as a whole and the non-

[84] The full text of this speech was published in *Sinkiang Gezeti*, Uighur language edition, Urumchi, February 19, 1947. Owing presumably to Chinese Government pressure, it does not appear to have been published in Chinese.

[85] The attitude of some of the Chinese military at this time was typified by the warning of Sung Hsi-lien, then the top military commander in Sinkiang: "If our first enemy is the Kulja party, our second is the nationalist group. The nationalists had better forget their slogan 'Turkistan first' or there will be trouble." See dispatch from Frank Robertson, *New York Times*, February 1, 1948.

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Chinese of Sinkiang. "In this province," he declared, "it is impossible to maintain peace by means of persecution, corruption, trickery, and fraud"; but on the other hand "the enemies of our people are not the Chinese nation, but those individuals who advocate oppressive government, who want imperialist policies, who are against rights for the people." [86] 175* 186

In April 1947 Chang Chih-chung made a tour of the most important oases of the Tarim Basin. In May, fortified presumably by the firsthand knowledge he had acquired, he made an important speech at Urumchi in which he put forward a Chinese policy countering the policy of Akhmedjan. There should, he pleaded, be no resort to revolution. Theoretically, Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic system of rule; but autonomy and democracy should be based on a choice between the Sun Yat-sen pattern and the Soviet pattern. The Kulja group, he asserted, because of its opposition to the Chinese Government, must be regarded as opposing the San Min Chu I or Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, and must therefore be pro-Communist. 175*

General Chang also dealt with a number of the substantive issues standing between the Chinese Government and the Kulja group. Akhmedjan, as the spokesman of the Kulja group, was willing to recognize the right of the Chinese Government to control the national defense of Sinkiang. General Chang, however, contended that reorganization of the six regiments in the three frontier regions of Kulja, Chuguchak, and the Altai district should be preceded by the complete surrender of those regiments to the Chinese forces. His demand in this respect was parallel to that of the Chinese Government in its 1945–1946 negotiations with the Chinese Communists, through the Marshall Mission: the Communists offered to reduce their forces and to place them under a united high command, but demanded that their identity as units be preserved and that the units continue to be stationed in Communist districts; the National Government insisted on its right not only to take over such forces but to disperse or reassign them. 175* 701.

[86] Akhmedjan, in the speech cited above.

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In addition to other minor demands, General Chang wanted the assent of the Sinkiang nationalist leaders to the building of a railway into Sinkiang. From the government point of view, this was a reasonable project for the linking of a frontier province to the main body of China. From the point of view of the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, railway communication meant the danger of being submerged by a flood of Chinese colonists.

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General Chang's final demand was that Sinkiang give up its separate provincial currency and adopt that of the National Government. From the Chinese point of view, this was a rational demand. From the Sinkiang point of view, it carried with it the danger that the wealth of Sinkiang would be freely pumped into China, without a compensating flow back from China into Sinkiang.[87]

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Before the deadlock could be broken General Chang gave up his post as Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. He retained, however, the post of Commander of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters, which gave him general supervisory powers in Northwest China and Sinkiang. He was succeeded as Chairman in May 1947 by Masud Sabri, the elderly representative of an Uighur family of rich landholders and merchants.

In 1904, at the age of seventeen, Masud Sabri had gone to Turkey to study. After eleven years, spent mostly in Istanbul, he returned to Sinkiang in 1915, strongly influenced by the Turkish nationalism of Kemal Atatürk. In 1934, after practicing medicine in Ili for several years, he traveled through Kashgar to India and then by sea to China, where he soon became associated politically with the C.C. Clique. Through the support of this clique, and not through any process of nomination by supporters in Sinkiang, he was made a delegate from Sinkiang to the Kuomintang National Conference of 1936 and subsequently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. During the war against Japan, the C.C. Clique placed him in the National Political Coun-

[87] The full text of Chang Chih-chung's speech was published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese). Note the long delay before publication, indicating the political tension during these months.

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cil. In 1942 he became a member of the National Government. 175 * 635

Thus in 1947 when Masud Sabri became Chairman of Sinkiang — the first "native" ever to hold that position — he did not come to the fore as the head of a movement originating in Sinkiang but as a "tame" Uighur who had long been the pensioner of the powerful C.C. Clique. The fact that he was not stepping up to the governorship from within Sinkiang but was returning after an expatriation of many years was underlined by his arrival from China in the company of General Sung Hsi-lien, commander of the Chinese "expeditionary forces" that had been sent into Sinkiang, and General T'ao Shih-yueh, provincial garrison commander.[88]

It is not surprising, therefore, that even before Masud Sabri's arrival several members of the provincial assembly signed a letter to General Chang Chih-chung protesting his appointment. On June 4, after his inauguration on May 31, no less than 63 members of the assembly out of 90 present adopted a resolution opposing him, while outside of the assembly the opposition to him was headed by twelve popular organizations.[89] Handbills distributed by these organizations stressed the fact that Masud Sabri had not been in Sinkiang when the nationalist risings began, that he had not shown himself as soon as Sheng Shih-ts'ai fell from power, and that he had no local record in either administration or leadership.[90]

In spite of these protests conservative Uighurs, especially landholders in oases occupied by Chinese forces, gathered around Masud Sabri in numbers sufficient to split the nationalist movement. With the backing of the C.C. Clique and the Chinese military, confirmation was withheld from elected members of the provincial judiciary, command appointments in the provincial peace preservation corps were held up, and district magistrates elected by local councils were forced to continue to take orders from the Chinese military. Out of 421 appointments to the police bureau in Urumchi only 48 were Moslems, with Chinese holding

[88] *Min Chu Pao* (*Democratic Daily*), Kulja, June 18, 1947 (in Chinese).
[89] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1947.
[90] *Ibid.*, June 24, 1947.

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84 per cent of the posts. Police orders were written only in Chinese, and Moslem members of the force were not allowed to carry arms. Moreover a secret police force continued to operate, although supposedly abolished under the "basic provincial law" of July 1946.[91]

Tension mounted. Only a month after Masud Sabri's inauguration the secret police and members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, supported by the regular police, attacked a moving picture theater where more than a thousand people were gathered and beat up members of the provincial assembly and a former Deputy District Magistrate from Turfan, and at the same time people in the street who had been reading a wall poster denouncing Masud Sabri were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned.[92] Pressure by Masud Sabri prevented the holding of a protest meeting which had been planned by Kulja members of the provincial assembly.

The split between Masud Sabri and the militant Kulja nationalists then became open. In July 1947 a group of twenty-seven members of the provincial assembly left Urumchi for Kulja; this group included representatives from Kharashahr, Turfan, Khotan, and Aksu as well as from the Kulja region itself. They were joined shortly afterward by twenty-two members from the Kashgar region, and finally in August the rest of the Kulja delegates withdrew to Kulja, headed by Akhmedjan Kasimi.[93]

From his supervisory position as a backer of Masud Sabri, General Chang Chih-chung in September addressed an open letter to Akhmedjan, as the leader of the dissidents, asking in effect if there was to be war or peace: "If you have no intention against peace, you will return to Urumchi and reopen negotiations with the government."[94] The Kulja reply, in November, denied that secession from China was intended and offered to return to Urumchi if the government would meet certain demands, includ-

[91] *Ibid.*, June 24 and 29, 1947.
[92] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1947.
[93] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 11 and 14, 1947 (in Chinese).
[94] *Time*, New York, October 6, 1947.

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ing the removal of Masud Sabri. In December Chang Chih-chung answered that the Chinese Government would not consider replacing Masud Sabri without an election; but at the same time he renewed his invitation for further negotiations. The Kulja response merely reiterated the demand for the removal of Masud Sabri.[95]

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In the meantime General Chang Chih-chung had returned to Nanking, where he submitted to the government a "five year plan" for the development of agriculture, forestry, mining, cattle raising, and industry in Sinkiang. In January 1948 the Chinese Government appropriated NC fifty billion dollars in the depreciated currency of the period as compensation for private property confiscated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A high official, P'eng Hsueh-p'ei, was sent on a six-week "fact-finding" tour of Sinkiang, and on his return urged immediate improvement of health and transportation facilities.

In the main, however, the situation continued at deadlock through the year 1948. The Chinese Government maintained a force of about 100,000 troops in Sinkiang, many of them American-equipped, and these troops were effectively immobilized in the civil war against the Communists. Opposed to them were troops of the Kulja coalition, mainly Uighurs and Kazakhs, whose numbers were variously reported at figures ranging from 20,000 to 60,000. These troops were frequently reported to be receiving aid from Russia.

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In military action, however, the most sensational events were not on the frontier between Kuomintang-held Sinkiang and the dissidents of the Kulja coalition, but on the Outer Mongolian frontier, around the knot of mountains known as the Baitik Bogda. These mountains are an outlying spur of the main Altai range, and stand at the edge of the Jungarian Desert of northern Sinkiang. When Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia, and China were united under the Manchu Empire, this frontier was not of great impor-

[95] Dispatch by John Roderick from Lanchow, Kansu Province (General Chang's headquarters), dated April 5, 1948, published in *China Daily Tribune*, Shanghai, April 7, 1948.

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*175 tance. The grazing grounds of the western slopes of the Altai were used not by Khalkha tribesmen of the main group of tribes in Outer Mongolia, but by Torguts and Ölöts of the Western Mongol groups of tribes, whose pastures were partly in northwestern Outer Mongolia and partly in Sinkiang.

*175 578 In the same region there were Kazakhs, whom the Imperial authorities had considered as "tenants" of the Mongols, paying the Mongols for the pastures that they used and having no claim to territory of their own. Some of these Kazakhs made use of summer pasture in the Baitik Bogda. The Baitik Bogda were also partly occupied by Mongols, who practiced a certain amount of agriculture in addition to owning livestock. In the winter it was the custom of the Kazakhs to leave most of their horses in the Baitik Bogda, horses being able to paw down through the snow to get winter feed, but to bring their sheep, cattle, and camels down into the Jungarian Desert, where they were clearly within the jurisdiction of Sinkiang. There was a tendency on the part of the Kazakhs to move clear across the desert and up to the lower slopes of the Bogda Ula near Kuchengtze; but the policy of the Sinkiang authorities was to drive them back toward the Baitik Bogda and to keep them out of the jurisdiction of Sinkiang, because they were regarded as cattle thieves and troublemakers. In practice, therefore, the attitude of the Sinkiang authorities was that the Baitik Bogda lay outside of Sinkiang.

*175 578 648 By 1948, however, the attitude of the Sinkiang provincial authorities and of the Chinese military command had changed. The Kazakh leader Osman Bator, who has already been mentioned, had at first joined the Kulja coalition, had later broken with it, and had withdrawn to the foothills of the Bogda Ula. The policy of the Chinese authorities was to encourage him to move northward from this region and to occupy the Baitik Bogda, which were accordingly claimed as Chinese territory.

*175 648 These attempts on the part of the Chinese-supported Kazakhs were resisted by Outer Mongolian frontier patrols, and the frontier incidents which resulted were sensationally reported. No

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widespread fighting broke out, however, and American reporters who went up to Sinkiang after the first reports tended to minimize the significance of the incidents.[96] 175* 648

The exact location of the frontier in this region remains unclear. Recent Chinese maps show the entire Baitik Bogda within Sinkiang, and the Outer Mongolian frontier running along the main crest of the Altai.[97] Older maps, however, both Russian (Tsarist) and British, show the frontier running either right through the Baitik Bogda or somewhat to the south of the main height of the hills. 175* 131

In December 1948 the Chinese Government made a new move of major importance by dropping Masud Sabri as Chairman of the Province and replacing him with Burkhan, the former Vice-Chairman, who as a "middle-of-the-roader" was more acceptable to the Kulja dissidents. Burkhan, a Russian Tatar by origin, with large trading interests, had been a man of influence in Sinkiang since Tsarist times. He had managed to maintain himself under the regimes of Yang Tseng-hsin, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, and the Kuomintang. 175* 635

In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung returned to Sinkiang to attempt to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty, to replace a ten-year agreement signed in 1939 under the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. It was reported at the time that the Russians were attempting to acquire monopoly rights in mining and trade. There was also speculation that on the Chinese side an elaborate maneuver was being carried out to create a conflict of interest between the Russians and the Chinese Communists, by granting to the Russians exclusive rights in this frontier sector of Chinese territory. In the upshot, no new treaty was negotiated, but the Russian monopoly right to an air service between Komul and the 175* 648

[96] See, for example, dispatch from Henry R. Lieberman, from Urumchi, August 27, 1948, in *New York Times*, September 8, 1948.

[97] See the map on p. 59 of the article by Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, New York, 1949.

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Soviet frontier, secured under the old treaty, was continued for five years.[98]

Returning from Sinkiang after the first few meetings of these negotiations, Chang Chih-chung later joined a five-man "peace team" of the Kuomintang which went to Peiping to negotiate with the Chinese Communists. There, together with the other members of the delegation, he denounced the Kuomintang and declared his adherence, not to the Chinese Communist Party, but to the movement for a coalition government headed by the Communists.

Finally, in September, 1949, all the threads of the politics of Sinkiang were drawn together and tied in one knot: Seyfuddin, of the Kulja coalition, went to Peiping as a delegate to the People's Consultative Council — called by the Communists — where another delegate was Chang Chih-chung, once the Kuomintang's top representative in Sinkiang. Almost simultaneously the oasis of Komul, key to the eastern approaches from China proper to Sinkiang, declared in favor of the new Communist regime, and the Sinkiang provincial government immediately followed with a formal declaration of adherence.[99] A chapter in the history of Inner Asia had definitely closed. The first words of the next chapter were yet to be written.

[98] See, among others, the following newspaper dispatches: Henry R. Lieberman, Nanking, January 31, 1949, in *New York Times*, February 1, 1949. United Press, Nanking, February 13, 1949; *ibid.*, February 14, 1949. Henry R. Lieberman, Canton, February 28, 1949; *ibid.*, February 28, 1949. Walter Sullivan, Urumchi, April 1, 1949; *ibid.*, April 6, 1949. Walter Sullivan, Urumchi, March 30, 1949; *ibid.*, April 18, 1949. Unsigned dispatch from Shanghai, May 11, 1949; *ibid.*, May 12, 1949. Frank Robertson, Canton, in *Christian Science Monitor*, June 6, 1949.

[99] See the following newspaper dispatches: Henry R. Lieberman, from Shanghai, September 24, 1949, in *New York Times*, September 25 and 26, 1949; unsigned dispatch from Hongkong, September 25, 1949; *ibid.*, September 26, 1949; Tillman Durdin from Hongkong, September 28, 1949; *ibid.*, September 29, 1949.

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CHAPTER IV The Peoples of Sinkiang

The Population

THE NUMBER of people living in Sinkiang is a matter of considerable debate. No satisfactory census of the population has ever been made. Widely varying estimates range from 2,000,000 to 8,000,000. The figure of 3,730,000 was reached by a survey made by the office of the provincial police in 1940–1941, and this estimate is likely to stand as the best available until a more precise survey is conducted.[1] 161

About two thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited. The pastoral areas, which are thinly populated, include about a quarter of the province but only a little more than 10 per cent of the population. The cultivated areas, the most thickly settled in the province, make up less than 5 per cent of the total area but contain almost 90 per cent of the people. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tien Shan, or, more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. The four administrative districts of Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand contain over two thirds of the people of the whole prov-

[1] The geographic distribution of the population is indicated, though only with approximate accuracy, by the figures obtained by the 1940–1941 survey for the ten administrative districts into which the province is divided. (See map.) These divisions, listed in order of the numerical importance of their population, are as follows:

Kashgar	900,000	Kulja	351,000
Khotan	605,000	Chuguchak	144,000
Aksu	581,000	Kharashahr	106,000
Yarkand	561,000	Sharasume	63,000
Urumchi	372,000	Komul	48,000

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161 ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

463 The population is divided, economically, between those who live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry.
771 Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

144 Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

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pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197

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tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 197 162

197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
162 of speakers of each, is as follows:[3]

		I Altaic		
A. *Turkic*[4]				
1. Uighur	2,941,000			
2. Kazakh	319,000			
3. Kirghiz	65,000			
4. Uzbek	8,000			
5. Tatar	5,000			
		3,338,000		
B. *Mongolian*				
6. Mongolian		63,000		
C. *Tungusic*				
7. Manchu		12,000		
			TOTAL	3,413,000
		II Indo-Chinese		
8. Chinese	294,000			
			TOTAL	294,000
		III Indo-European		
9. Iranian	9,000			
10. Russian	13,000			
			TOTAL	22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

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the frequently loose and unscientific use of terms by foreign travelers and, much more important, by political motives on the part of Chinese administrators and Turkic nationalist leaders. 144 114

It is paradoxical that the sorting out of the peoples of Sinkiang is made more difficult by the fact that there is a rich Russian and Western literature about Sinkiang. For nearly a century there has been incessant publication of books about Inner Asia by explorers, archaeologists, geographers and casual travelers. Unfortunately, in the greater part of the foreign literature the descriptions of racial type, national grouping and political affiliation are excessively loose. For example, an American writer refers to the "distinctly Aryan" features of a regional group, to a "Kirghiz race," and to evidence of "Turkish and Mongol blood" in Kashgar.[5] "Aryan" can only be used properly in the description of languages, not of races, and even as a linguistic term it has now largely been abandoned, while peoples who speak the Turkish, Kirghiz, or Mongol languages may be of the most various and mixed origin.

Loose terminology in the foreign literature leads merely to misunderstanding or irritation, but it is politically dangerous when it is used to clothe the theories of administrators who are in a position to act. Contemporary Chinese political theories applied to concepts of race and nationality are of critical importance where Chinese administrative policy is confronted at every turn by growing nationalist movements which compete both with each other and with the projects of Chinese politicians. It is therefore essential to sort out the terms used both by Chinese administrators and by nationalist leaders, before attempting an accurate and rational classification of the many peoples who make up the population of Sinkiang.

In China, attempts to classify the peoples of Sinkiang in ways which reinforce political theories have led to four main trends. 829 563* 186

The first trend is called *Ta Han Chu-i*, the "Greater Chinese Theory," by the Chinese who do not support it, and by Mongol, Uighur, and other nationalists who fear it. According to this defi-

[5] William James Morden, *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts*, New York, London, 1927.

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nition, all non-Chinese groups within the political frontiers of China are mere subvarieties of an ancient "greater Chinese" race, and should be absorbed into a standardized Chinese race. This trend was pushed by right-wing groups, during the period of Kuomintang ascendancy, who aimed at building up an uncompromising, militant, and expansionist ideology.

The second trend rejects the idea of forced assimilation and stresses instead a program of cultural diversity. It may therefore be labeled as "cultural autonomy." Its main exponents were Sheng Shih-ts'ai, former Governor of Sinkiang, and Chang Chih-chung, the chief Kuomintang emissary to the province after Sheng's withdrawal.

The third trend, which may be called "Pan-Turkish nationalism," emphasizes the fact that the majority of the population in Sinkiang speaks Turkic languages and belongs to the Moslem faith. It is most actively promoted by an Uighur group which has some Kazakh allies.

The fourth trend incorporates the idea of territorial as well as cultural autonomy and hence may be described simply as "federalism." It derives its ideas from Soviet nationality policy and is actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists, but has a considerable appeal to non-Communist, non-Chinese national minorities which would like to maintain their national identities but to live in harmony with the Chinese in a common state. It also has an appeal to moderate and liberal groups in and out of the Kuomintang, and would have been more widespread if it had not been for fear of the consequences of consenting to any part of the Communist program.

The foremost exponent of the "Greater Chinese Theory" has been Chiang Kai-shek. In his *China's Destiny,* as officially translated, all the people in China are mentioned as belonging to a single "Chunghua (Chinese) nation."[6] This "nation" is said to be made up of a number of groups which are described in the authorized translation as "stocks." In Chiang's opinion the differ-

[6] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny,* New York, 1947, p. 3. Parentheses in original text of translation.

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ences among these "stocks" are limited to habits, customs, religious beliefs, and geographical environment, and do not include race or blood. "In short," he says, "the various stocks in China constitute not only one nation but also one race."[7]

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The generalized statements about race and nation made in *China's Destiny* have been applied to the nationality problems of Sinkiang by a writer belonging to the Kuomintang C.C. Clique, a tightly organized political machine whose political creed was to give extreme authoritarian interpretations of every opinion or theory uttered by Chiang Kai-shek. Following his terminology, the C.C. theorist divides the peoples of Sinkiang into fourteen "stocks." He then concludes that since they are not separate nationalities but merely "stocks" of a single "nation," therefore they are not entitled to separate political recognition, a thesis which other writers have extended into the cultural field as well. He proposes that "self-government" in Sinkiang should be based on small geographical units, the counties, regardless of differences between the peoples inhabiting these administrative units. In order to make impossible any other interpretation of the term for "self-government," he rejects, in so many words, the identification of "self-government" with "freedom" or "independence."[8]

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In contrast to the rigidly assimilative approach of the C.C. extremists is the policy adopted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai when he was military dictator of Sinkiang. After the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 Sheng took into his administration a National Salvationist who appears to have been instrumental in elaborating for him a policy intended to effect a compromise between the Chinese monopoly of the provincial administration and the stirrings of nationalism among the non-Chinese peoples.

The National Salvationists in China at that time represented a point of view rather than a political organization. In face of the emergency created by the Japanese danger they believed in effecting the widest possible political coalitions and in taking the

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13. The Chinese term for "nation" or "nationality" is *min-tsu*, and for "stock," *tsung-tsu*, also often translated as "clan."

[8] *Cf.* articles by Li Tung-fang in *Altai*, I, No. 2, Chungking, April 25, 1945, pp. 8–9 and pp. 15–18.

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829 *563 665 stress off all political cleavages, from the great cleavage between the Kuomintang and the Communists down to all minor factional quarrels. The National Salvationist point of view was thus well suited to the attempt to create a harmonious wartime morale in Sinkiang.

829 114 *563 In line with the National Salvationist influence in his entourage, General Sheng proclaimed a program of "Six Great Policies."[9] Under one of the policies the peoples of Sinkiang were officially classified as belonging to fourteen "nationalities." These, listed in the order of the documents of the period, are as follows:

Chinese	202,239	Taranchi	41,307
Manchu	670	Tatar	4,601
Mongul	63,018	Kirghiz	65,248
Moslem (Dungan)	92,146	Uzbek	7,966
Uighur	2,900,173	Sibo	9,203
Kazakh	318,716	Solon	2,489
Tajik	8,867	Russian	13,408

The criteria for this classification are not clear. The admiring translator of the admiring adviser of Sheng Shih-ts'ai comments that the confusion in criteria is such as "would tend to eliminate this as any 'scientifically' worked out ethnic list."[10] Nor can it be based on geographic criteria, for the groups are not delimited on a territorial basis. It is not based on economic criteria, for some of the groups consist of pastoral herdsmen and others of sedentary cultivators. It is not based on religious criteria, for only the Chinese-speaking Moslems are listed as "Moslems," while followers of other religions are not mentioned as such, and other Moslems, such as the Uighurs, are not identified by religion. It is not based on administrative criteria, for Sinkiang is divided into ten administrative areas which cut across the fourteen groups. It is not based, finally, on any observable combination of these criteria.

[9] See Chapter III.

[10] Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, John Day, 1944, p. 91.

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

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The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province."[11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

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territory and sovereignty of the nation suffer no impairment thereby. The Central Government will not tolerate anything possibly detrimental to the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the State — even at the cost of a war.[12]

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In opposition to the foregoing Chinese policies stands the "Pan-Turkic nationalism" of a group of native leaders who deal with the population of Sinkiang within the framework of a policy designed to strengthen their control over all the people living within the boundaries of the province. Foremost among these leaders is the recent Kuomintang governor of the province, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landowner and merchant from the Kulja area. Likewise prominent is Mohammed Emin, an Uighur who studied for several years in Turkey and is counted as one of the intellectual leaders of Sinkiang.[13]

In the view of Masud and Emin, China does not consist of a single "nation" or "nationality" and Sinkiang does not contain fourteen groups of people, whether designated as nationalities or by any other term. They use nationality, however, as the basis for their own classification of the peoples of the province, and define the term with great precision by listing the criteria which in their opinion determine nationality. These criteria are: (1) uniform language; (2) common territory; (3) similar habits and customs; (4) common will; (5) common religion; (6) common race; (7) common clothing, adornments, and other elements like blood relationship. On the basis of these criteria they conclude that the seven groups designated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Tatars, and Tajiks are all of one nationality. In their opinion these groups together comprise the "Turkic nation," despite the fact that the Tajiks do not speak a Turkic language, but an Iranian one.

As Turkic nationalists, Masud and Emin oppose the use of terms like Uighur and Kazakh to represent different nationalities. Actually, they say, the old subgroupings should be redesignated

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[13] For the views of these men see *Altai*, Vol. I, No. 2, Chungking, April 1945.

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as "tribes," for all their members are descended, like the ancient Hsiungnu and Yüeh-chih, from a single Turkic nation.

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The Turkic nation as defined by Masud and Emin would include about nine tenths of the population of Sinkiang. They divide the remaining one tenth into three nationalities: the Chinese, the Manchus, and the Mongols. In the category of "Chinese" they include the two groups designated by Sheng as "Chinese" and "Moslems": Moslem in this context being a synonym for the Dungans, who are Moslem by religion and Chinese in language. In the category of "Manchus" they include the three groups designated by Sheng as "Manchu," "Sibo," and "Solon." They also suggest that the last group in Sheng's list, the Russians, may perhaps form a fifth nationality in Sinkiang, though they are somewhat dubious of this since, they say, the Russians in Sinkiang are citizens of the Soviet Union and not of the Republic of China.

The significance of the thesis of a single Turkic nation is revealed by the anticipated relationship of the "Turkis" toward the Chinese state on the one hand and toward the other nationalities in Sinkiang on the other. This relationship in turn is revealed by the terminology employed by the Turkic nationalists in their demands for elevation to nationhood. In the course of a discussion with Li Tung-fang, Mohammed Emin denies that the "Turkis" might want to become "independent." Indeed, he does not even demand the right to "self-determination" which, as he himself mentions, was conceded to the minorities in China in Sun Yat-sen's Manifesto to the First Kuomintang Congress in 1924. He and other Turkic nationalists ask for no more than the right to "self-government."

While demanding self-government for themselves, the exponents of Turkic nationalism do not seem to concede this right to the other nationalities in Sinkiang. The Turkis, they say, live in every part of Sinkiang. The name of the province should be changed to one which would reflect their dominant position. Disregarding the interests of other groups, they demand that all Sinkiang be officially designated as "Turkistan."

Thus Turkic nationalism displays a dual aspect. It is willing to

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accept a position of subservience to the Chinese majority in the Republic of China, but it seeks to attain a position of dominance over the whole population of Sinkiang. In this latter objective, Turkic nationalists are in competition with authoritarian Chinese; but the degree of political opposition between Chinese assimilationists like Li Tung-fang and Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri and Mohammed Emin should not be exaggerated. That there exists an area of agreement between the two groups is evidenced by the fact that Masud Sabri was himself a member of the C.C. Clique and was sponsored for the governorship of Sinkiang by that extreme right-wing faction in the Kuomintang.

There exists also, opposing the theories of these Chinese and Turkic schools, the federal idea of devising territorial and cultural arrangements so as to minimize antagonisms springing from racial, ethnic, or cultural differences. Although many people in China and among national minorities would like to live without such antagonisms, only the Chinese Communists have attempted to work out a theory and program of federalism, and even their discussion of the subject is marked by important gaps.

In their discussions of theory, the Chinese Communists have borrowed heavily from Soviet ideas. They start with Stalin's definition that: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a community of culture." Following out this definition they conclude that the Republic of China is made up of a number of different nationalities. The Chinese are the preponderant nationality; other nationalities are referred to as "national minorities." Among those specifically listed in the Communist literature are the Mongols, Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Yao, and Hui (Moslems). The use of the term "Hui" here covers all Moslems, without making a distinction between Chinese-speaking and Turkish-speaking Moslems.

Although the Communists are quite specific in defining nationality, they have done little in the way of applying their ideas to specific groups of people. There does not seem to exist any

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complete Communist demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang. Nor does there seem to be, in the Chinese Communist literature, any discussion of the administrative units under which a federative nationality policy could operate. However, a general policy for the multinational Republic of China was proposed by the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1930 in the following resolution:[14]

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> ". . . In such regions as Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang, Yunnan and Kweichow, in which a majority of the population belongs to another, non-Chinese nationality, the toiling masses of these nationalities have the right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic.[15]

The Chinese Communists have since abandoned their Soviet regime in favor of what they call "the New Democracy," but their policy toward national minorities does not appear to have undergone basic modification. Speaking before the 1945 Congress of the Communist Party, Mao Tze-tung said that the Chinese "demand better treatment for the national minorities of China, according them the right of self-determination and of forming a union with the Hans [Chinese] on a voluntary basis." Mao's failure to repeat the earlier offer of the right of secession may indicate that he has foremost in mind a union of national states under the formula of a "Union of Democratic Republics."[16]

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[14] *The Soviets in China*, Moscow, 1933, p. 440 (in Russian).

[15] In this resolution the Chinese Communists declared for the principle of the right of secession. In his speech of August 24, 1945, recognizing the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic, Chiang Kai-shek also recognized the right of secession, not only for the Mongols but also for other non-Chinese minorities — a striking modification of his views expressed in *China's Destiny* and elsewhere. Thus on the right of secession President Chiang and the Chinese Communists were within reach of at least verbal agreement. Other Chinese assimilationists, and the "Pan-Turkic" nationalists, have not conceded the right of secession.

[16] Mao Tze-tung, *The Fight For a New China*, New York, 1945, pp. 35 and 44.

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The necessity for some sort of federal arrangement is evidenced by the constant armed rebellions resulting from the suppression of local nationalism. The Kulja movement referred to in Chapter III was a rebellion of this kind. It had special significance in the fact that it split the Uighur nationalist movement into two main sections. One section, led by Governor Masud Sabri, and by Burkhan, Mohammed Emin, and Isa Beg, all well-to-do leaders in the Uighur community, took the Chinese side against the Kulja movement. Another group, in which Akhmedjan played a prominent part, supported the Kulja program against the Chinese and their followers. The split between the two groups occurred in August 1947.

That section of the Uighur leadership which most closely identified itself with the Chinese went farthest in the direction of the Turkic nationalism described earlier in this chapter. The Uighur supporters of the Kulja movement found this Turkic nationalism to be an obstacle to their co-operation with other groups. On one occasion Akhmedjan went to some pains to convince the Kazakh supporters of the Kulja coalition that, far from being slighted by the Uighurs, they were receiving more than a proportional share in the coalition.

Although the leaders of the Kulja movement made plain their opposition to the policies of Uighur nationalists like Masud Sabri they did not present an equally clear picture of their own nationalist ideas and objectives. A particularly important point about which full information is lacking is the extent to which their opposition to earlier Chinese rule in Sinkiang led them to accept the federal proposals advanced by the Chinese Communists. It appears that in the early phase of the Kulja revolt the insurrectionists may have had the objective of full independence, as indicated by their use of the term "East Turkistan Republic." After the signing of the Kulja Agreement the word "Republic" was dropped, and as late as October 16, 1947 the representatives of the Kulja group assured the Chinese that they "have never employed direct or indirect, secret or open methods to

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raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that: 563* 665 186

> The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.[17]

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb,"[18] and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.[19] Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student. 563* 186 [666] [692] [197]

These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

[17] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).
[18] *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).
[19] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

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*563 tural heritage, and make plain their desire to defend it against
186 Chinese encroachment by preserving their own language, literature, and traditions.

Religious freedom is likewise demanded by Uighurs of all political factions. The Islamic flag, depicting a crescent and star on a red background, flies over the schools in Kulja and Chuguchak. After the break between Kulja and Urumchi, the Kulja group was requested by Chang Chih-chung to clarify its intentions by flying the "national colors" over the schools and military establishments.

*563 It is apparent that the nationalist movement among the
186 Uighurs has never gone as far as the militant revolutionary stage
669 reached by the Viet Minh and other radical groups in the Far East. The Uighurs seek primarily a modicum of liberties such as will permit them to continue to survive as one people under a government of their own choosing. Important sections of the Uighurs have shown that they are willing to join with other peoples, even including some Chinese, in fighting for these demands.

The past history of Sinkiang, considered together with the latest uprising in the province, suggests that the demands of the various peoples are not likely to be fully satisfied without at least some measure of territorial as well as cultural autonomy. Just how this can be arranged is something that has to be worked out — jointly, if it is to be done harmoniously — by the minority border peoples and the majority Chinese in the country as a whole. Hitherto, however, the range of disagreement is such that it appears to be impossible even to obtain accord on the demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang!

*563 The problem is not much easier for the scholar concerned
197 solely with describing the peoples of the province. Any classification into nationalities is impeded at the outset by the dearth of information on the national sentiments of any more than a mere handful of nationalist thinkers. Nevertheless, such concrete data as lie at hand do provide some means for objective analysis of the population. In this connection it is particularly striking

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that, with hardly an exception, language appears to be an index to an aggregate of characteristics which set off one people from another. For the most part the speakers of the ten languages noted earlier — the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, Iranians, Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars — are homogeneous within themselves.

Thus the Uighurs — that is, the people who speak one of the many mutually intelligible dialects of the Uighur language — are all Moslems, all share the same literary and artistic heritage, live chiefly by agriculture, have a common history, form 95 per cent of the population in the Tarim Basin (where 90 per cent of them are concentrated), and in other respects display a high degree of uniformity. At the other extreme are the Chinese of Sinkiang, one third of whom are Moslem while two thirds live within that vague association of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist ethical maxims and ceremonial observances which satisfies the need for religion in the lives of most Chinese. They do not form the majority of the population in any area, and are sharply divided by conflicting group loyalties. Whether these factors outweigh the bonds which tend to unite Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese into a common nationality is a subject of some dispute.[20] There is less ambiguity about the rest of the population. Assuming, as seems most likely, that in the case of Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese the unifying force of common language is greater than the divisive force of different religions, then there seems little question that with language as an index of other common characteristics the population as a whole is to be demarcated into ten nationalities.

Of the ten language-grouped nationalities in Sinkiang, the Uighurs comprise 80 per cent of the population of the whole

[20] In times of political crisis, Moslem Chinese in Sinkiang are invariably caught on one or the other horn of a dilemma. If they stand with their fellow Moslems, sooner or later an attempt is made to reduce them to a secondary position and to treat them as "untrustworthy" because, in spite of their Moslem religion, they are after all Chinese. If they stand with their fellow Chinese, there is a similar tendency to suspect them of subversion and disloyalty, because, it is feared, their religion may prove politically more compelling than their patriotism.

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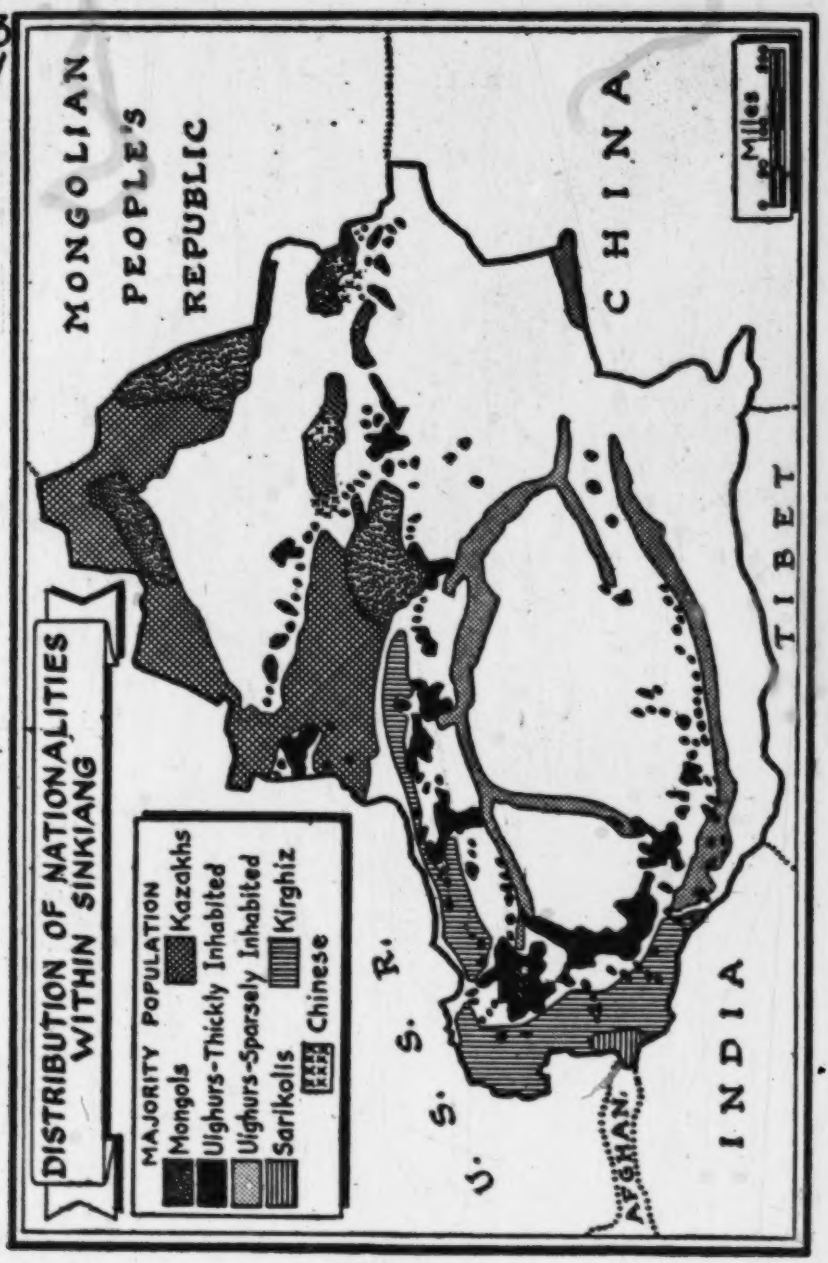

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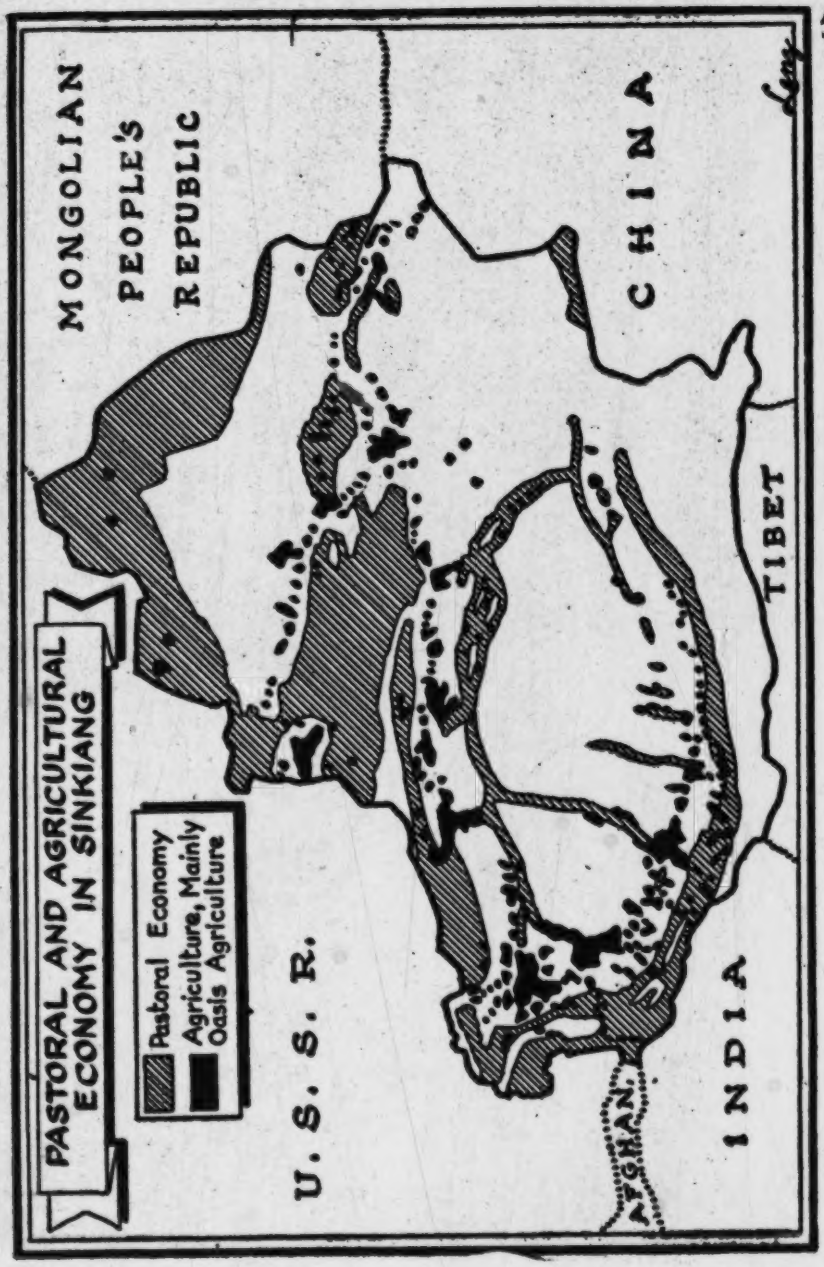

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[p. 121]

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Uighur

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province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

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The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

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Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems. 563* 101 175

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east. 563* 174

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions. 563* 174 771

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Uighur

*563 174 When the Uighurs penetrated to the Tarim area, they had already felt the influence of Manichaeism through Sogdian traders. After their contact with the settled population, numbers of the Uighurs were converted to Buddhism. In turn they established their own language among the indigenous people. Both groups were also influenced at an early period by Nestorian Christianity.

Subsequently Islam became the dominant religion in the whole area. The Kashgar region was first converted in the tenth century, but Islam spread slowly and did not completely drive out Buddhism until the sixteenth century.

The period of Uighur domination was brought to an end in the first quarter of the twelfth century by the invasion of the Khara Khitai, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century were in turn overthrown by Jenghis Khan. Mongol Khans continued to rule over the area even after the Mongol (Yüan) Dynasty was overthrown in China. The period of Mongol ascendancy was marked by a dual system of administration in which native princes, ecclesiastical leaders, and commune elders retained a considerable degree of authority. With the weakening of the Mongol hold the Moslem prelates, called *khojas*, were able to take over complete control in 1566 and establish what was virtually a theocratic state. Their influence continued to some extent even after the invasion by the Jungar Mongols in 1650 and the replacement of Jungar rule by the Manchus in 1756.

*563 174 144 In the checkered history of Sinkiang the Uighurs appear as only one of many invading peoples. Despite the fact that in the process of amalgamating with the indigenous population the Uighurs were able to impose their own language on the other peoples, the total importance of their influence should not be exaggerated. Physically the present population of the Tarim Basin is more akin to the Alpine than to the Mongoloid type. The culture, way of life, and other aspects of the present population also owe little to the Uighurs who rode out of Mongolia in the ninth century.

*563 174 The revived use of the name Uighur in Sinkiang, though justi-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Uighur

fied by the fact that the Uighur language is used by the people who now once more call themselves Uighur, is primarily political in motivation. During the Ming Dynasty, when the Chinese had little contact with the area, they maintained in their translation bureau, the Szu I Kuan, one section dealing with "Moslem" people in general and another with the "Kao-Ch'ang" people of Turfan, who were clearly considered by the Ming Chinese to be identical with the Uighurs. During the Manchu period the population of the Tarim Basin was generally referred to in documents as *Ch'an Hui*, or Turbaned Moslems, and in the Chinese spoken langauge as *Ch'an-t'ou*, or Turbaned Heads. When foreigners first began to penetrate the area in numbers in the nineteenth century, they referred to the population either as "Turkis" or as "Sarts" and to the region as Turkistan. The word "Sart," widely used in Inner Asia, was adopted by the Russians as a general designation for settled people speaking a Turkic language. The word "Turkistan," a Persian expression meaning "land of the Turks," was first applied by Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the area northeast of the Syr Darya, was later adopted by the Russians to designate most of their holdings in Central Asia, and was also used as an administrative term for part of Afghanistan. The British applied it to Chinese Central Asia, though the term has never had any administrative significance there, and also designated the population as Turkis. 563* 174

At a meeting held in Tashkent in 1921 a small number of emigrants from the Tarim Basin living in Soviet Central Asia demanded that the name Uighur be revived. In 1934 the Provincial Government of Sinkiang accepted a resolution from the Association for the Promotion of Uighur Education for a formal change to this name. A resolution adopting the new name was promulgated in that year under the signature of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Khoja Niaz, a nationalist leader who had been instrumental in setting up the abortive East Turkistan Republic in the Turfan area in the early thirties. The growing use of the name Uighur is a measure of increasing national consciousness among people 563* 186

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563 186 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 361 168 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan. North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 197 212 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard.

000 The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

Uighur
The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

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Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common
565 saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."
793 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

Kazakhs is indicated by the name "Kazakh," which is believed to mean "a fugitive or masterless man who has separated himself from his tribe" (or overlord). The same name, modified by Slavic pronunciation, was adopted by the Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians who became the Russian Cossacks. 563* 175

In the sixteenth century the newly formed Kazakh Khanate split into three hordes, forming a loose federation which united only rarely, under stress of war. This deterioration of the former unity was a result of the increased wealth of the Kazakhs, obtained by their conquest of some of the southern oasis regions from the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century, which made the individual tribal Sultans less dependent on the economic and political protection of the Khan. Of these three hordes, it was the easternmost, or the "Old Horde," whose grazing lands reached east of the present Soviet-Chinese border into Sinkiang.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Russians began to penetrate into the territory of the Kazakhs and by the end of the nineteenth century had succeeded in colonizing the territory of the three hordes, except for the easternmost part of the Old Horde which remained under Chinese domination. Even after the drawing of a border line between the bulk of the Kazakhs in the west and the small splinter group in Chinese territory, however, many aspects of the common historical development continued, since the nomads were no respecters of national boundaries and migrated back and forth across the frontier which cut through their tribal lines. 563* 131 361

The main grazing grounds of the Sinkiang Kazakhs are along the borders between Sinkiang and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic. From the Tekes and Kunguz Rivers in the Ili region they range northeastward to the Chuguchak region and then southeastward along the Mongolian Altai. There are even Kazakhs on the other side of this frontier, under the sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Kazakhs are pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle, horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but 000

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used
[291] for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly
[825] important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds
[276] of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more
[592] commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

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Kazak
Kirghiz

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cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this respect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939, 76.3 per cent were literate.

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The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Mohammedanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they remained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

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Kirghiz. There has been considerable confusion in the use of the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

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The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun*, at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

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Mongol

The Unen Susuktu League is made up of ten banners of Torguts who are widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. The most important Torgut group is in the Tien Shan above the oasis of Kharashahr; others are on the northern skirts of the Tien Shan, and others on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Bato Setkhiltu League is composed of three banners of Khoshots on the Yulduz Plateau, in the heart of the central Tien Shan. The Ching Setkhiltu League includes three banners of Khoshots and seven of Urianghai, all located in the Chuguchak-Altai area. The two groups which are not included in "leagues" are the Chahars, who live in the Borotala Valley, on the way from Urumchi to Kulja, and the Ölöts, in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash Rivers in the Ili region. These complications of the league-and-banner system illustrate how effective it was as a Manchu-invented administrative device for weakening political unity among the Mongols. 563* 631

Of the various tribal divisions of the Sinkiang Mongols, the Chahars were brought to Sinkiang from their old pastures in what is now Chahar Province in Inner Mongolia, shortly after the Manchus conquered Jungaria in the eighteenth century. As strangers who would not combine easily with the Western Mongols, they were strategically placed to command the main route between Urumchi and Ili. The Urianghai of Sinkiang are also not Western Mongols. As their name indicates, they are related to the tribes of the territory formerly called "Urianghai," later called "Tannu-Tuva," and eventually annexed by the Soviet Union. They originally spoke a Turkic language, becoming Mongolized only as late as the nineteenth century. 563* 174

All other Sinkiang Mongols are Western Mongols. They are related, by the dialects which they speak and by historical association, to certain tribes of Western Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic), to the Mongols of Kokonor or Ch'inghai, on the northern side of the Tibetan plateau, and to the Kalmuks of the lower Volga, in Russia. Traditionally, the core of the Western Mongols was a tribe called Oirat, who in the fourteenth century migrated into Sinkiang from the Angara River, which flows

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Mongol

*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] 566 *563 In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of constituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs. [792]

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar*, "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

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Mongol
Tadjik

of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (*Sarikolis, Tajiks*). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

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Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

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Chinese

*563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long *563 formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

*563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land ex- *563 propriated from Kazakhs.

779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

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Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

631 212 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 562 779 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 779 186 668 [602] The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 578 186 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

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Chinese

religionists of other nationalities. During the great uprising of the third quarter of the last century the Moslem Chinese sided for a time with their Uighur and Kirghiz coreligionists against the Chinese-Manchu regime, subsequently came to blows with their Uighur comrades in arms, and with the collapse of the revolt were virtually exterminated by the Imperial forces. The revolts of the early 1930's displayed the same feature of initial alliance, followed by final break, between Moslems of Uighur and Chinese origin. 563* 578 186

If these examples indicate the instability of the religious tie between the Chinese Moslems and others of the same religion in Sinkiang, the harmonious relations which developed later in the 1930's between the Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese demonstrates that under certain conditions the two groups are able to relegate the differences between them to a subordinate importance. It appears then that the Chinese population in Sinkiang is confronted by two possible lines of development. One is to focus around the religious issue all other differences of interest until the process of cleavage results in the formation of two definitely separate nationalities. The other is to subordinate their differences, to the point where religion is no more a barrier to common nationality than it is among Americans, English, and other peoples.

In the past, the precipitant of hostility between Chinese Moslems and non-Moslems within Sinkiang has often been the arrival of reinforcements from outside the province. In every period of insurrection, when war bands of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, Ninghsia, or Ch'inghai (Kokonor) have invaded Sinkiang, the Chinese Moslems of Sinkiang have risen to join them. They considered each other not only coreligionists but kinsmen. Together they not only fought non-Moslem Chinese, but massacred whole communities. When, on the other hand, the non-Moslem Chinese received reinforcements, they were equally savage in their repression of the Dungans. The record in bloodiness was set by the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang. When they took Uighur towns, surrender was usually accepted without massacre because the 563* 578 669

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 578 669 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they defeated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 701 668 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforcements sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

x563 701 648 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with relatively good training and American equipment, and with the Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

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Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

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Great Russians

*563 361 648 463 of technical training in the province, the Russians have been useful both in time of peace and in periods of internal strife. They have served as automobile drivers and mechanics, aided in the training of provincial military forces, and made use of their military experience in actual combat. Their participation in the military struggle on the side of Sheng Shih-ts'ai was an important factor in his victory over Ma Ch'ung-ying in 1934. On this and other occasions, travelers and reporters on the scene, not to mention writers thousands of miles away, have often suggested or flatly stated that these Russians were Soviet Russians rather than White Russians. Both the extent of Soviet influence in the province and the characteristics of Soviet methods of operation have been distorted by such reports.

*563 648 During the period of Yang Tseng-hsin the Russians in Sinkiang managed to get along fairly well. They encountered hard times in the interval from the death of Yang in 1928 to the establishment of Sheng's authority in 1933–1934, and again after his turnabout in policy in 1943. Normally, they lead an existence much like that of other Russian *émigré* communities in China — which means that they have their own organizations, publish their own newspapers, and otherwise attempt to preserve their cultural identity. In general they accommodate themselves to shifting political tides in so far as these do not threaten their very existence. It was a measure of their disquietude that so many of them threw their support behind the program of the Kulja group in opposition to the Chinese administration.

Although the Sinkiang Russian community owed its original formation to the anti-Soviet feeling of its members, this attitude has been considerably tempered with the passage of time, especially as a new generation, not directly involved in the struggles of the civil war period, has begun to assert itself. In line with changes in attitude taking place in many *émigré* communities throughout the world, a growing number of Russians in Sinkiang have taken advantage of the new Soviet policy toward expatriates to identify themselves with the U.S.S.R.

There is now a question whether the Russians in Sinkiang are

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Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

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Manchu

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

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Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite
871 their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

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CHAPTER V Geography and Economic Development

Mountains, Deserts, Steppes, and People

131 NOWHERE in the world is the influence of geography on people
133 more dramatic than in Inner Asia. Sinkiang lies in the heart of a continent, as remote as possible from moisture-bearing winds from the oceans. On three sides it is enclosed by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau. The snow-clad Tien Shan or Heavenly Mountains, rising to heights of 23,000 feet, extend across the province from west to east, dividing it into two unequal parts. The southern two thirds are the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern third is Jungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

133 The Tarim Basin is a desert which at its lowest point is actually
132 below sea level. Here men cannot live and farm by rainfall, which averages less than four inches a year. Water is the gift of the great mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south, rising in places to more than 20,000 feet. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the east.

[p. 152]

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In Jungaria there is a little more rain, as much as ten inches a year in the more favored places, and here the desert is neither so vast nor so forbidding as in the Tarim Basin. There are fringes of grazing land on the slopes of the Altai in the north, the Tien Shan in the south, and other ranges in the west, but the herds must move frequently and the men who own them must move too, leading a nomadic life. Men learned to live in this land of poor rainfall only by learning how to master the animals which ate the grass which they themselves could not eat. 133 132 311

In addition to irrigated agriculture there is some dry farming in Jungaria, particularly in the river valleys along the Soviet frontier. Along this frontier, which rarely follows the watershed, three important rivers have their source in Sinkiang and their main course in Soviet territory. They are the Black Irtish, the only Sinkiang river whose waters reach the sea, and the Emil and the Ili, which are routes of communication between Soviet and Chinese territory.

The broad and fertile Ili Valley is enclosed between two arms of the Tien Shan which open toward the west into Soviet territory. It thus forms a distinct region which has closer geographic ties with Soviet territory than with Sinkiang itself. Its forests, mines, rich mountain pastures, and fertile arable lands offer the best prospects for economic development north of the Tarim Basin, but it has never enjoyed a sufficiently long period of peace and sound administration to permit exploitation of its resources. It has been fought over during the successive waves of migration and was largely depopulated in the eighteenth century. At present the valley supports an agricultural and nomadic population of less than half a million.

Both oasis agriculture and pastoral nomadism are such highly specialized ways of life that throughout the history of Inner Asia men never learned how to combine them. Cultivators and herdsmen fought each other, traded with each other, and sometimes ruled each other, but they never fused together in a new, mixed, and permanent society.

The totally new factor of machine-powered industrialism is 000

178 The totally-new factor of
154 Machine-powered industrialism is
now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and
[412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry,
[382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of
[133] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

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Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 233
1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these 131
are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial au- [651]
thorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding ani- 233
mals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the [436]
steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 241 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 563 241 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace nomads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

000 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by 241

nomads. There are Mongols in the Baitik Bogda who are both herders and cultivators.[3] Farming began among some of the Torgut Mongols along the Chingho, west of Manass, at the beginning of the present century.[4] In 1943, Kazakhs dug an irrigation canal from the bank of the Kunges, one of the main affluents of the Ili. Two kinds of change take place along the southern foot of the Tien Shan. Uighur owners of sheep in the oases send them up to the alpine meadows of the Kirghiz to pasture, and near Bai and Uch-Turfan Kirghiz, crowded out of these pastures, have taken to farming in the Taushkan and Kharabagh Valleys.[5]

Oasis Farming

There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: the oases of the 133
south, which are sharply isolated from each other by desert 241
stretches, and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming can be carried on, or still wider fringes of grazing land. The typical characteristics of oasis life are therefore much more sharply accentuated in the south.

The first oasis makers were probably men who lived along the 241
banks of the rivers in the desert, and in the marshes, where they 312
caught fish, hunted, and gathered wild food crops. A "crop" of the Lopliks of the Lob Depression, the most primitive surviving community in the Tarim Basin, is the tender shoots of the marsh reeds. When irrigation began, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problem required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slope at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the engineering problems were far too great. There were three reasons for the upstream shift: out on the plain, the slow speed of the water

[3] Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 462.
[4] Sung Po-lu, *History of Sinkiang*, 1913, chuan 2, p. 8 (in Chinese).
[5] R. C. F. Schomberg, "The Habitability of Chinese Turkestan," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXX No. 6, Dec. 1932, p. 510.

241 silted up the canals; the flat level did not allow sufficient drain-
312 age from the fields, which gradually accumulated salts; the communities upstream had first access to the water. The drying up of Inner Asia has been blamed for the abandonment of ancient oases found out in the desert, but it is probable that the causes just described are more important than any change of climate in the last two thousand years.

312 Oasis engineering remains extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals, which branch in turn into the ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkistan to lift water from lower to higher levels.[6]

[133] Of the rivers of Sinkiang, the most important for irrigation is the Yarkand Darya, known in its upper reaches as the Zarafshan.[7]

[6] Two kinds of weirs are used to divert water from the river into the takeoff canal. Field notes of an Academia Sinica expedition describe a solid weir which was examined at the point where the Aksu Darya forks into two streams, the Kone Darya or Old River and the Yangi Darya or New River. A fork of this kind is often formed when a river channel silts up and later a freshet of high water comes down the choked channel; the force of the water bursts out at one side of the old main channel, and a subsidiary stream is formed, flowing away from the main stream. Since the Old River irrigates the oases of Aksu and Avat, a solid weir was built to divert some of the water of the New River back into the Old River. Trunks of the *toghrak*, or wild desert poplar, were used as stakes. Between these, cribs were woven with smaller branches and twigs and filled with stones and rubble. A weir of this kind is of limited efficiency. When the river reaches flood level in July and August the weir is battered down, too much of the water of the Aksu Darya discharges into the New River, and the crops in the oases fed by the Old River are imperiled. Solid weirs are used on the larger streams. On smaller streams, where the irrigators hope to be able to control the flow of water, draw-weirs are made with openings or sluices. In some localities, such as Kargalik, instead of building permanent sluice gates or panels the sluices are closed temporarily with rubble.

[7] The Yarkand Darya has also repeatedly changed its course. Thus the brilliant Chinese scholar Hsu Sung described how two tributaries of the Yarkand Darya joined in the second decade of the nineteenth century to form the oasis of Merket, but Sir Aurel Stein's maps show that the present

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The Khotan Darya, the Konche Darya, and the Kaidu Gol provide enough water for the branching canals and settlements along their courses. The Aksu Darya, the Muzart, which flows to the Kucha oasis, and the Kizil Su or Red River flowing through the Kashgar oasis all fail to supply enough water for the oases on their lower courses.

In volume of discharge the rivers of the Tarim system are far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya.[8] The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about 70 per cent is in the Tarim Basin. The total length of irrigation canals in Sinkiang was reported in 1943 to be 36,000 kilometers. The technique of utilization is defective in many ways. The lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salts deposited by irrigation has already been mentioned. There is a lack of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small-scale tanks, as a result of which it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste. A standard calculation, in irrigation engineering, is that a discharge of one cubic meter per second should irrigate over 6000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2530 acres.

A number of special practices in irrigation deserve description. Of these the most important is the *kariz* or underground irrigation channel, which is the characteristic feature of the Turfan oasis. A *kariz* is built by starting at ground level in the area which is to be irrigated and tunneling at a slight upward incline into the fan of detritus heaped up along the foothill range where it is hoped that water will be found. The tunneling is continued until the water table is reached. From the slope under which the tunnel runs, shafts are sunk down to the tunnel for ventilation. When the underground water is brought out to the open plain, it is carried farther by an ordinary canal. The length of a kariz

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junction is far downstream from Merket. It is this change of river channels that has probably caused the present severe shortage of water in Merket, the foremost cotton-growing oasis in Sinkiang.

[8] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 22.

312 varies from less than a mile to several miles. In addition to Turfan, there are a few *kariz* in the oases of Pichang and Guma, and some years ago they were tried, without much success, on the outer slopes of the extreme eastern Tien Shan, north of Barkul, using skilled workers from Turfan. A *kariz* may be very small: field notes show one in the Komul oasis irrigating only six and a half acres, which is close to the average for this oasis. The most recent figures show the following statistics:

	Number of *kariz*	Total acreage irrigated by *kariz*	Average irrigated acreage per *kariz*
Turfan[9]	370	28,000 acres	76 acres
Toksun	166	10,700 "	65 "
Komul[10]	495	3,700 "	7 "
TOTAL	1,031	42,400	

312 The construction of *kariz* involves a heavy capital expense.
435 Stein, some forty years ago, estimated the cost of a single long *kariz* in Turfan at over 300 pounds.[11] A long *kariz* recently constructed cost 50,000 Sinkiang dollars. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a *kariz*, and construction is therefore usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when they are successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable
[454] that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in *kariz*.[12]

[9] Ni Chao, "Report on Sinkiang's Irrigation," *Shui-li Wei-yuan-hui yueh-k'an* (monthly of the Conservation Administration), August 1945 (in Chinese).

[10] Huang Yu-hsien, "Irrigation in Hami," *Ching-chi chien-she chi-k'an* (*Quarterly Journal of Economic Reconstruction*) Vol. III, No. 1, July 1944 (in Chinese).

[11] Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 361.

[12] This capitalistic turn in the digging of *kariz* is probably a late development. It is likely that in the eighteenth century, when Turfan was ruled by the Khojas, *kariz* were built by exercising the feudal power to demand unpaid labor as an obligation to the lord.

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There is a controversy concerning the origin of the *kariz* which has a bearing on the ancient routes by which knowledge of various kinds was transmitted through Inner Asia into China and from China. Huntington asserted that the *kariz* was introduced into Sinkiang from Iran or Transcaspia, about 1780. Pelliot and Stein held almost the same view. On the other hand the eminent Chinese historian Wang Kuo-wei believes that it was first brought to Sinkiang from China after the opening up of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty. These references do not exhaust the problem, for the *kariz* principle was used by the Greeks on Samos, and by the Etruscans in Italy in the sixth century B.C. In Central Arabia it is known as *saqi*, and in Morocco as *foggara*. Subterranean irrigation canals were also built by the Incas in Peru. 312 171

Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. About 50 per cent of the water for irrigation in Komul comes from springs, as against 25 per cent each from *kariz* and rivers. In Kulja and several other large oases springs are used to irrigate rice fields, which require a very steady flow of water. In the miniature oasis of Kumish, south of Toksun, a spring with a discharge of only three cubic meters a day is the sole source of water for the irrigation of about eight acres of land. Closely related to springs are the streams which disappear in boulder fans and emerge again later in or beyond an oasis. The flow of such streams, which are called *sai*, is apt to be fluctuating; but except where they have been tapped by *kariz*, they are an important source of water which has not been fully utilized. 312 133

"Tanks" — as they are called in India — or small pits are used for the storage of drinking water in the towns of some oases, but not as reservoirs for irrigation water except in the dying oasis of Maralbashi. Most of the river water is taken off by oases lying upstream from Maralbashi, forcing the cultivators to store water when they can get it and keep it until they need to use it. Unfortunately the main reservoir has now silted up, so that unless a new one is dug the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned. 365 312

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312 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of
133 Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome.
731 It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more
631 fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two
423 bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

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money capital, however, it is not surprising that the line at which work actually starts is still determined by the necessity for public labor, which must be assembled and directed by the exercise of public authority in some form. A typical recent example is the digging of an irrigation canal in the small oasis of Chira. As six villages were affected, three hundred men were assembled from these villages under the authority of their own village headmen. The village organization, however, can be superseded by the higher administrative authority of Chinese officials. The general rule is: local undertakings on a moderate scale are carried out within the limits of such co-operation as can be organized by village elders or headmen; enterprise on a large scale requires the intervention of a Chinese official.

At levels below the intervention of Chinese officials, traces of very ancient practices are found. Field investigation in a village in the oasis of Kucha revealed the survival of the "*ketman* of labor," a concept which combines units of labor, land, and water. The *ketman* is a broad-bladed mattock, the most ancient Inner Asian agricultural tool, which to this day is more widely used than the plow. A "*ketman* of labor" is the work of one man contributed throughout the digging of a canal, which entitles him to a "*ketman* of water," enough to irrigate from ten to fourteen acres.

In this village, however, the uniformity of the concept proved not to be reflected in uniformity of water rights. Of the total population about 8 per cent were landlords and rich peasants; but this 8 per cent owned about half of the total water supply. At the other end of the scale 17 per cent of the population had no water rights whatever, and were forced to purchase their water with a share of their crop. In between these two groups, one half of the water was owned by 75 per cent of the households. These families, classified as middle and poor peasants, had rights to an average of one third of a *ketman* of water for each household.

The shuffle which takes place between the contribution of labor and the allocation of water rights is accounted for in various ways. According to the Islamic principle of *mavat*, he who first

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setdler. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

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566 households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312 and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312 of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624 have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578 return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691 authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661 which means that in his election the locally influential families 423 usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361 structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443 city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463 These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361 stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241 244

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[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

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According to recent field-survey figures, which make possible 433
rough estimates rather than accurate statistical tabulation, the 439
annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds. Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent.

In subsidiary production, melons are grown in all oases. Dried 244
melon rind is exported by caravan from Komul to China, as a delicacy, and the raisins of Turfan rival the melons of Komul in reputation. In gorges in the hills at the edge of Turfan, and also of Khotan, the growing of grapes is a local specialty.

The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are 314
cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis.

Some peculiarities of Sinkiang agriculture are that winter wheat 243
is grown north of the Tien Shan where, in spite of the cold, the 242
seeds are protected by a cover of snow, but only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tien Shan, where lack of a snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields which are becoming alkalinized by irrigation. On the other hand the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant

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243 the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. On the average, the
242 amount of labor expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China proper, but the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It is
248 known to have been grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618–907). By 1750, it was used to pay taxes in Yarkand.[15] In 1776 it was described as ranking next to the wheat crop in importance,[16] and it has been one of the leading exports to Russia since 1890. The cotton belt lies south of the Tien Shan. Turfan and Merket (on the northern edge of the Yarkand oasis) lead in production, followed by Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, and Aksu.

Two varieties are grown, native and American. After failure in experimenting with Sea Island cotton in Tashkent in the 1870's, two Russian merchants named Belyakov and Lakhtin experimented very successfully with the Upland variety in 1883. After 1885 American species began to supplant the native type in Ferghana and Samarkand. A few years later Russian dealers set out to improve the quality grown in Sinkiang by distributing American seed.[17] Up to 1942 large quantities of seed were imported yearly from the Soviet Union, especially two varieties of American origin called "Shredder" and "Novrozkii." From American long-staple varieties of 25 to 29 mm., 32-count yarns can be spun, while the short-staple Inner Asian variety can be used only for 24-count yarns. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, 73 per cent with native cotton and 23 per cent with seed of the American varieties.

231 Silk is a second ancient crop of commercial importance. The
439 most noted silk oases have always been Khotan and Yarkand.
288 Part of the raw silk they produce is manufactured on the spot into fabrics which have greatly declined in value and beauty in recent years, and the rest is exported to the Soviet Union and

[15] Kuropatkin, p. 126.

[16] Chuan Yuan, *Geography of the Western Regions*, written 1776, published 1818, chuan 1, p. 1 (in Chinese).

[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

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India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

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423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

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have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, [438] the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In 439 one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia 174 was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodi- 438 ties of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to [489] Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

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438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

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by 1750.[23] Sinkiang still imports tea from China, together with 439
silk and the factory-made cotton goods which compete with 489
homespun cotton, and profitable but inessential goods like porcelain, cigarettes, flashlights, and Western-style men's hats. Luxury exports to China are raisins, jade, and furs. Bulk exports are sheep's wool, camel's wool, and the intestines of sheep (for making sausage casings). The quantity exported to China is entirely dependent on the Russian market, because the much shorter distance to railhead in Soviet territory makes it impossible for China to compete when Russia is willing to buy.

Trade with the Mongolian People's Republic has always been of minor importance. Mongolia is a pastoral country, and it adjoins the pastoral regions of Sinkiang, so that all that Sinkiang can export is grain, which can be cheaply carried by camel caravan.

Trade with India, amounting in the early 1930's to 5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade, is limited by the fact that the main trade route, over the Karakoram to Leh, crosses five passes of more than 17,000 feet. The average loss in caravan animals is in the neighborhood of 40 per cent; and from Leh more passes have to be crossed on the way down to Kashmir. British policy has always encouraged trade between India and Sinkiang, but in the last fifty years the development reached has been anything but healthy. Indian merchants, settled in the southwestern oases, invest their profits partly in usury, which leads to lawsuits and ill-feeling. They also invested, until recently at least, in buying and growing *charas* or Indian hemp, a plant closely related to marijuana, which provided compact, high-value loads that could profitably be carried over the high passes to India. This trade in a dangerous narcotic, which in 1937–1938 represented 42 per cent of the total value of exports to India, was made the target of a political drive against British interests in Sinkiang during the "anti-imperialist" phase of the governorship of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in the late 1930's.

These limitations of trade in other directions make it plain why 439
trade with Russia is the only mechanism which can pump vitality

[23] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*

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439 into the economic life of Sinkiang. In the early 1930's it reached 82.5 per cent of Sinkiang's foreign trade. The most populous and productive areas lie closer to Russia than to any other market. The situation is one which is completely open to the manipulation of Soviet policy, but it was not created by Soviet policy.

439 Cotton has been the most important export to Russia from the
435 oases since 1890. In 1926–1927 the Soviet customs returns listed
248 2676 metric tons of cotton imported from Sinkiang. While cotton averages perhaps a little less than 10 per cent of the total value of exports to the Soviet Union, its relative importance is shown by the fact that more than half of the crop in the Turfan oasis, the largest producer, is normally sold to the Soviet Union, and when the Chinese authorities cut off trade in 1943, because of bad political relations, the effect of the resultant fall in prices was widespread.

439 From the pastoral regions, livestock are the most important export to the Soviet Union, followed by livestock products like wool and hides. Because the Soviet statistics do not give ad valorem figures, it is difficult to state the values of these exports, but it is evident that they greatly exceed the value of exports from the oases. Before the first World War and the Russian Revolution, in 1913, 300,000 head of sheep alone were sold to Russia, representing about 10 per cent of the total number of sheep in the Kulja and Chuguchak regions. Trade fell abruptly during the Revolution and civil war, and did not begin to recover until about 1925. In 1926, 90,000 sheep were exported. One Russian author states that in the first half of 1926 sheep alone accounted for 32 per cent of Russia's purchases from Sinkiang, while all livestock together accounted for 48 per cent.[24] Another Russian author states that between 1930 and 1933 livestock and livestock products provided from 79 to 93 per cent of Soviet purchases from Sinkiang.[25]

This trade is of benefit to both sides. From 1918 to 1924, when

[24] N. Stefanov, "The Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. in Central Asia," in *Planned Economy*, Moscow, Oct. 1926 (in Russian).

[25] P. M. Fesenko and others, *Iran, Afghanistan and Sinkiang*, Moscow, 1936, p. 346 (in Russian).

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trade with Russia was at its lowest, Sinkiang suffered severely. Cotton had to be sold at prices low enough to make possible caravan transport for at least 1500 miles from Turfan to railhead in Suiyuan, followed by rail carriage to Tientsin, and finally sea shipment to Shanghai, where it competed with American cotton. During this period of depression and low prices American and German firms and a few Chinese merchants from Tientsin set up plants in Sinkiang for processing sheep intestines which they exported, together with wool and furs, to the distant sea coast, importing in return Japanese textiles, American shoes, sugar, and other manufactured articles. As soon as trade with Russia began to revive, prices rose and these firms could no longer compete.

Russian writers state that the growth of large consuming cities in Soviet Inner Asia accounts for the increasing demand for meat from Sinkiang.[26] The cotton-growing Soviet regions are the chief purchasers.[27] Thus the shift from diversified farming to specialized farming, especially in Uzbekistan, accompanied by industrialization all over Soviet Inner Asia, has increased the demand for livestock from Sinkiang and thus in turn increased the degree of commercialization in the pastoral economy of the Sinkiang nomads.

The oases of Sinkiang, with their relatively large population and demand for consumer goods, buy more from the Soviet Union than they sell. Northern Sinkiang, on the other hand, with its small population and large production of livestock, sells more to the Soviet Union than it buys, and is therefore able to use some of its cash balance to buy from the oases. Soviet-Sinkiang trade as a whole, therefore, has a circular motion — out of Jungaria into the Soviet Union, out of Soviet territory into the oases, and out of the oases into Jungaria, completing the circle. As a consequence, whenever trade with the Soviet Union falls off, the internal trade of the province also suffers.

In normal times, the velocity of the circulation of trade is en-

[26] Stefanov, *op. cit.*

[27] O. Bukshtein, "The Trade of the U.S.S.R. with Sinkiang," *New East*, 1928, No. 10–21 (in Russian).

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hanced by the fact that the balance is in the favor of Sinkiang. The amount of the favorable balance, unfortunately, cannot be determined. The Sinkiang provincial statistics have never been systematically kept, and the Soviet statistics lack some kinds of information. The ruble used in Soviet statistics has been more than once revalued, and in addition Soviet exports are valued f.o.b., expressing the amount received for them without the addition of freight charges, while imports are valued c.i.f., so that the cost of insurance and freight is added to the cost of the goods themselves.

In relative terms, Russia's frontier trade with Mongolia and Sinkiang as early as 1905 far exceeded trade with China proper,[28] and it is probable that the same situation exists today. By 1932, Mongolia and Iran were first and second in Soviet trade with countries in Asia, while Sinkiang stood third, followed by Turkey and Afghanistan.

Soviet trade with Sinkiang follows the typical "colonial" pattern of purchasing raw materials and selling manufactured goods. In 1932, cotton textiles accounted for 72 per cent of Soviet sales to Sinkiang, followed in importance by metals and ironware, sugar, electrical equipment, crockery and glass, petroleum, matches, and silkworms. Soviet financial policy, however, deliberately reverses the conventional pattern of draining wealth from the "colonial" market by buying cheap and selling dear. As early as the Second Conference of National Commissariats of Foreign Trade in 1923, the policy was adopted of rebating prices on Soviet manufactured goods destined for countries in Asia.[29]

Price, rather than quality, probably accounts for the boast of a Soviet writer in 1926 that "in Kashgar our textiles have driven British-Indian goods out of the market by their superior quality.[30] Twenty years ago no manufacturing country would concede the superior quality of Soviet goods; but it is true that at the present

[28] H. B. Morse, "Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs," *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports, 1905*, Shanghai, 1906, Part I, vii.

[29] Violet Conolly, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East*, London, 1933, p. 141.

[30] Stefanov, *op. cit.*

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time buyers and users in Sinkiang admit not only the wearing quality of Soviet textiles but the ruggedness of Russian trucks, which truck drivers in Sinkiang and Northwest China consider superior to American trucks for rough work. 439

In recent years, the Soviet financial policy of enhancing the buying power of Sinkiang has taken the form of granting a 20 per cent premium in barter deals involving exchange of Sinkiang raw materials for Soviet manufactured goods. An actual example is a contract in which one package of Soviet-made cigarettes was made the unit of exchange for one catty (about 1.3 lbs.) of Sinkiang wool, at a time when the prevailing prices in Sinkiang were 8.40 Sinkiang dollars for a package of Soviet-made cigarettes and 7.00 Sinkiang dollars for a catty of wool.

In concluding this chapter, it should be said that in the year 1948 economic life in Sinkiang was in full crisis. Trade with the Soviet Union had practically ceased, and inflation within the province had become malignant. A little historical background must be sketched in to make the situation understandable. 436 457 458

The old Tsarist Russian ruble was formerly accepted in Sinkiang, and was in fact preferred to Chinese currencies. Branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank operated in Urumchi, Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak; they financed foreign trade, and provincial funds were placed on deposit with them. In 1913 the Russian ruble exchanged for eight Urumchi taels. In 1917, with the Russian Revolution, the ruble fell to .53 taels but did not collapse completely because all branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank outside of Russia were taken under French protection and managed to keep operating for some years. By 1919, however, the old ruble was worth only .10 taels. A year or two later it was utterly worthless, while the new Soviet currency was suspect and unwanted.

A multiple provincial currency, sponsored by the Chinese Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, then became the medium of trade and account, as described in Chapter III, by the Governor's policy of never issuing paper to the value of more than 20,000,000 taels. At the same time he allowed a number of taxes, including the land tax, to be paid in money instead of in kind. Money thus

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436 came back into the treasury as well as going out, and inflation was
457 avoided.
458 In this period the Governor allowed trade with the Soviet Union to be opened. It was carried on at first chiefly by Moslem traders, many of them Russian-born Tatars. They took goods across the Soviet frontier and sold them to the Soviet state purchasing agency, and then bought goods from state commercial agencies and returned with them to Sinkiang. Then, in 1926, the Governor allowed the Soviet-Sinkiang Trade Agency, or Sovsintorg, to begin business with offices of its own established in Sinkiang. Trade and prosperity recovered until the assassination of the conservative old Governor, who had been an able administrator, in 1928.

A new period then began, which lasted until 1934. This period was marked by the Moslem insurrections, the invasion of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, and finally the Soviet intervention — which have already been described in Chapter III. The important oases of Komul, Khotan, and Kashgar withheld their taxes from the provincial treasury, which thereupon resorted to the printing of money. The devaluation of Sinkiang currency was rapid. In 1928 it had taken only three Urumchi taels to buy a Chinese dollar; by 1934 it took forty.

In 1934 Sheng Shih-ts'ai, with Soviet support, became the successful contender in the provincial civil war. Trade with the Soviet Union was restored, but it took some years to stabilize the currency. Then, in 1939, a new inconvertible paper currency was issued by the Provincial Commercial Bank as the only legal tender in the province. It is generally believed in Sinkiang that the success of this monetary reform was made possible by loans without interest from the Soviet Union.

In 1942, however, Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union would either be defeated by Germany or would not recover its former power. Hitherto he had pursued a reform policy, both political and economic. From this time on, he began to combine printing-press inflation with trade monopoly and the

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ollection of the land tax and livestock taxes in kind, refusing for 436
.e receipt of taxes the money issued by his provincial treasury. 457
He had already set up a Provincial Trading Company, which was 458
is personal agent in business; but up to this time it had com-
eted with private trade. In Kashgar, for instance, it handled only about 28 per cent of the trade, less than the proportion handled by an Uighur firm called "Ittifatsherket." In 1942, however, a monopoly of provincial trade was granted to the Provincial Trading Company, which operated on a capital of 2,500,000 United States dollars. Through this company the Governor purchased wool, livestock, cotton, furs, and other products at compulsory prices lower than the market prices, transported them on his own trucks, and sold them to Sovsintorg in exchange for Soviet manufactures. Until 1943 raw materials, though bought at compulsory prices, were paid for in manufactured goods; but further inflationary pressure was then created by paying for such purchases only partly in goods and partly in paper money. The Khotan branch of the monopoly, for instance, paid only 15 per cent of the price of furs and 20 per cent of the price of silk and cocoons with manufactured goods. The abuses of this monopoly caused so much discontent that General Chang Chih-chung was compelled to liquidate the company in 1946.

A new period began in 1943. Governor Sheng, having miscalculated the strength of the Russians, was cold-shouldered by them and had to come to terms with the National Government. The already badly inflated currency of the National Government began to pour into the province, adding to the existing provincial inflation. In 1943 the Provincial Commercial Bank alone was receiving national currency notes at the rate of a million dollars a day. The price index of wheat flour, taking June 1940 as 100, had already increased to 865 by December 1942. In 1945 it jumped to 75,000 and by September 1947 it was 517,500.

Inflation was compounded with other critical developments, 178
some of which had been long maturing, to form an explosive situ- 458
ation. In the first place, there has been a large increase of popula- 47

[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

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of things, such as the obligation to render labor services to his landlord. In money values, it was calculated in 1943 that the earnings of an agricultural laborer in Khotan for a full year were equivalent only to the value of one twelfth of an acre of medium-grade land. Share rents, however, dominate the lives of most peasants. If the landlord supplies only the irrigation water, the peasant must deliver to him half of the crop. If the landlord also supplies working animals, seed, and implements, he receives two thirds or more of the crop. As, in addition, taxes and other assessments sometimes amount to as much as one third of the crop; the peasant not infrequently has no legal claim to anything whatever at the end of the year, and is dependent on what the landlord thinks it necessary to leave him to keep him alive. This dependence of the peasant on the landlord takes the form of a debt which gives the landlord full control. 178 458 566 47

The economic crisis in Sinkiang is, in fact, a crisis of interacting and steadily mounting pressures, with no safety valves to give a margin for adjustment. 178 458 47

The exploitation of mines and of industry based on minerals would not automatically solve the agrarian problem. The experience of China has shown that if there is no agrarian reform the agrarian crisis gets worse, not better, in the near neighborhood of industrial centers like Shanghai; and at the same time urban labor, instead of creating a higher standard of living, finds its standards undermined by the rural unemployed. In Sinkiang, as everywhere else in Asia, a higher standard of living on the farm could improve buying power and give an impetus to industrialization; but industrialization alone cannot put an end to the agrarian crisis.

CHAPTER VI Social Structures: The Living Past

The Feudal Heritage

174 HALF A CENTURY AGO, when Western travelers in Sinkiang were most frequent, stagnation was the aspect which they found most striking in the societies of both the oasis dwellers and the steppe nomads. Here in the heart of Asia, time seemed to be standing still. In human society there seemed to be an unending continuity and repetition, but no evolution.

Yet the archaeologists among these travelers, by their startling discoveries of the past as reflected in wall paintings and manuscripts, revealed that the social history of Sinkiang, like its cultural history, had been complex. Here, for twenty centuries of recorded history, the civilizations of India, Iran, and China had interacted. The cultures of settled peoples and pastoral nomads had never ceased to work upon each other. A number of the religions of Europe and Asia had here lived for long periods side by side. To this day, no other Chinese province is so diversified ethnologically, linguistically, in the political importance of its religions, and in the contrasts between the economic systems enclosed within its administrative framework.

Cycles of Centralization and Decentralization

178 Throughout their long history the societies of Sinkiang have, in fact, been climbing the ladder of evolution; but, like other societies, they have at times slipped back several rungs down the

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ladder. This alternation between evolution and devolution can be most simply described in terms of an alternating centralization and decentralization of social and political structures. 178

The geographical factors favored decentralization. A population separated by deserts and scattered in oases, mainly self-sufficient and similar to each other, tends to develop social microcosms with no strong superstructure to unite them into a larger state. Similarly in the wide steppe the tribal needs of pastoral nomads are satisfied by the formation of small social units. The evolution of larger, more centralized units requires the stimulus of interaction between the pastoral society and urban and agricultural society. In Sinkiang, the most important agency in keeping the pendulum of social change swinging has therefore been the alternation between centralization under powerful empires and decentralization, with reversion to small social units, in periods between great empires. 174 178

This alternation, in turn, was influenced by a recurring phenomenon: the tendency of the ability to conquer to outrun the ability to integrate economically and to administer efficiently. Great empires repeatedly broke up because, instead of becoming more cohesive through the circulation of trade, they found it impossible to organize a profitable interdependence of production in different regions. The mechanism of administration was so crude that too high a proportion of revenue was eaten up by the costs of collecting revenue. The costs and hazards of transport were so high that there was always a tendency for trade to be profitable only if the goods could be virtually confiscated from the original producer.

To a large extent, ancient and even medieval trade was carried on in things which the original maker, grower, miner of metals, or hunter of valuable furs did not produce for profit, but surrendered as tribute under some form of organized compulsion. Empires based on the economics of compulsion fell apart all the more readily, when they lost the power to compel, because in each of their component parts the really essential economic life was relatively self-contained.

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so-
178 cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal, both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level, but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal."[1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

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feudalism to which equal acceptance is given by all students of the subject. Thus Dr. Helen Maud Cam, writing of English feudalism, points out that "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian approach it with different mental assumptions." To the social historian, it is the consecration of inequality or the insistence on subordination. To the economic historian it is the organization of land cultivation by the exercise of rights over persons. To the legal historian it is the contractual relationship guaranteed by land and determined by tenure. To the constitutional historian landholding is the source of political power, and government functions are bound up with land tenure.

"Thus in studying different periods," she concludes, "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian will each apply his own test to the state of things he finds, and declare that this is, or is not, 'genuine feudalism,' while his conclusions will be hotly questioned by those who use a different criterion." [2]

On the other hand a great deal of the most important modern literature on Inner Asia, including Sinkiang, is in Russian; and even in Tsarist times the vocabulary of feudalism was usual among Russian scholars in dealing with the societies of Asia. With the Soviet writers, this practice becomes universal. On the other side of Sinkiang, Chinese sources are of the greatest importance for early and medieval history, and Chinese scholars are doing increasingly important work in the analysis both of historical data and of contemporary problems. The terms of feudalism are quite as important in the work of these Chinese scholars as they are in the Russian literature. In China today, scholars are divided by a controversy similar to the famous nineteenth-century debate between "Westerners" and "Slavophiles" in Russia. As in Russia, the heart of the discussion is whether the Chinese culture is so much a thing apart that it is inappropriate to use the terms used in discussing other cultures, or whether the phenomena of Chi-

[2] Helen Maud Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 203; paper originally read before the International History Conference at Zürich in 1938.

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566 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and
174 can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted
114 terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[8]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[8] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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show clearly that the amount of trade allowed was politically regulated. 175

In this period the standard of Chinese policy was to see that the settled oases were not used as bases by the steppe tribes and exploited by them as sources of food and subordinate man power. To some extent, Chinese garrisons were established in the oases. In addition, the petty rulers of the oases were brought on state visits to the Chinese Court, and occasionally they were punished if they aided the nomads — and if China at the moment was strong enough to punish them.

Relationships of this kind, as we know from the history of other countries, are part of the origins of feudalism. The rulers of the oases, whom the Chinese called "kings," had their own kind of power in their own states; but when they became the personal instruments of Chinese policy — and also when they were made personally responsible for tribute to the nomads — the kind of power which they had in their own states was altered. They could then properly be called "vassals."

The parallel Chinese policy among the nomads was to encourage war between tribes in order to prevent unity of the tribes against China. In spite of everything the Chinese could do, however, the nomads at times had the upper hand. They then thrust in between China and the oases, exacting a severe tribute from the oases and demanding disguised tribute or subsidy from China. Feudalism was fostered by these relationships. The frontier chieftain who in return for a subsidy or a regional monopoly of trade undertook to keep other "barbarians" at a distance was in fact experimenting with early forms of feudalism, and with the feudal identification of power with personal status and personal obligations.

When China could not hold these frontier chieftains under control as vassals, a decentralized feudalism succeeded the imperially centered feudalism. Nomad chiefs, in competition with each other, laid parts of North China under tribute. In the four hundred years of confusion between the fall of the Han Dynasty in A.D.

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175 220 and the founding of the T'ang Dynasty in 618, a decentralized feudalism with no strong imperial overlord spread from the Great Wall far into China.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, on the other hand — when under the T'ang Dynasty the power of China was even more broadly asserted over Inner Asia than it had been under the Han Dynasty — the local feudalisms of Inner Asia were again oriented toward the imperial center of China, either in subordination or in opposition.

Thus the society of the Orkhon Turks of Outer Mongolia had at one time been tribal. Both in their period of subjection to the Chinese from 630 to 680, however, and later when they themselves began to conquer other nomads and to become the overlords of oases, their institutions began to redefine the obligations of subjects and the rights of rulers in a manner that showed an emerging feudalism.[4]

In the oases, in this period, the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang in the early seventh century said of Turfan that high officials met every morning to make administrative decisions. They did not keep records, but there was already a rudimentary bureaucracy, as officials were assigned to look after the land, the census, and irrigation. In Kucha, the "king" and his high officials met in council in the middle and at the end of every month, and the decisions of this council were also discussed with the heads of the monasteries before they were promulgated.[5]

In the eighth century, all the households in Lukchun, near Turfan, were in 716 mentioned as listed by the officials according to whether they paid tribute or not. A document unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandan Oilik, near Khotan, dated March 23, 768, mentions annual tribute paid by the peasants in the form of

[4] Much the most detailed attempt that has yet been made to reconstruct the society of the Orkhon Turks and related peoples is that by A. Bernshtam, *Social-Economic Structure of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turks of the VI–VIII Centuries*, Moscow, 1946 (in Russian).

[5] Hsuan Tsang, in the edition entitled *The T'ang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, Shanghai, 1922, Vol. 1; also Li Kuan, *Research on Sinkiang*, Chungking, 1944, p. 191 (both in Chinese).

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crops.[6] These peasants may have been individual serfs, or they may have been collective tribute-payers of the kind described by Vinogradoff in his discussion of the origins of serfdom:

> In a state of backward agriculture and natural economy it will sometimes be more profitable for the conquerors as well as the conquered to leave the dependent population in their own households and on their own plots, at the same time taxing them heavily in the way of tribute and services. . . . We shall not be astonished to find, therefore, in the Hellenistic states of Asia a population of peasants who seem to have been in a condition of hereditary subjection and adherent to the glebe or the great estates of the Seleucid kings.[7]

This kind of system, Vinogradoff thought, might be traced as far back as the Persian monarchy. He added: "In any case these peasants were certainly not slaves, while, on the other hand, their condition was closely bound up with the cultivation of the estates on which they lived."

The next great period of decentralization was in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries when no one empire held either the whole of China or the whole of Inner Asia. In this period overlordship passed, on the whole, from settled peoples to nomads or peoples of nomad origin in North China, Northwest China, and Inner Asia. The trend toward a feudal development of society, however, continued. In periods of Chinese empire, as we have seen, frontier chieftains were accepted as vassals whose duty was to hold in check the more distant tribes; and conversely, when nomads ruled over settled lands they took into their service part of the ruling class, whom they deputized or made vassals for the collection of tribute.

In this period the Uighur Turks, nomads by origin, who had branched off from the stock of the Orkhon Turks of Outer Mon-

[6] Obata, *History of Civilization in the Western Regions*, Chinese translation from the Japanese by Cheng Yuan-fang, Shanghai, 1934, pp. 60–61.

[7] Paul Vinogradoff, article "Serfdom," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Cambridge, 1911, Vol. XXIV, p. 664.

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175 golia, built up the most powerful state in Sinkiang. The oases of Komul and Turfan were the main Uighur centers; and the Uighurs became of special importance when, after being conquered by the Mongols at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were able to provide the Mongols with bureaucrats who could read and write, plan the regular collection of taxes, and handle the engineering problems of an irrigated agriculture.

Accompanying the Mongols, their influence reached eastward into China and westward as far as Russia. Vernadsky points out that the Uighurs had three kinds of large landed estates: those of local nobles; those of members of the family of the Khan or supreme ruler, and those of the Khan himself. Other lands seem to have been granted in return for military and other services, and resembled the fief in Europe, and Vernadsky even suggests that this form of land grant, when used by the Mongols in Russia, may have had an influence on the development of the Russian *pomestie*.[8]

Out of the Mongol conquests at the beginning of the thirteenth century arose the greatest centralized empire that ever occupied China and Inner Asia. Its subdivision between descendants of the "golden clan" of Jenghis, its attempts to create a centrally controlled bureaucracy controlling the subdividing tendency of feudal inheritance, and its trade all revealed a rapidly developing feudalism. Both in the sudden burst of its original conquests and in the relatively rapid weakening of its administrative structure, the Mongol Empire is the best of all illustrations of that discrepancy between the effective geographical ranges of military conquest and economic and administrative integration which played so great a part in the alternating cycle of centralization and decentralization.

The limits of bureaucratic centralization under feudalism are shown by the failure of Jenghis Khan's own concept of empire. He provided for feudal kingdoms and smaller fiefs grouped

[8] G. Vernadsky, "Feudalism in Russia," in *Speculum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July), p. 312.

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around an imperial center, with bureaucratically appointed governors who, in each domain, would represent the imperial interest and authority; but real power soon reverted to the local authority.[9] Within fifty years the major Mongol kingdoms and empires began in fact to become independent of each other, though ceremonial respect for the Great Khan was maintained for longer. Within a hundred and fifty years the whole system had fallen to pieces.

This period was matched by the next three hundred years of decentralization — from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. In China, this was the time of the Ming Dynasty; but although the dynasty was strong in China, its range of penetration into Inner Asia was extremely shallow.[10] In Sinkiang and the heart of Asia — the region which, in this period, was most distant from any center of imperial power — the society of the nomads showed the readiness with which it could, after being built up into a vast system of empire, fall apart into small tribal fragments. This process of devolution showed that in spite of the unlimited mobility of which a nomadic society is capable, the natural unit of survival is a relatively small cluster of families or clans, moving within a relatively restricted geographical orbit of migration, maintaining its livestock in good condition through the changing seasons of the year.

In the same period the settled oasis society "devolved" back to its essential unit — the self-contained oasis. As in the past, however, the self-sufficiency of the individual oasis as an economic unit of production and a social unit of organization was modified by the similarity of all oases to each other, which encouraged uni-

[9] B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols. Le féodalisme nomade.* French translation from the Russian original, by Michel Carsow, Paris, 1948, p. 129. See also V. V. Bartold, *Sketch of the History of Semirechie,* p. 43 of the Frunze (Kirghizistan, 1943) reprint of a study first published in *Notebooks of the Provincial Civil Commission of Semirechie,* II, Vernyi, 1898 (in Russian).

[10] D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols During the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634,* St. Petersburg, 1893, Part I; translation of the Russian text by Rudolph Loewenthal, Chengtu, *Studia Serica Monographs,* Series A., No. 1, 1947.

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175 formity of culture. In this period of political disunity and decentralization, the expansion of Islam continued to enhance the cultural uniformity of the oasis world.

175 779 The ascendancy of Islam among the religions of Inner Asia had begun before the Mongol Empire and continued through that period and on into the time of political disintegration. The Arabs under Kutayba invaded Western Turkistan and perhaps reached Kashgar at the beginning of the eighth century.[11] By the middle of the tenth century — when Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and other religions were still strong in the settled oases — Satuk Bughra Khan of the Khara-Khanid Turks, who were at that time in control of Kashgar and other oases, was converted to Islam.[12] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Inner Asian rulers who claimed imperial Mongol descent rapidly went over to the language and culture of the Turks and to the religion of Islam. In the meantime the conversion to Islam of the Uighur Turks of the Urumchi-Turfan region had been going on since the eleventh century, though Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity lingered until the sixteenth century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the development of the institutions of Islam in Sinkiang made a long step forward with the arrival in Kashgar of the Khoja Makhtum Azyam, a learned theologian of Bokhara and a descendant of the Prophet.[13] He was granted land by the Khan of Kashgar, and from the later struggle for the control and revenue of this estate there developed a new mode of politics, that of the Khojas.

The two sons of the first Khoja founded rival sects which were at the same time political factions, that of the Ak Tagh or White Mountains and that of the Khara Tagh or Black Mountains. At

[11] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, translated from the original Russian [1900] and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, London, 2nd. ed., 1928, especially Chapter II.

[12] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–255, this event must be regarded as a mixture of history and legend; but the rapid spread of Islam among the Inner Asian Turks at this time is beyond doubt.

[13] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Eastern or Chinese Turkistan*. Translated from the Russian by Walter E. Gowan, Calcutta, 1882, p. 102.

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first the heirs of the Khoja line were attached to and patronized by the rulers of the greater oases, and received successive grants of land, both in what is now Sinkiang and in what later became Russian Turkistan. Eventually they themselves became rulers, but the combination of religious authority and secular rule did not put an end to the rivalry between the two sects and did not provide unity or continuity of rule.

Land was held both by the Khoja family and by mosques as corporate institutions. Some of the deeds granting land to the Khojas show that there were grants which conveyed titles and privileges in addition to the land. Grants to mosques were called *wakf*, and the *wakf*-lands gave rise to a special class of managers with rights and interests of their own (see Chapter V). Since the grants included rights over the serfs on the land, a clerical feudalism became established parallel to secular feudalism.[14]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Manchus were gathering headway for their conquest of China from the east, the oases of southern Sinkiang passed completely under Khoja rule. In 1622 the leader of the White Mountain faction, Mullah Fazil, with the aid of the powerful Khojas of Khokand, captured Kashgar. Shortly thereafter Khoja Hidayat Ullah, also known as Hazrat Apak, whose shrine at Kashgar is still venerated, became the ruler of all the oases of the Tarim Basin. Though a Moslem "saint," he negotiated with the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and was alternately in alliance and at enmity with the Jungar Mongols of northern Sinkiang.[15] "His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground,

[14] For Khoja land deeds granted at Yarkand in 1587, 1592, and 1602, and at Kucha in 1608, and collected by the nineteenth-century English traveler Shaw, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Extra No., Calcutta, 1897, Vol. 66, part 1, pp. 2–3. For *wakf* deed in the Khoja period, see G. Raquette, *Eine Kaschgarische Wakf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Türkestans*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 26, Nr. 2.

[15] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love." [16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

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Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of organizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts." [17]

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It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

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Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. It was the breaking of the Jungar power that rounded out the Manchu Empire by giving the Manchus control over Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. 175 578

There were two distinct phases of this conquest. In the north, the power of the Jungars was broken by terrible massacres. It is said that half of the population was killed, 20 per cent died of disease, another 20 per cent fled into the steppes of Southern Siberia, and only 10 per cent survived, scattered through the land. Such figures, deriving from the eighteenth century, do not represent statistical accuracy, but they do indicate with rough accuracy the scale of devastation.[18]

In the south, there were massacres in some of the smaller oases and deportations from some of the larger oases in order to deplete their military man power. From the Kashgar region some 12,000 people were deported to the Ili Valley and settled on state lands. It is from these deportees that the Taranchis (literally "cultivators") of the Ili region are descended.[19] Militarily and administratively, however, the problem of the Tarim Basin was easier to handle than that of Jungaria; the Manchus established garrisons, and then imposed an imperial superstructure on top of the existing social order.

In Jungaria, the terrible massacres made it necessary to bring in a new population, under state supervision. The population became highly diversified, and ever since that time the administration of Jungaria has involved problems of the conflicting interests of different peoples. In order to replace some of the Mongol population, some of the tribes akin to the Jungars who had been at war with the Jungar federation and had fled to Russia were invited back; those who did not return but remained in the region 175 168 578

[18] Fan Wen-lan and others, *A Short General History of China*, Shanghai, 1947, pp. 663–664. See also Wei Yuan, *The Sacred Military Records* (an account of the Manchu imperial campaigns), first published in 1842; also Chun Yuan, *General Records of the Western Regions*, a work written in 1776 but first published in Tientsin in 1818, Ch. 3, p. 26; another edition of this work is *Informal Records of the Barbarian Regions* (all in Chinese).

[19] See Ch. IV.

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175 of the lower Volga are the Mongols whom the Russians call Kal-
578 muks. The princes of the returning Mongol tribes were treated
168 as favored vassals of the Manchu Emperor.

In addition, settlements were established wherever cultivation was profitable. The settlers included the Taranchis, deported from the Tarim Basin; Manchu troops settled as military colonists; and a certain number of Chinese and Chinese Moslems. Under this colonization policy the land under cultivation in Ili and Jungaria increased from an estimated 240,000 *mu* (approximately 40,000 acres) at the end of the eighteenth century[20] to an estimated 700,000 *mu* (approximately 116,666 acres) at the end of the nineteenth century.[21]

175 In Sinkiang, as in China itself a century earlier, where the Manchus had come to power at the end of a period of terrible devastation, early Manchu policy endeavored to bring land back under cultivation by a policy of lenient taxation. Thus in Turfan and Komul Uighurs bringing land back under cultivation were allowed about five acres to a household, with seeds, implements, and working animals furnished by the state. For the first four years, after deducting seed grain from the harvest, 60 per cent of the remaining grain was to be kept by the cultivator and 40 per cent paid to the state. From the fifth year, a somewhat higher land revenue was to be assessed.[22]

In Ili and Jungaria the Manchu settlers, being regarded as unquestionably loyal to the Manchu dynasty, were granted land at the rate of roughly three acres for each man (presumably each man of military age), with seeds, implements, and work animals. Some especially favored Manchus received six acres. Chinese criminal exiles, in contrast, received only two acres. The Manchu land could be considered as held on feudal tenure, inasmuch as all Manchus, Solons, and Sibos were subject to call for military

[20] *Sacred Military Records*, as cited, Ch. 4, figure for 1795.

[21] Wang Shu-nan and others, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, or Sinkiang *Gazetteer*, compiled in 1911, published at Tientsin in 1923, Ch. 30, pp. 2–3 (figure for the period 1900).

[22] *Hsinchiang T'u Chih* as cited, Ch. 28, p. 11.

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service. In 1812, however, an imperial decree allowed the garrison commander at Kulja to divide the Manchu-held land as permanent private property, exempt from tax. Under the terms of grant, such land was not to be leased to others for cultivation, and if farm hands were hired, they must be Manchus.[23] In the course of time, however, these terms became a dead letter and the land was freely leased and even sold to Chinese cultivators, officials and merchants. 175

In their main lines the structures of both the settled and the nomad societies of Sinkiang, as administratively revised under the Manchu Empire, outlasted the great Moslem rebellions of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. They even proved strong enough to contain the gradual commercialization of economic life during the past hundred years. Only now are they finally breaking down, caught between a securely established socialized state in Soviet territory and a rapidly spreading social revolution in Chinese territory. 178 631 566

As they break apart, these structures reveal a multiple stratification, the layers of which can be classified both socially and historically. Socially, they are graduated from arbitrary powers and privileges at the top to disfranchisement at the bottom. Historically, the stratification is more confused. In the alternating cycles of feudalism centralized under a strong imperial overlordship and feudalism decentralized under local oasis-states and rulers of nomad tribes, the incoming phase never completely swept away and replaced the institutions and administrative practices of the outgoing phase. Some of the characteristics of decentralization always lingered here and there, though unevenly, in the strongest phases of centralization; and conversely, even when oases were most completely independent of each other politically, and nomad tribes rejected the overlordship of other nomad tribes, the larger community of the oasis society as such and the society of the pastoral nomads as such was never entirely obliterated.

[23] *Institutes of the Manchu Dynasty*, edition of 1818, section "*Shih Li*" ("Precedents"), Ch. 842, p. 13 (in Chinese).

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178 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure
631 of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy rep-
566 resents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization
566 in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal
438 characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

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monopolists, sometimes locally and sometimes on a provincial scale. In this way the provincial revenue from trade was cut down, but individually the protected merchant got rich, and enriched the individual bureaucrat or the clique of associated bureaucrats to whom he paid a tribute for his protection.

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At the bottom level the individual cultivator and herdsman collected tribute from none, and paid out — in rents and taxes, in forced labor for special projects and in "customary services" to his immediate rulers — the tribute which those above him divided according to their position in the stratification of privilege. Though no legislation declared them to be serfs, both cultivator and herdsman were in fact survivors of the feudal system of enserfment, having duties but no rights, and being prevented from selling their services in a free market by administrative enforcement of the rights of all those above them to collect tribute in kind, forced labor for the community or the province, and "customary services" to individuals. Even the nominal significance of private property in land or cattle, among the poor, was blurred by debt obligations which prevented them from acting as free agents.

When a society breaks up, it never breaks up at random. Every society has its own kind of cohesion, and usually its cohesiveness is unequally distributed over different parts of the society. Between the units of cohesion are lines of stress; and cleavages, when they take place, usually follow these lines of stress. In considering the influences coming from Russia now at work upon the societies of Sinkiang, and the influences that may be expected to develop rapidly from a China in which Communists are consolidating their power, we must take into account both the influences themselves and the balance between cohesion and cleavage already existing within the societies on which they work.

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CHAPTER VII At the Crossroads of Inner Asia

DURING the years of the second World War and the years of rapid change that followed it, the situation in the territories adjoining and surrounding Sinkiang has changed even more profoundly than the situation in Sinkiang itself. For more than half a century all writers have described Sinkiang as a partial vacuum which was being filled competitively from China, India, and Russia. The Sinkiang of today, teeming with its own nationalism, can no longer be considered a vacuum; and the most important aspect of its position is that it stands between a Communist-dominated China and a Communist-controlled Soviet Union.

Until this change took place British policy in Sinkiang was directed partly from London, partly from Britain's position as the imperial power ruling India. British policy alternated between two aims: that of establishing a sphere of influence, especially in the Kashgar region and the Tarim Basin, tacitly conceding to Russia a sphere of influence in the Ili Valley and Jungaria, and that of co-operating with the Chinese authorities and supporting the full claims of Chinese sovereignty, thus indicating that the extension of Russian influence would be undesirable. In the last years of Kuomintang rule, and after Britain negotiated withdrawal from India and Pakistan, British policy settled down to the second of these two alternatives, because the British interest is to prolong a relatively weak Chinese overlord rule in Inner Asia, whether under the Kuomintang or the Chinese

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Communists, rather than to accelerate the development of a 648 strong Russian overlord rule, or overriding interest.

In the same period Russia and its dominions in Asia passed from a centralized imperial rule under the Tsars to a federated structure of Soviet Communist Republics. China began its revolutionary changes before Russia but completed them later. Before 1911 the authority of the Manchu Empire had been weakening both in China and in the frontier territories and in 1911 it was overthrown. From 1912 to 1926 China was a republic in which power was divided between war lords; there was no firm central authority either in China or in the frontier territories. After 1927, China was a republic governed by the Kuomintang, whose central authority tended to increase within China, but to decrease in Sinkiang and other frontier territories. Finally, China has now passed under the ascendancy of the Communists, and a trend toward federalization can now be foreseen. Within this federative trend, it is likely that the new Central Government of China will have more authority in the frontier territories of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang than any Chinese government for many decades.

All of these changes must be evaluated in themselves and in their relation to and interaction on each other. The Sinkiang of today cannot properly be described as a vacuum. It has become a crossroads at which meet a number of different nationalisms and the policies of two great powers, China and Russia. These two great federative states are similar to each other in their Communist orientation, but not identical with each other in their domestic interests.

The Russian Revolution and Its Effects

A unique colonial revolution took place within the general 000 Russian Revolution. The colonial domains of the Tsar adjoined and merged into the Russian lands. The degree of interpenetration between Russians and subject peoples was much greater than it could possibly be in any overseas colony. All of the British in

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OOO India, for example, were isolated within India as well as isolated from Britain. The British foreman in a textile mill in Bombay, as much as the tea planter or the British civil servant, felt himself to be one of the ruling caste, and was just as ready to resist Indian demands for equality in competition. Conversely, it was extremely rare for the Indian who went to Britain for a university education to be able to make a career in Britain. He had to return to India, and more often than not he had to accept employment that was both below the level of his qualifications and under the orders of a British supervisor whose qualifications might be less than his.

In Russian Central Asia, on the other hand, the time-expired Russian soldier who settled in a city like Tashkent often worked with his hands, in some artisan employment in which he shared the market and the competition with non-Russians. The Russian colonist farmed land adjacent to an Uzbek village. In some ways, the standing of Russians was higher than that of Inner Asians; but both formed part of the subject population of Russia as a whole. Where the Tsarist government bore heavily on the subject people, both Russians and non-Russians felt its weight.

The "upper classes" also interpenetrated. The Inner Asian whose father could afford a Russian education for him was able to enter the general Russian service, military or civilian, not a separate colonial service. One example among many is Valikhanov, the son of a Kazakh "sultan," who graduated from a Russian cadet school and carried out a brilliant early reconnaissance of unknown and hostile Kashgar at the end of the 1850's. He held a Russian, not a colonial military commission, was lionized in St. Petersburg, and was a friend of Dostoevsky in Dostoevsky's years of exile. He was a schoolmate and a lifelong friend of the great explorer Potanin; and for Potanin he was not a "trustworthy native" to be taken along on expeditions as an interpreter or subordinate, but an independent colleague who conducted his own daring expeditions.[1]

[1] See Yu. N. Bessonov and V. Ya. Yakubovich, *Through Central Asia*, Chapter on "Valikhanov and G. N. Potanin," Moscow, 1947 (in Russian).

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There was interpenetration in political thinking as well as in administrative classification. In overseas colonial possessions the colonial society as a whole is not in contact with the society of the ruling country. Typical colonial nationalism begins by aspiring toward the democratic ideals of the European ruling country, while bitterly resenting the fact that its democratic institutions are not extended to the subject country. Its aspiration toward the democratic ideal therefore stands apart from criticism of any defects in the actual working of democratic institutions in the ruling country.

In Russia, on the other hand, Tsarist rule was despotic in theory as well as in fact. Among the Russians themselves aspiration toward democratic rights and liberties was impossible without a demand for drastic reform of the existing system. Among the non-Russian subject peoples, therefore, those who were influenced by Russian democratic ideals also fell in step, as a matter of course, with democratic Russian criticisms of the existing system. This political tendency was strengthened by the Russian system of political exile, which in trying to stifle criticism within the Russian population sent exiles to live in non-Russian territories and in close contact with non-Russians. Repression was so severe that moderate democrats as well as political revolutionaries were sent into exile. As soon as a modern intelligentsia began to form among the peoples of Inner Asia, therefore, it came in contact with discontented and critical Russians, who were able and educated men; and this contact took place in the homelands of the new colonial intelligentsia as well as in the intellectual circles in St. Petersburg and Moscow that corresponded to Bloomsbury Square in London. This kind of mutual stimulation between discontented intellectual elites was impossible between Indians and British in India, or Indonesians and Dutchmen in Indonesia.

Accordingly when the Russian Revolution broke out it could not possibly be isolated within the Russian population. It could not take the form of replacing the rule of Tsarist Russians over non-Russians with the rule of Bolshevik Russians over non-Russians. From the beginning, it inevitably took the form of a revo-

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000 lution and civil war in which some of the non-Russians were on both sides of the fight among Russians. As the revolution deepened from a political struggle into a class war, the lines of cleavage more and more grouped together the possessors, Russian and non-Russian, fighting to preserve at least something of the old order, and the dispossessed, Russian and non-Russian, trying to take complete possession of the new order.

167 648 In many of the regions in which the Russians were in a minority, the outcome of the revolution was determined by non-Russians who took the side of the Russian Bolsheviks.[2] Before the final outcome, however, there were two intermediate stages, and during each of these stages, and after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, there were important migrations out of Russian territory which carried the effects of the revolution into the adjoining lands of Inner Asia.

In the first of these intermediate stages non-Russian nationalists came into power or almost within reach of power in their own territories. In Inner Asia there were two groups of these nationalists. One — including such potentates as the Emir of Bokhara and lesser representatives of the old systems of nobility and chieftainship which had been subjected to the Russsians — was not guided by political theory. Individuals of the group, rather than the group as a whole, simply tried to resume as much as possible of the power that they had had before the Russians came. If the power they could take into their hands was not enough to make them feel secure, they were inclined to look for protection to the British, who were intervening against the Russian Revolution from the side of Asia as well as from the side of Europe.

The second group — many of whose members stemmed from families in the first group — was led by non-Russians who had had some years of Russian schooling and who, very often, had

[2] See above, Chapter I; also Owen Lattimore, "Yakutia and the Future of the North," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 2, February 1945; reprinted in *New Compass of the World*, ed. Hans Weigert, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Richard Edes Harrison, New York, 1949, pp. 145–146.

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held positions in the Russian service. This group had some idea 167
of political theory and modern politics. On the whole, its ambi-
tions did not go beyond local autonomous government, with 648
members of the group holding higher positions than they had formerly held — especially, of course, the top positions once held by Russians. For allies, this group looked to the Russian Mensheviks; as the Mensheviks weakened and failed, they also looked to the British; when the British intervention failed, those who could gave up the struggle and fled into exile — a few to Europe, but many more to Iran, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang.

The second stage, marked by the British intervention, began where the first had ended. The British intervention was directed from Iran and Mesopotamia. It endeavored to mask Afghanistan, where suspicion of British policy was very strong, and it also operated, to a minor though significant extent, from Kashgar in Sinkiang.[3] Beginning as an attempt to prevent German and Austrian prisoners of war interned in Russian Turkistan from being repatriated to Germany, and to prevent accumulated stocks of cotton from being delivered to Germany after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it quickly turned into an attempt to prevent the Bolshevik Revolution from seizing the Baku oil fields, and to complete the *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. As they failed and withdrew, the British carried along with them an ebb tide of people fleeing from the Revolution, both Russians and people of every Inner Asian nationality.

Nor did emigration end with the Bolshevik victory. With each new phase of Bolshevik policy, and especially during the bitter struggle over collectivization, which was virtually a new civil war, new waves of refugees sought an escape into Sinkiang and the other Inner Asian lands around the Soviet frontier. In this way the primary effect of the Russian Revolution was to spread alarm far and wide beyond the Russian frontiers.

In time, however, a second or long-term series of effects began 648
to become apparent. These effects were enhanced by the fact that

[3] See, especially, Lt.-Col. F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946; also L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1921.

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648 everywhere in Inner Asia the Soviet frontier is in one sense artificial: because it originated in the Tsarist conquests, and stops where the Tsarist conquests stopped, it everywhere divides similar peoples from each other instead of separating different peoples from each other, as has been pointed out in previous chapters. The same languages are spoken on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Afghan, and Soviet-Sinkiang frontiers. And, in most cases, they are spoken by people who are minorities under both the sovereignties under which they live. The effects in Inner Asia of the Soviet Revolution must therefore be studied especially from the standpoint of peoples who are minorities in the states under which they live, and who talk in the same language and against the background of a common cultural and social tradition about the different conditions under which they live on the two sides of the frontier that divides them. Five principal phases, which followed each other in chronological order, can be distinguished among the long-term effects of the Soviet Revolution.

565 563 1. As the possessors of advanced skills, refugees from the Soviet Revolution became an elite in Sinkiang. Among the Russians, especially, there were doctors, geologists, and other scientists; engineers, mechanics, and many artisans. Among the Uzbeks, Tatars, and others there were also many whose literacy, skill, and experience in trade — or proficiency as carpenters, builders, leather tanners, or metalworkers — put them above the average level prevailing in Sinkiang. Having escaped from the disorder and insecurity of revolution, they now found that the country to which they had come was culturally and politically even more backward than the one from which they had escaped. They learned that if the superior skills which gave them the qualities of an elite were not enough to make them a political elite, and frequently not enough even to assure them economic security, it was because of the backwardness of the society in which they had settled, and the corruption or incompetence of the officials to whom they now had to defer.

000 2. Having fled because there was no force in Russian Inner

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Asia capable of resisting the Revolution, the refugees now found 563
that there was no adjoining state capable of intervening successfully against the Revolution. As the years of the interwar period went by, they found that in Sinkiang and in every other territory in Asia adjoining their old homes there was not a single anti-Russian government that was able to build up political and military strength as fast as the new Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, or to open up educational and employment opportunities as fast. In their old homes, there was still suffering, and often persecution of those who had belonged to the old order of politics and society; but this was the suffering of revolutionary dislocation, and the same dislocation also offered new careers for those who were willing to work hard and those who were able to profit by education. In their new homes, however, there was also suffering: the suffering of old and stagnant societies, in which opportunities were decreasing, rather than increasing. Even the rich man might suddenly be impoverished if he fell foul of a corrupt official; and there was a steady production of landless peasants in the rural districts and beggars in the towns.

3. In the atmosphere of rapid change and spreading insecurity 648
after the second World War, both the refugees and the peoples among whom they live have begun to fear the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, and the Russia standing behind them, more in some ways but less in other ways. They fear them more, as the source of a power that may reach out and take over the adjoining territories or parts of them. They fear them less, because in comparison with most of the adjoining territories, such as Sinkiang itself, Afghanistan, and Iran, and even to some extent Turkey, they have become a focus of stability and of that "law and order" which all stabilizing empires proclaim. The Soviet Republics do not offer security for the investments of the rich, but they do offer a new kind of security, never known before in the "back blocks" of Asia — in a multiplying number of careers, especially for the young and especially for those who pass through universities and technical training schools of all kinds.

4. A cycle has, in fact, been completed. The old Russia was

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648 once the greatest and most stable state in Inner Asia. As far as men of the Inner Asian peoples could hope for modern training and modern careers at all, it was in Russian employment or the Tsarist service. A "Russian-trained man" was a man who had escaped from the old ruts of the tribal or oasis life. Even when the Tsarist Empire fell, the refugees who scattered into other Inner Asian countries were respected for their superior knowledge and skills. In the new cycle, the new Russia has regained this position. Its ideology is feared by those whose social or economic advantages are protected by the old orders that still stand just beyond the Soviet frontiers; but these old orders are old, and they are weak, and all know it. The present influence of the Soviet Union beyond its own borders in Inner Asia therefore bears heavily on the stress lines of class conflict and economic inefficiency in weak social structures that have little confidence in themselves. This influence has, especially, a marked tendency to divide the old and the young. Among those who are old enough to know that they could not adapt easily to great changes, fear is strong. Among those who are young enough to know that they could take advantage of new opportunities in education and the making of careers, there is a stir of curiosity and adventure.

5. The gathering momentum of Soviet prestige is enhanced by the withdrawal of other powers that were once great in Inner Asia. The overlord power of China in Sinkiang is diminishing. Even the Communists, triumphant in China itself, have to handle the Inner Asian frontiers of China more by negotiation than by the issuing of decrees. With British power withdrawn from India, neither the Union of India nor Pakistan has the kind of power that can project its influence as deeply into Inner Asia as that of Britain once did. British power has also receded in Iran, and has not been fully replaced by American power. The American influence in Iran is that of a country which is strong enough to fight Russia, but not that of a country with the knack — which Britain once had — of simultaneously propping up both a weak government and a decaying social order. In the short run, the American

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influence greatly strengthens the Iranian Government. In the long run, on the other hand, there is an ironic resemblance between American influences and Russian influences: both promote modernization, and new social ambitions, much more rapidly than the traditional British type of policy. The difference is that Communist Russians, out of theoretical conviction and by planned methods, dismantle social structures that have survived from the Middle Ages; Americans, pursuing economic efficiency and promoting education to serve economic efficiency, unheedingly undermine medieval institutions as they go along, and destroy the prestige of the way of thinking that goes along with the institutions. 000

Sinkiang under the Japanese Shadow

In measuring the recession of the old forms of empire and overlordship in Inner Asia in their relationship to the rise of the Soviet forms of power and prestige, it becomes clear that the retreat of Britain began long before it became visible. The withdrawal, carried out with such skill and orderliness by the British Labour Government, after the war, had been made inevitable by the Baldwin-Chamberlain years of appeasement of Germany and Japan under a Conservative Government. The consequences of the policy that culminated in Europe at Munich can be instructively studied in Inner Asia in the decade between Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and Pearl Harbor in 1941.

After World War I, observers of the Japanese General Staff were sent to Sinkiang. There seems to have been a plan for providing Japanese military instructors in the Ili region, but the project failed for lack of funds.[4] By the 1930's, Japanese interest in Moslem lands and Moslem politics had been systematically organized. Contacts were made in Turkey and Iran as well as in Sinkiang, and also among Chinese Moslems in China proper. The names of three paid Japanese agents, Moslems with Turkish 175

[4] P. T. Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia*, London, 1925, pp. 125–126.

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175 names, are given by a well-informed German writer.[5] One of them had been in Germany. They penetrated into Soviet Turkistan as well as into Sinkiang, and while the German writer says that he does not know what they accomplished in Soviet territory, he asserts that "they did succeed in arousing the feelings of the Sarts [Uighurs] in Sinkiang, and it is undoubtedly through the propaganda of these men that the Sart Rebellion of 1933 and 1934 took place."

The year 1933 was critical for another reason. At the end of February and the beginning of March, the Japanese overran the province of Jehol and annexed it to their puppet state of Manchukuo. In this campaign a hundred thousand square miles of territory, much of it mountainous and all of it extremely primitive in communications, was taken in only ten days — by the use of motorized columns. It was this campaign of 1933, and not that of the Germans in Poland in 1939, that first demonstrated on a really large scale the military potential of air-supported motorized columns, carrying their own maintenance and disregarding old precepts by moving with their flanks exposed and leaving enemy troops in their rear to be mopped up later.

In previous years the American explorer Roy Chapman Andrews had shown that motor vehicles could range widely through Mongolia, the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin had shown that a motor caravan could penetrate through Inner Mongolia to Sinkiang, and the French Citroën expedition had made the journey in the reverse direction. The Japanese campaign in Jehol therefore demonstrated that at any moment a Japanese column could strike all the way to Sinkiang, cut communications between China and Soviet territory, and put the Japanese Army in a position to make bids for alliance both to Turkish-speaking Moslems in Sinkiang and to the virtually independent war lords of the Chinese Moslems in Northwest China.

[5] Anonymous, "Durchdringungspolitik in Zentralasien," *Berichte des Asien Arbeitskreises*, Vienna and Peking, No. I, February 1939. The author is described as having spent twelve years of travel in Central Asia, and was apparently a Nazi Intelligence agent.

All through the first years of their resistance to Japanese invasion the Chinese were never free of the danger of such a flanking move. The danger did not lessen until the increasing dispersion of Japanese forces after Pearl Harbor made it difficult for them to assemble the vehicles and supplies for such a drive. It was this danger that was the primary justification for the stationing of a Russian motorized unit at Komul, in Sinkiang. Only motorized mobility could counter the danger of a raiding Japanese motorized column. The Chinese had no units of the kind needed; the Russians did, and for this reason the Chinese Government, though intensely suspicious of the Russians, did not protest against Russian occupation of the oasis at the point of convergence of motorable routes from China, from Inner Mongolia, and from Soviet territory.[6] 175

Immediately after the Jehol campaign, and until Soviet aid enabled Sheng Shih-ts'ai to consolidate himself in power in Sinkiang, the shadow of Japan stretched visibly into Inner Asia. Ma Chung-ying, the Chinese Moslem adventurer who challenged Sheng Shih-ts'ai for power, had at least two Japanese advisers at his headquarters.[7] In addition Ma's chief military adviser, a Turk from Istanbul named Kamal, may have had Japanese connections. Kamal had studied as an officer in both Germany and France before 1914. In the first World War he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and after the war he reached Harbin, where he taught Turkish in a school. It may be conjectured that he was sought out by the Japanese agents at this time.

Be that as it may, Ma himself is described by the German source already cited as "practically and morally supported" by the Japanese, by the Chinese National Government (which considered him a dangerous troublemaker in his native province, Kansu, and was satisfied to see him move into a more distant one), and by "the British régime in India," all of whom "hoped, through a

[6] See Owen Lattimore, Introduction to Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, p. 17.

[7] See, among others, Aitchen K. Wu, a civil servant of the Nanking Government, who visited Ma's headquarters: *Turkistan Tumult*, London, 1940, pp. 236–237.

175 T'ungkan [Chinese Moslem] regime, to set up an obstacle to the penetration of Soviet Russian influence." [8]

Willingness to flirt with Japanese penetration into Sinkiang as a lesser danger than Russian penetration, in spite of the damage done to Chinese control over Sinkiang and to British interests in that province, was a characteristic of the appeasement policies of the time, in Asia as in Europe. For, curiously enough, even the Nazi writers whose articles were published for the purpose of stimulating anti-Soviet feeling did not attempt to conceal the fact that it was Japan that was taking the initiative and that the Russian policy in Sinkiang was defensive in nature and designed to counter a Japanese penetration that had already begun.

Thus the anti-Soviet exile Fuad Kazak states that Japanese expansion was making the Soviet Union feel insecure along its entire frontier with China.[9] The German writer already cited, attributing the uprising at Komul in 1933–1934 to Japanese agents, goes on to say that "this thrust of Japanese policy toward the west must have been the main ground on which Soviet Russia considered it necessary to bring the Province of Sinkiang under its knout." [10] And finally in 1934 Yurenev, then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, said to Ambassador Grew that General Hayashi, who had just become Japanese War minister, "had constantly worked against Soviet Russia, particularly in Sinkiang." [11]

In the same interview with Mr. Grew Mr. Yurenev made a remark which opens the way to an understanding of the British policy of that time. "He also said that according to his information England is showing a distinct pro-Japanese tendency. England, he said, is in a very difficult position because she has good

[8] Anonymous, *op. cit.*, pages 7, 9, and 15. It should be noted, as a sign of the confusion of the times and the versatility with which individuals turned and twisted, that after their defeat both Ma Chung-ying and Kamal eventually passed under Russian protection.

[9] Fuad Kazak, *Osttürkistan zwischen den Grossmächten*, Königsberg-Berlin, 1937, p. 75.

[10] Anonymous, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[11] Joseph C. Grew, *Ten Years in Japan*, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, 1944, pp. 123–125.

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reason to be afraid of Japan becoming too strong."[12] The Soviet Ambassador seems to have detected a hesitancy in British policy that is echoed by a double note running through the British writing of this period: hope that Japan might take over part of the traditional British opposition to Russia, and anxiety because, while the Japanese might at some time in the future clash with Russia, they were in the meantime, year by year, encroaching on British trade and political interests everywhere in Asia. This double note was sounded characteristically by Sir Eric Teichman, the greatest British political expert of his time on the Inner Asian frontiers of China. Summing up the situation in Sinkiang, he referred half in complaint and half in sympathy to the Japanese who, claiming "to be the bulwark against the advancing waves of bolshevism in the Farther East, render confusion worse confounded by the steps which they find it necessary in their own interests to take in Inner Mongolia and North China."[13]

Under the double pressure of fear of Russia and nervousness in face of an unpredictable Japan, British policy as reflected by British writers was intensely suspicious of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, especially in the reform period of his administration of Sinkiang, and looked with favor on Moslem religious politics as a safeguard against nonreligious nationalism. The Moslem leaders in southern Sinkiang, who held out longest against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, were accordingly looked on with favor; they were described as friendly to British travelers, and as having "formed friendly relations with the British Consul-General" at Kashgar.[14] Later, when a fresh Moslem-led rising against Sheng Shih-ts'ai broke out in 1937, *The Times* said that "these events would seem to mean the temporary collapse of Soviet political influence in Kashgaria."[15]

The British policy, or drift, was not successful in any way. The Japanese never quite came to the point of going to war with Russia. British influence waned even in the Kashgar-Yarkand-Khotan

[12] Grew, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[13] Sir Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan*, London, 1937, p. 191.
[14] Peter Fleming in *The Times*, London, 7 December, 1935.
[15] *The Times*, 21 August, 1937.

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175 region, in which it had always been strongest; and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the years in which his policy was most active, most progressive, and most successful, bracketed the British with the Japanese as imperialists menacing Sinkiang. Partly as a device for turning the pressure of the nationalisms of the Uighurs and others away from his administration, he directed it against the British. The shadow of Japan over Sinkiang never hardened into the reality of a Japanese invasion or even raid; but in the years in which British policy appeased Japan the shadow of Britain over Sinkiang wore thinner.[16]

The Chinese Revolution Reaches Sinkiang

175 It was only after Russian revolutionary influences had become
648 strong and well established in Inner Asia, and after the decline of British power and prestige in the 1930's had obviously begun that the effects of China's own revolution really began to penetrate into Sinkiang. In the 1911 Revolution, all that really happened in Sinkiang was that the title of the Manchu Empire passed to the Chinese Republic. The governing group remained essentially the same, guided by the strong hand of Yang Tseng-hsin. That same strong hand sealed Sinkiang off from the stormy events and heady ideas of the Second or "Great" Revolution of 1925–1927.

175 Revolutionary developments began with the Moslem and na-
648 tionalist risings at the beginning of the 1930's, which were rebel-
669 lions against Chinese rule that turned into revolutions against the traditional social orders of Sinkiang. By an odd twist, however, it was these rebellions that gave the first opportunity of action for those Chinese in Sinkiang whose minds were also turned toward revolution.

There seems little doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, at the time he came to power, was a mixture of the revolutionary and the mili-

[16] For contemporary expressions of Chinese hostility to Britain on the subject of Sinkiang, see Edgar Snow, *Battle for Asia*, Random House, New York, 1941, p. 307 and note, citing the most important independent Chinese newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao;* also Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, pp. 48 and 56, also citing Chinese sources.

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tary adventurer. In the Northern Expedition of 1927 he had accompanied the famous First Army column which was commanded by Chiang Kai-shek with Ho Ying-ch'in as Chief of Staff and Pai Chung-hsi as Assistant Chief of Staff, and had himself served in the Planning Section of the Staff. He had, therefore, watched at close hand those military leaders of the Kuomintang who boldly used class conflict to create a situation in which they could control the balance of power. They developed, and for a time seemed to have perfected, a method of riding the revolutionary tiger without losing control of it and becoming unable to dismount. Sheng Shih-ts'ai may well have thought, when he first assumed power in Sinkiang, that he too could use the methods of revolution without losing control of the process of revolution.

What Sheng Shih-ts'ai faced in Sinkiang was not revolution, but a widespread rebellion which could not be suppressed by force with the military resources at his command. On the other hand, he had no mandate to protect the vested interests of the colonial Chinese families that had long been established in the province. He was a newcomer. There lay before him the opportunity to take command of the situation if he could do so by use of the means available to him.

These means included:

1. Getting material aid from the Russians, in return for preventing Japanese infiltration into Inner Asia.

2. Getting the Russians to repatriate, into Sinkiang, Chinese troops which, after being defeated by the Japanese in Manchuria, had retreated into Siberia and had there been interned. As a Manchurian Chinese himself, he could present himself to these troops as a sympathetic commander, while they in turn had no local political loyalties in Sinkiang, and made him independent of reinforcements sent from China.

3. Concessions to Uighur and other non-Chinese political leaders at the expense of the old Chinese official clique in Sinkiang — a clique to which Sheng was not bound, and whose interests he did not have to defend, if by abandoning them he could create new interests allied to himself and dependent on his new policy.

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175 648 669 As was shown in Chapter III, Sheng's "nationality policy" was worded as if it had been based on concessions to peoples, but was in fact directed primarily to winning over some of the leaders of those peoples, whose ambition was simply to hold offices that had been open previously only to Chinese.

4. The recruiting of a new body of Chinese experts and advisers who, like himself, were not tied by common interests to the old regime, and would support his two bold policies of dealing with the Russians and making greater concessions to the non-Chinese nationalities of Sinkiang than their Chinese rulers had ever made to them before.

The first three points have been dealt with earlier in this book, in Chapter III. They are mentioned again here only because of their connection with the fourth point, which concerns the manner in which the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution became, after so long a delay, transplanted to Sinkiang and began to operate there.

Sheng had no difficulty in collecting Chinese, previously strangers to the province, who were far enough to the left to go along with him enthusiastically in his first years of radical innovation. Between the loss of Manchuria in 1931 and the formation of a united front between Communists and Kuomintang at the beginning of 1937, China was a bitter and disillusioned country. Thousands of ardent patriots, who did not want to follow the Communists, were disappointed in the Kuomintang's refusal to make a stand against the Japanese and its insistence, instead, on continuing the civil war against the Communists. Afraid of the Communists as "too revolutionary," but eager for reform, they were ready to rally to a leader like Sheng Shih-ts'ai who was proclaiming internal unity, democratic reforms, and unlimited hostility to imperialism.

Nor were Chinese who felt this way easily frightened by Sheng's friendly association with the Russians. Many Chinese were in favor of good relations with Russia, in view of the clear menace of Japan. To keep one foreign nation balanced against another was an old Chinese tradition; a great many Chinese

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

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175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical. First, as a military leader with an independent following, he
662 sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Russian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood
563 between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

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touch the Inner Asian Soviet Republics, the most important block of territory in the Soviet Union inhabited by peoples who are not Russians and not Slavs. 175 563 648

This situation gives a new aspect to old problems and creates new problems of its own. There is the question whether, in the Soviet Union, the interests of the Russians are to override the interests of the other peoples, and the question whether, in the Chinese Republic, the interests of the Chinese are to override those of all others. These are old problems, the development of which has long been watched warily by the neighbors of Russia and China. In addition, there is now the new problem of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China: are the interests of the Soviet Union, as a state, to be made paramount over those of China, as a state?

If statesmen were efficiency engineers, and no more than that, a very good case could be made for annexing parts of Sinkiang to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Republics of the Soviet Union, and for setting up most of the Tarim Basin as an Uighur Republic, also to be annexed to the Soviet Union. In terms of the affinities of peoples, languages, and cultures, geographical accessibility, the most economical laying-out of modern communications, and the rapid promotion of material progress, the natural orientation of Sinkiang is toward Mongolia and the Soviet Union, rather than toward China. On the other hand, however, the material and sentimental interests of China in Sinkiang, though they have been much abused, are real; and so are the interests of Sinkiang in its connection with China, if this connection is wisely handled. 000

The probability is that the Chinese Communists will, as Chinese, renounce no sovereignty in lands long claimed as Chinese. At the same time, it is to be expected that they will attempt to apply new policies — not only to Sinkiang, but to Inner Mongolia, to the districts in which Chinese Moslems predominate in Ninghsia and Kansu, and to such parts of Tibet as they can penetrate. It is to be expected that, as Marxists, they will model these policies on those of the Russians in Soviet Asia. The Sinkiang of

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000 the near future is, therefore, likely to resemble what already exists under the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, since the Kulja regime has clearly followed Soviet models to a considerable extent. It is also to be expected that in the vast mass of China — and the equally vast masses of its adjacent territories, with their uneven populations and poor communications — it will be impossible to match practice exactly to theory.

The Chinese Communists, however, like the Russians, are under two urgent pressures: to convince non-Communist governments throughout Asia that they have established a powerful new state, which cannot be overthrown; and to convince the peoples under those governments that, where the Communists win, the people who lose are outnumbered by those who gain.

China itself, the homeland of the Chinese, is cut off from most of the rest of Asia by mountains and jungles. Sinkiang, in its pivotal position in the heart of Asia, will most rapidly transmit to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran the news that passes from mouth to mouth where few people read or hear the radio — news of the meaning in their lives of great political changes in China. Once more, as in the days of the rise of the Han Empire, more than two thousand years ago, Sinkiang has become in fact a pivot around which revolve politics, and power, and the fates of men.

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APPENDIX I Ancient Art and Modern Archaeology

MUCH OF OUR KNOWLEDGE of early Central Asian history has come as a result of late nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts of European scholars to explore the ruined cities which had lain long buried under the sands. The most widely known of these archaeological expeditions were carried out by Sir Aurel Stein under the sponsorship of the Government of India, and by Professors Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Others were undertaken by D. Klementz (1897–1898), the Berezowsky brothers (1906), and S. Oldenbourg (1909–1910), all Russians; Paul Pelliot (1906–1909), French; and Tachibana (1910–1911), and Otani (1902 or 1903), both Japanese. 172

Stein made three trips, in 1900–1901, 1906–1908, and 1913–1916; his primary area of concentration in Turkistan was the network of desert routes and oases from Khotan to Lob Nor. The materials which Stein brought back have been deposited partly in the British Museum in London and partly in the Museum for Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi. A considerable portion of his finds are reproduced in plates — one full volume of which accompanies each of his three detailed reports: *Ancient Khotan*, *Serindia*, and *Innermost Asia*. (These books also deal with Stein's explorations and excavations in some of the northern oases of the Tarim Basin as well as in Iran and western China.)

The four German "Turfan" Expeditions (so-called from the

[p. 223]

172 goal of the first party) worked along the northern route from Maralbashi to Turfan in the years 1902–1903, 1904–1905, 1905–1907 and 1913–1914. Their collections were shipped back to Berlin, where the greater part of the wall paintings were destroyed by Allied bombing in the recent war. Excellent pictures, however, are available in the seven volumes of Le Coq's *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel Asien;* in Le Coq's *Chotscho,* and in Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha.* Grünwedel's narrative reports on the first and third expeditions, *Bericht über archaeologische Arbeiten* and *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten,* are also illustrated lavishly with line drawings, plans, and sketches made on the spot by the author.

At first indifferent to these expeditions and their work, the Chinese Government later took note of the great packing cases of art treasures being shipped out of the country. Archaeological operations were thenceforward discouraged and officially hindered in every way. But already by the time of the first World War the known sites had been practically denuded. Easily available ruins had already suffered greatly from the local population who, as good Moslems, felt bound to destroy heathen idols and especially to deface representations of human beings. What the European excavators uncovered but did not remove has largely succumbed to the elements and to the later efforts of treasure seekers.

172 Important artistic discoveries were made at about a dozen
778 spots. Starting at the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert near Khotan — which was the capital of an ancient kingdom — we find the sand-covered ruins of a settlement at Dandan Oilik, and of a great stupa (dome-shaped Buddhist shrine) at Rawak. Farther east, near the place where the Niya River dies in the dunes, lie the indications of another town. A ruined Tibetan fort at Miran, in the neighborhood of Charklik, guards the ruins of a much earlier group of Buddhist shrines. On the northern rim of the desert atop spurs of the foothills of the Tien Shan range stand the temples at Tumshuk, close to Maralbashi, and the great temples at Subashi and Duldur-akhur above the Kucha oasis.

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Also in the environs of Kucha, which is known to have been the center of a large and thriving principality, are the *Ming Oi* (literally "thousand houses") of Kyzyl, Kumtura, and Kiris. Those cave temples are cut out of the solid rock of cliffsides where rivers coming down from the high mountains have cut steep ravines. At Shorchuk, between Korla and Kharashahr, stand the ruins of an ancient walled town with many temples and burial monuments; as at Kucha, the local people refer to the shrines as *Ming Oi*. 172 778

The Turfan Depression, with its twin oases of Turfan and Kharakhoja, is particularly rich in artistic remains. Two old towns could be traced here: the more ancient one was in utter ruins but Khocho ("Chotscho"), the capital of the Uighur Kings of Turfan from the ninth through the thirteenth century, had numerous temples, monasteries, and tombs which generously rewarded excavation. In the rocky ravines near Khocho are great clusters of shrines and monastic dwellings both cut out of the cliffs and built on the banks. Most notable are the temples and stupas of the Tuyok Valley and the Sangim Gorge, and the great monastery terrace of Bezeklik (also sometimes called *Ming Oi*).

One further site which should perhaps be included is Khotan itself. Although structural remains of the old capital are limited to doubtful mounds of debris, large quantities of interesting metal and pottery objects of undoubted antiquity have been dug up in the oasis.

With few exceptions the structures of which any traces remain are of a clearly religious character. They can usually be distinguished as shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Everywhere but in the Turfan basin, the religion is exclusively Buddhist. A few of the buildings in the old city of Khocho display murals of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean inspiration, and manuscript remains in the area confirm the coexistence in Turfan of these three faiths for several centuries.

Apart from temples cut out of rock, construction is generally of sun-dried bricks, stamped clay, or some sort of mud plaster [341]

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172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

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tain landscapes made up of many small segments each of which illustrates a Buddhist [illegible]d. Winged Gandharvas (a kind of angel) and celestial [illegible]cians may be fitted into triangular spaces above eye level so as to give the impression of floating above the worshiper. Animals real and fabulous, flowers, trees, palaces, war equipment, and pleasures of the hunt are among the many subjects included in the relations of the various myths or the surrounding ornaments. Well-known divinities of classical Greece as well as many-armed Indian gods are to be found adopted into the Buddhist pantheon. Some frescoes consist of assemblages of these divinities. Others depict Buddhist heavens and hells. A frequent sight is that of Buddha preaching to a group of monks. Monks are also pictured together with benefactors — noblemen through whose contributions the holy work of temple decoration has been financed.

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The donors are typically represented in the clothing of the locality and the age, as contrasted with the monks and divine figures whose costume is prescribed by the canons of Buddhist art. Even more interesting are the facial and other physical characteristics of these patrons. Here we have an astounding variety of human types — European and Levantine as well as eastern Asiatic. The evidences would point to a succession of alien conquests with each new set of rulers inscribing themselves as patrons of the existing Buddhist monasteries. Since, however, the warriors generally came from peoples of lower material and artistic level, their tastes did not greatly or immediately affect the content and style of the monastic art. The paintings appear to have been made either by monks themselves or by artists working under rather close religious supervision.

All frescoes are in tempera or water color applied directly to the smoothed and plastered wall while the surface was still wet. In each group of shrines the palette is limited to a modest number of colors and tones. The few colors used are employed with considerable effect. Gold leaf is occasionally added. In some instances the drawing appears to have been by means of tracings

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172 or stencils; more typically the murals were sketched in with a
778 free hand. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on outlines, which
532 are almost invariably darkened and slightly thickened.

In addition to these sculptures and frescoes, there were found several examples of smaller arts. Particularly noteworthy are
172 painted wooden panels which were deposited at the feet of Bud-
778 dha statues as votive offerings. Some paintings on paper and on
531 fabric appear to have been designed for the same purpose, or for temple banners. The illustrated Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Khocho are amazingly similar to the early medieval Christian book art.

Among the wooden items are small reliquary caskets and statuettes, as well as carved ceiling beams, brackets, and other structural elements.

Woven or embroidered textiles seem to have been in large part imported into Central Asia from China, Persia, and other areas. Although Khotan was reputedly famous for its rugs, it is impossible to prove that any particular rug fragments are of Khotanese manufacture.

172 Among the various ruins the earliest period is represented by
531 the secular dwellings at the Niya site, and by the stupas of Miran. Amid the shifting sands and scrub-covered cones in the desert north of the present village of Niya, Sir Aurel Stein was able to trace remains of a whole community. In addition to the ever-present stupa there were ancient houses, courtyards, cattlesheds, arbors, orchards, trellises, irrigation canals, and even a footbridge over the old river bed. Broken wooden posts rising above the gaunt earth proved to be the original supports of wattle and plaster walls of old residences.

Some houses of substantial size suggested that the occupants were men of position. From the drift-sand filling the floors of the rooms Stein was able to salvage fairly well-preserved wooden beams and brackets fallen from the ceilings, and fragments of furniture such as chair legs. These were carved with animals, rosettes, pots of leaves and other decorative motifs particularly characteristic of the Gandhara school of sculpture which flour-

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ished in the area of India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries after Christ. This art is often described as "late classical," or referred to as Graeco-Buddhist, since its content was Buddhist while the style was strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic (post Alexandrian) kingdoms of western Asia. 172 531

Stein also uncovered at Niya a large central hall with stuccoed walls still standing several feet high. These were decorated in tempera with a colorful design of floral scrolls and festoons. Coins and dated documents on wooden tablets indicated that the settlement was abandoned near the end of the third century A.D.

In the time of its prosperity Niya seems to have been included in the territory not of ancient Khotan but of the kingdom of Kroraina which stretched to the shores of the Lob lake. The rulers of Kroraina were probably most closely allied in culture and language with the Kushan kings of Gandhara and northern India; but in the Tarim Basin they came under Chinese hegemony. Ruins of a town called "Lou-lan" (the Chinese transliteration of *Kroraina*) were discovered by Sven Hedin near the edge of the old lake bed; and Aurel Stein found in the homes and shrines of Lou-lan carved woodwork of the same types as at Niya. 172

Further remains of the Kroraina realm are the third- and early fourth-century temples at Miran, where the earliest of the Central Asian wall paintings were found. The frescoes originally adorned the interior walls of two small domed shrines. Both were square structures on the outside and circular within, with a small stupa in the center. In each the passage around the stupa was decorated with a band of painted busts: youthful winged male angels in one shrine, garland-bearing lads interspersed with a great variety of cosmopolitan-looking men and women in the other. The upper wall and dome showed more conventional religious scenes such as Buddha preaching to a group of monks, and Buddhist legends. 172 532

In coloring, painting technique, and total effect, these Miran murals resemble amazingly the Hellenistic frescoes of approximately the same period which have been discovered at Fayum in Egypt and Dura-Europos in Syria. An inscription on the thigh

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of a white elephant in one of the Miran pictures records the name of the painter as "Tita," which Sir Aurel Stein takes to be a rendering of the Roman name Titus. Stein fancies that the artist was a "Roman Eurasian" who had followed his calling eastward along the highroad to China. A larger temple also at Miran displayed along its base a series of statues of seated Buddhas about double natural size. The stylized hair curls, elongated ears, and elaborate drapery of these figures once again suggested that they followed the Gandhara models.

Stein also discovered a vast gallery of statues of a similar type lining both the inner and outer faces of a wall enclosing the court of a great stupa at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan. Buddhas and other sacred figures of varying dimensions were ranged side by side, with little apparent order. While most of these figures were draped in classical flowing garments, the Dvarpalas (Guardians of the Gates) wore a secular costume consisting of long under- and overcoats, trousers, and boots. No manuscripts or coins, however, could be found to give definite clues to the age of the ruin.

Far superior to the Miran and Rawak sculptures and much closer in feeling to the art of the ancient Hellenistic world are the statuettes of wood and clay and the broken-off heads of statues found at Tumshuk, by Pelliot and Le Coq. Just north of the oasis town of Maralbashi, the Tumshuk ruins are not far from Kashgar and Yarkand, where routes through the high Pamirs lead into the Tarim Basin from the west. Three flat-topped cliffs rising above the marshy plain bear the remains of temple clusters of various dates. The earliest shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire before the beginning of the fifth century. It was in these that the Gandhara-style pieces were found. A few surviving fresco fragments include a frieze of kneeling monks and a scene of Buddha preaching to armed and regally garbed followers.

The great mass of painting and sculpture illustrating the middle period in Central Asian art — from the fifth century to the eighth century A.D. — comes from the neighborhood of Kucha.

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The *Ming Oi* of Kyzyl comprise several hundred rock-cut caves ranged along several levels on a series of steep cliffs overlooking the Muzart River. In addition to temples of various sizes there were workrooms, storerooms, and sleeping quarters. The most common type of shrine consisted of a square room with a niche for a sacred image in the center of the wall opposite the door. On either side of the statue, a corridor led back to a transverse passage, permitting the worshiper to make the required complete circle about the image. The ceiling was usually in the form of a barrel vault. A few temples had round cupolas and a few others had stone-cut imitations of the "lantern" roof (composed of a series of squares of diminishing size laid diagonally one above the other and leaving open a small aperture at the very top) still found today in Persia and Kashmir. Each of these cell-like temples was furnished with a small vestibule. Long stone balconies and flights of steps gave access to the temples and connected them with each other. Practically no daylight penetrated to the inside of the cells; the decorations must have been executed and enjoyed only by use of lamps. 172 532 778

Le Coq and Grünwedel were able to uncover wall paintings in some sixty of these caves. The frescoes abound in drama and motion. Buddha, in the scenes from his life and in the familiar teaching, meditating, and other poses, is given a human and gentle aspect. The Bodhisattvas, worshipers, kings, queens, Brahmans, ascetics, monks, dancers, musicians, servants, demons, and other personages who surround the Buddha or play roles in the illustrations of the Buddhist legends display a great variety of complexion, feature, figure, garb, expression, and pose. All appear to be active participants: a courtier turns his head to talk to a neighbor; two Brahmans carry on a lively dispute; a supplicant prostrates himself at Buddha's feet. In one particularly effective panel, a king who is taking a ceremonial bath in a tub of butter receives news of Buddha's demise by means of a painted cloth held up before him by a minister. On the cloth are pictured the four "great events": the birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and 172 532

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172 death of Buddha. Several depictions of the burning of Buddha's
532 corpse are notable for the intensity of sorrow communicated by the mourners.

Although the compositions are intricate and the available space tightly packed with figures and background designs, the main contours stand out clearly. Color schemes are based on muted brown, flesh, and rust tones, accented with bright blue and green.

The donors portrayed in the Kyzyl caves (usually on the wall near the entrance) are at first glance astonishingly like knights and ladies of medieval Europe. Tall, fair-skinned, and red-haired, they wear dresses and armor of the style prevailing in Persia under the Sassanian Dynasty from the third through the seventh centuries. The cloaks and gowns appear to be of fine brocade or richly embroidered material. An unusual hair arrangement in which the top locks are cut to a length of about four inches and allowed to fall loose on either side of a center part is characteristic of both men and women. Frequently a stylized flower, perhaps a development of the classical cornucopia carried by certain figures in the Gandhara sculptures, is held in the hand.

Both the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed give evidence of a blending of Indian, Persian and late Hellenistic influences. Many resemblances can be pointed out between these Kyzyl murals and the famed wall paintings of the Ajanta cave temples in Central India, which were executed at roughly the same time. Only rarely, however, do the figures in the Kyzyl pantomimes approach the sinuous grace and delicacy of the best work at Ajanta. Perhaps the closest comparison, outside of the Tarim Basin, is with the frescoes in the caves surrounding the colossal Buddha in the valley of Bamian, near Kabul, in Afghanistan. Chemical analysis has indicated that identical pigments were used. This tie between Kucha and Bamian, which had been a Buddhist center since about 100 A.D., suggests one path along which Buddhist art progressed into Central Asia.

[778] At Kumtura, about nine miles east of Kyzyl along the Muzart River, is another group of cave temples. As at Kyzyl the various temples could be placed approximately as belonging to the fifth,

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sixth, seventh or eighth centuries. Similar architectural styles were followed and similar medieval-looking benefactors were depicted. In subject matter and treatment the paintings are clearly related, but in some of the Kumtura caves is an unmistakable Chinese element, nowhere glimpsed at Kyzyl. The eyes of the Buddhas are just slightly tilted, the landscapes are more freely drawn, and typical T'ang Dynasty cloud forms appear overhead.

Sculptural remains brought from Kyzyl and Kumtura consist mainly of severed heads of goddesses, Bodhisattvas, Brahmans and other personages. The statues were sometimes grouped on balconies, sometimes arranged in separate niches along the walls. The heritage of the Graeco-Buddhist traditions of Gandhara is amply demonstrated in facial features, hair treatment, head ornaments, and, where full figures are shown, in the drapery.

Contemporary with the Kyzyl and Kumtura caves but quite different in style are the group of shrines belonging to an old monastery at Dandan Oilik (in the words of local treasure seekers, "the place of houses with ivory") in the desert near Khotan. Each shrine originally consisted of a square inner cell enclosing a large Buddha statue on a pedestal. This cell was surrounded by a square perambulatory. Both inner and outer walls were decorated with paintings — for the most part of large Buddhas or saints in a checkerboard pattern. On the whole these figures are stiff and rather indifferently drawn. A few representations of legendary scenes include one particularly graceful water nymph of decidedly Indian inspiration. The donors, pictured as tiny figures kneeling at the feet of the large Buddhas, are markedly Chinese or Mongol in appearance.

Decorative stucco reliefs of small Buddhas, saints, and flying Gandharvas, and remains of larger statues, followed the Graeco-Buddhist pattern but achieved no particular distinction. Perhaps the most interesting art finds of the Dandan Oilik site are the considerable number of rectangular wooden panels each about a foot long. They were apparently intended as gifts to the shrine from secular patrons. On these tablets appear sure-handed and

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spirited sketches of Buddhist divinities and legends, some in full color. A particularly attractive drawing shows Rustan, the great Persian hero, as a handsome four-armed Bodhisattva.

Dandan Oilik, by all indications, was abandoned gradually, because of increasing difficulty of irrigation, around the end of the eighth century.

The art of the ancient city at Shorchuk near the Kharashahr oasis reaches into the third and final stage of the Buddhist culture of the Tarim Basin. On the direct route eastward from Kucha to Turfan, Kharashahr was never so important a political power or Buddhist center as its neighbors. Nonetheless great numbers of temples and shrines were found both in the old town and on the ridges of the mountains at its side; there were also a few cave temples cut out of the hills. Most of the shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire in the tenth century, but to have existed for several hundred years before that. The ruins were particularly rich in statuary, many pieces retaining the original coat of bright paints. As well as the familiar Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses in more or less pure Hellenistic style, there were found deities of distinctly oriental appearance and some remarkably realistic horses and camels. Many examples were provided of the variety of heads which could be produced by skillful use of a limited number of molds.

The Shorchuk wall paintings ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries demonstrated even more clearly than the sculpture the intermingling of eastern and western peoples and cultures. The Buddhas, monks and Gandharvas of these frescoes have consistently Far Eastern features, but each monk carries between his prayer-joined palms a long-stemmed flower reminiscent of those held by the donors of Kyzyl. The benefactresses at Shorchuk are slant-eyed, long-nosed, and rather stocky women who can be identified with considerable confidence as belonging to one of the tribes of Western Turks which held sway over Kharashahr for some centuries. The use of deep colors and the presence of stylistic details such as very cursive outlines show strong Chinese influences.

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The latest phase of Central Asian art is most amply illustrated in the Turfan region. The oases of Turfan and Kara Khoja, strategically placed for intercourse both with China to the east and the grazing lands of Jungaria to the north, served as the seats of more or less powerful kingdoms from before the beginning of the present era. The various archaeological explorations found not only two old capitals, Yar Khoto ("the city on the ravine") and Khocho (Kao ch'ang in Chinese; also Idikutshahri and Dakianus) but a number of semi-isolated monastic establishments in the environs. Pieces of sculpture, paintings on paper and silk and various other small objects of art were purchased from local treasure seekers as well as directly excavated. In the circumstances, the dating of many finds is only conjectural. Several markedly Hellenistic heads fall in this category. 172 532

Certain buildings within the old city of Khocho and a few of the sites at Toyuk, Chikkan Kol, and Bezeklik have been clearly shown to belong to the sixth and seventh century. The extant wall paintings in these ruins are on the whole similar to those of the Kucha and Kharashahr oases. In some of these temples, painted medallions on the ceilings substitute for the earlier carved-out imitations of the lantern roof.

From the middle of the eighth century Turfan came under the rule of the Uighur Turks. Before coming to Turfan the ruling Uighur Khans had been converted to Manichaeism, a religion of Persian origin based on the opposition of Light (signifying Good) and Darkness (symbolizing Evil). In Turfan the Uighurs appear to have patronized Buddhism as well as Manichaeism and seem to have permitted Syrian or Nestorian Christians to follow their own faith. A mural which seems to be Christian in character was found covered up by an inner wall in a small temple outside the city walls of Khocho. A priest, in vestments which are clearly neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, holds incense in one hand, a vessel of holy water in the other. He appears to be blessing three persons of smaller stature who approach him, each carrying a long-stemmed leafy branch. The worshipers have the slant eyes of the Orient but the priest appears Byzantine. 174 532

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172 532 A fine Manichaean wall painting showing a priest of Persian features, possibly Mani himself, dressed in full canonicals and followed by several ranks of white-gowned and tall-bonneted *electi* (devotees under special vows of purity and abstinence), was similarly discovered behind a single layer of bricks. Presumably temples were cleared in this way for other types of worship. Illuminated pages of Manichaean religious texts and Manichaean temple banners, also found in various places in and near Khocho, show the disciples in the same costumes. Both men and women (*electi* and *electae*) are pictured, sometimes with hands clasped at the bosom and hidden muff-like in the robe, sometimes carrying or writing in books. In the book roll fragments and pages, the pictures and text, in a special Manichaean script, are combined to produce a total effect very similar to the early Christian codices of medieval Europe. Bright clear colors are used and the designs are kept fairly simple. Although unmistakably related to the general development of Central Asian art, the Manichaean finds actually constitute a separate and exotic growth with roots deep in third-century Sassanian Persia from which Mani himself sprang.

172 532 778 Buddhist art in Uighur times is best exemplified by the wall paintings of the vast majority of the temples at Bezeklik ("the place where there are decorations") near the village of Murtuk. Here a great phalanx of free-standing structures and rock-cut caves, some with structural antechambers, occupied a protected ledge between the river and the mountains. Hundreds of separate temples were still preserved in various stages of disrepair at the beginning of the present century.

A splendidly preserved set of murals was discovered in the temple which Le Coq numbered 9. Separate panels depicted groups of Indian monks in yellow with their individual names supplied in an Indian script, and Far Eastern monks in violet with both Chinese and Uighur names. All carried single long-stemmed flowers. The main pattern of decoration consisted in a series of Pranidhi or prayer scenes. Each one shows a large standing Buddha elaborately garbed and bejeweled and surrounded by an

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elongated aureole. From five to ten figures are disposed about the Buddha in vertical columns on either side. Usually the two at the base kneel and present gifts such as food, lamps, or trays of flowers. A small Chinese house in a compound frequently is found in a top corner. Some of the worshipers are highly individualized and would seem to be portraits of particular monks or in one case of secular persons who are perhaps merchants. Other monks, however, and characters identifiable as Brahmans, spear-bearers, goddesses, youthful Bodhisattvas, and so forth appear in highly schematized fashion. The facial features of the Buddhas and the stylized attendant personages approximate a single type with narrow eyes, long noses, heavy jowls, and often a hairline mustache. The monks who seem to be drawn from life, however, exhibit much more variety. Several have red hair with blue or green eyes; some show red or gray stubble on the shaven pate, cheeks, and chin. Story elements are reduced to an almost unnoticeable minimum — a tiny raft underneath the feet of the Buddha, for instance, indicates that a seagoing legend is involved. Detail, in fact, rather than composition differentiates one Pranidhi scene from another. Profusion of ornament, sureness of line, and careful symmetry all contribute to an effect of great elegance and sophistication.

Occasionally tiny figures of donors are tucked in near the feet of the Buddha in the Pranidhi scenes. Full-scale pictures of the Uighur benefactors adorn small walls near the entrance of the inner temple. Like portraits of Uighur nobles in other shrines they show strong-visaged men with small mustaches and waist-length braids of black hair. They wear tall headdresses and floor-length gowns of embroidered material. The women have an elaborate puffed coiffure topped by a sort of crown. Once again each benefactor holds a blossoming stalk. Considerable care has been taken to present these donors as individuals and the names of many are inscribed on vertical tablets near the heads.

In addition to Pranidhi scenes and portraits of donors, the Bezeklik murals and the other wall paintings in the Khocho area dating from the Uighur period (ninth through twelfth century

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172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions
778 of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context: deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millennium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excellence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into question previous references to the area as no more than a highway connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger population in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity, based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated, would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many monasteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of invaders.

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Western scholars have generally approached Sinkiang as a peripheral area, a sort of transmission belt through which classical Greek forms, motifs, and techniques were passed on to China and Japan. Later on recognition was granted to Persian and Indian influences, and even traces of contact with Byzantium. Attention has also been devoted to the westward expansion of elements of Chinese civilization. The accumulated archaeological evidence, however, suggests the need for revision of these older attitudes. At first (as at Niya and Miran), a mere outpost of the Hellenistic world of western Asia, the Tarim Basin later developed a unique synthesis of alien and indigenous cultural elements. The Kyzyl tableaux and mountain landscapes, the Rustam from Dandan Oilik, the goddesses and friars of Shorchuk, the Uighur nobles of Bezeklik — to cite only a few examples — could have been created nowhere else in the world. On grounds of the distinctive character and the intrinsic value of its productions, Buddhist Central Asia clearly ranks as an art center of international importance.

ALICE THORNER

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

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the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

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In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

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tapukci belonged: the Seid (*alevi*) physicians (*öteci*), conjurers (*apsunci*) and astrologers (*münejim*). To the government officials belonged: the Khan, the Wazirs, the army leaders (*su bashi*), the scribes (*bitikci*), the ambassadors (*yolaoci*) and the guards (*kapukci*).[9] Descriptions are given of the characteristics of each of these groups and their usefulness to the ruler. There are prescribed attitudes toward the peasants, the nomads, the artisans and the merchants.

About the nomads, the work has the following to say:

There also exist cattle breeders,
They watch after their herds of horses.
This is a very truthful group of people, but wisdom they do not possess,
Treat them well. . . .
Mix with them, carry on acquaintance, eat and drink with them,
Allow them to live as it behooves humans to live.
If you mix with them, keep yourself in hand.
Associate and treat them well.
Because they are constantly without laws and without directing thread.
Speak to them good words, but call them not friends.[10]

About the peasants there are the following utilitarian remarks:

These people are necessary to you,
so that your stomach's needs may be supplied. . . .

Associate with them,
speak good to them with your tongue. . . .[11]

A quite different attitude is expressed toward the artisans and the merchants:

[9] H. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachdokumente*, Innsbruck, 1870, pp. 5–6.
[10] M. Abdvkalykov, and A. Pankratova, eds., *History of the Kazakh S.S.R.*, Alma-Ata, 1943, p. 72 (in Russian).
[11] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

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Another kind of people are the artisans,
They create art with their hands, so as to earn their living.
They are all indispensable to you,
Cultivate them, they will bring you advantage, O Great One,

From them come all the works of the earth,
How many amazing things they make.
With them you must associate and you must treat them well.
Make them happy and live yourself in happiness.
If they work for you, — give them gifts without fail,
Give them food and drink. Give them abundant food.[12]

As to the merchants, the ruler is advised to

Deal with them, hold open your gates for them.
Treat them well
so that your good name will spread.
It is these who will carry your name through the world,
who will spread your reputation, good or bad. . . .
If you want to be sure to become famous,
let the merchant have just pay for his goods.
If you want to create a good name for yourself, O Lord,
treat well the caravan people.[13]

Of striking interest is the rational philosophy which permeates the whole work. Knowledge and science are not only highly praised and recommended to the ruler as his most trusted guides, but are considered more important than princely glory and riches. The following section, entitled "Man's honor derives only from knowledge and understanding," may serve as an example of the high regard for learning expressed in *Kudatku Bilik:*

He created fire, wind, water, and earth,
And to Man He gave virtue, knowledge and intellect. . . .

Consider knowledge as high, intellect as great
With those two things He has elevated His slave. . . .

[12] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[13] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

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Know the sense of knowledge, know what knowledge is.
Evil will disappear because of Man's knowledge.
The ignorant ones are full of evil
If Man will not heal this evil, he will surely die.
So be it, O ignorant Man, cure your evil,
Heal the ignorant ones, O my knowing friend.[14]

This gives testimony to the high level of education among the ruling circles of Uighur society at this time, which is no doubt a result of the influx of Arabic science with Islamization. In spite of this new scientific attitude, strong remnants of the old Turkic shamanism are still found. Thus, the ruler is advised to treat the physician well, because he can heal him of disease. Following this however, the ruler is also advised to treat the faith healers (*mukasim*) well, because, while the physician heals disease with medicine, the shaman heals it with a talisman.[15]

Kudatku Bilik must have been extremely popular and it probably spread all over the Turkic speaking world. We have verses from the *Kudatku Bilik* on a piece of pottery which was found in *Saraijik* (Saraichikovskoe) at the mouth of the Ural River on the Caspian Sea.[16] Recently, a work of a somewhat later date, but representing the same kind of dry didacticism, was found in Turkey, the *Hibat al-haqa'iq*.[17] This discovery showed that *Kudatku Bilik* was not an isolated occurrence. It is said that in the eleventh century Kashgar was the center of Turkic culture for the entire Inner Asian region. When, however, the Turks regained sovereign status after the Mongol epoch, this cultural center shifted west, and there are no further literary works preserved from Kashgar, or any other Uighur territory.

Only the period of the strong Uighur Empire produced literary works, influenced both by Western (Iranian, Arabic) and Southern (Indian) culture. After the eleventh century we have no

[14] Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[15] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.

[16] *Zapiski kollegii Vostokovedov*, XXI, p. 42, quoted by Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[17] Comp. J. Deny, "*A propos d'un traite de morale turc en écriture ouigoure*," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 60, 1925, pp. 189–234.

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174 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural
538 production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs,
177 (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

mice.[21] Another series of proverbs which develop the moral that man often provokes his own downfall takes us back to the Indian story cycle *Jatakam*. One of the *Jatakam* tales tells of the sparrow who, trying to stop two goats from fighting, flies between them and is crushed.[22] We have only to compare this with the Uighur proverb, "Two stallions are fighting and a fly is squashed," [23] to see the parallel. The Uighur proverb, "When the mouse shall die, it scratches the testes of the cat," [24] also has its counterpart in the *Jatakam* series, such as the tale about the goat which is about to be saved from slaughter because there is no knife, whereupon the goat digs up a knife accidentally from the ground and is slaughtered with it. This story also occurs in a Greek tale and is echoed in an Arab proverb "Don't be like the sheep which perished by digging with its hoofs." There is some controversy as to the way this story came to Sinkiang and became an Uighur proverb. Fraenkel [25] claims that its origin was Greece, whence it traveled to the Arabs and with Arab merchants to Sinkiang and India. R. Pischel, however,[26] avers that the fact that it occurred in the *Jatakam* proves its Indian origin.

Many of the Uighur tales belong to general Turkic and Iranian Inner Asian story cycles and are the offspring of Inner Asian written folk tales. Such is the story of Hamra,[27] which roughly follows the theme of the popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man.[28] Others again are retold versions of romances of the famous fifteenth-century Uzbek poet, Ali-sher Newai. Such are the tales

[21] Comp. *Panchatantra*, (T. Benfey,) Leipzig, 1859, II, pp. 194–195.

[22] Comp. R. Pischel; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 47, 86–87 (hereafter "ZDMG").

[23] C. Brockelman, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, Heft 1/4, 71, No. 255.

[24] Brockelman, *op. cit.*, No. 225.

[25] *Das Schaf und das Messer*, ZDMG, 47, pp. 737–740.

[26] ZDMG, 47, 88.

[27] V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur d. Turkischen Staemme Suedsibiriens*, VI, pp. 114–130; G. Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki*.

[28] H. Vambery, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 35.

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of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

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A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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The Uighurs do not seem to possess the same propensity for song as the nomadic Turks, where the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. Uighur songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. They show none of the zest and strength of the nomadic songs and with a few exceptions are rather lyrics on personal themes. The majority of the songs which have been collected are love songs, primarily concerned with rejected love. They are highly erotic, ornamental, pictorial and sometimes almost dreamlike and show markedly the influence of Iranian lyrics, as in the following example: 533

On whatever path you may be walking
There I shall walk too.
If you are a flower blossom
I shall be its leaf.
The peach has blossomed, oh my love
On your body.
I have become a bad one,
Lying on your bosom, oh my love.
How beautifully you danced
In circling movements
Among our friends
Appearing in beauty.
Do you want to leave?
Who insulted you that you wish to go away?
You have left my body,
Whither will you bring my soul?

You cannot know, my love
The pain which is inside me.
I have burned myself on the flame of love.
You could not stand it if it were you who was burned.
The waters of Kara Hodzha
Flow from shaded gardens,
The dark-browed, beautiful young woman
Lights the flames of love in the heart.
My love, did you come to see me?
Or to burn me with the flames of love?

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Did you come, oh my love, to revive
The fire which first you enflamed
And then extinguished . . . ?[32]

Side by side with these personal songs, so strongly influenced by the Iranian poetic tradition, there is a small group of songs which are not personal in character, but are concerned with the past of the Uighur people. These are the songs which the Uighurs call *kuchak* or *kuchuk* and which Grenard defines as ballads, which are in essence "very short epics."[33] These songs are probably the closest approach of Uighur art to an epic tradition. In form at least they contain many epic stylistic devices, such as frequent repetition of key phrases and strongly rhythmic verse. It is only the form of these songs, however, which is reminiscent of the epos. Their content, as we shall see later, is usually not epic in character.

The *kuchuk* is not as alive among the Uighurs as the epic song is among the nomads. Grenard remarks on the difficulties he had in recording these songs because of the scarcity of people who knew them. Of the few people he found who were able to recall some of the *kuchuk*, only a few were able to recite more than part of the song.[34] This is in strong contrast to the nomadic cultures, where the epic tradition is still so strong that almost everybody can recite at least parts of an epic poem.

Most of the *kuchuk* which were recorded by Grenard tell of the Yakub Beg revolt, which is depicted as a purely religious war, the sole aim of which was to "raise the banner of Islam" against the Chinese infidels. There is nothing epic in the content of these songs. There are no descriptions of the brave, conquering hero who symbolizes the feeling of strength of the tribe, which we find in the epics of the nomads. On the contrary, here the hero does not conquer, but suffers a martyr's fate, as a result of his faith and his participation in the revolt. It is interesting to note that there

[32] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.

[33] F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la haute Asie*, Paris, 1898, III, p. 83.

[34] Grenard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85.

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is not even an epic treatment of Yakub Beg himself (at least as far as Grenard's records, the only ones of the *Kuchuk*, indicate), although he would certainly have been the most likely figure to become a legendary national hero. He is only fleetingly mentioned in one of the songs as "the martyr of Kurla" (the place of his death).[35] In contrast to nomadic songs and epics about similar situations of revolt against a foreign intruder, the Uighur songs display no spirit of defiance and national resistance, no feeling of nationalism and social cohesion. They rather show a melancholy spirit of defeat and resignation to defeat. The events described in these songs are not the broader aspects of the national history of the Uighurs, but only specific events in a specific locality.

Typical of this melancholy treatment of a heroic epoch is the *kuchuk* about Mahmud Khan, a functionary of Yakub Beg in Artysh (a large village northeast of Kashgar), who was exiled by the Chinese to Komul.

If you come to the house of flowers,
You will see only wilted flowers . . .
When will Mahmud Khan return to his own town of Artysh?
Mahmud Khan is walking on the summit of the mountain of
    Komul,
A gun in his hands and a tear in his dark eyes. . . .
Mahmud Khan's children have become orphans.
Have you no more strength, Mahmud Khan?
Mahmud Khan has left Kashgar.
If he were still there, justice would be dealt out equitably
And the prayers of the orphans and of the travelers could be
    heard. . . .[36]

There are many more Taranchi texts than texts of the Uighur proper, because of the great interest of the Russians in folklore. Taranchi oral art seems to be identical with that of the Uighurs, with one major addition — the oral art which has sprung up since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. This "newer" folk-

[35] *Ibid.*, III, p. 100.
[36] *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 100–103.

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lore is concerned with the tragic fate of a people driven from their homeland and forcefully settled in a foreign region. These Taranchi songs and tales are full of bitter complaints about oppression by the Chinese, about forced labor and about the constant struggle of the Taranchis for their rights against the Chinese, and are interesting because, unlike most Uighur folklore, they are not concerned with personal, private matters and grief, but with the social grief and oppression of a whole people.

A great tyrant by the name of Gong became Chiang Chun in the Ili Mountains,
He said: We must take a tax from the rich Taranchi . . .
[But] the imposition of taxes exceeded all measures of oppression.
Demanding taxes, they hit and beat the Taranchi and bound their hands.
The Chiang Chun lost all his sense. The cup overflowed and poured over.
Not finding means to pay the heavy taxes, the people had to sell their beloved children.
They took camels and horses from the rich and bread from the poor.[37]

These mountains, high mountains, impede the road of the poor.
If a poor man dies, who will cry over him? Only a poor man will cry over a poor man.
The tears of the resettled people have not dried yet on the Yamatu Ford and on the road to Tokuztara.[38]

Taranchi prose tales frequently exhibit the same kind of subject matter. A typical tale is the story of Nozugum.[39] This tale, which has a strong epic character, tells of the defeat of the Muslim rising against the Chinese in Kashgar. The Chinese massacre the men and send the women to Ili as wives for the Kalmuks. The

[37] *Ibid.*, N. N. Pantusov, *The War of the Moslems against the Chinese*, Introduction, Kazan, 1881, pp. 11–12 (in Russian).
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
[39] Pantusov, *Obraztsy*, pp. 49–60.

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heroine of the tale is the brave woman Nozugum, who refuses to 533
be married to an infidel and repeatedly tries to flee. She is finally executed by the Chinese and worshiped by her people as a martyr. The tale ends with a versified moral which reflects the strong spirit of national resistance, evidenced in so much of Taranchi oral art:

If a woman is like you, Nozugum, honest and pure,
Why should she fear the Chinese criminals?
If such be the action of women
Then these women will taste the joys of paradise.
May God have mercy on the soul of Nozugum,
May she achieve the virtues of a great martyr.

Although religious ideas and religious leaders have played an important part in Uighur society, it is possible to exaggerate their importance. A case in point is the common assertion by Western writers, who base themselves mainly on Uighur informants, that the great uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century were initiated by representatives of the Moslem clergy. Unpublished documents by Uighur eyewitnesses of the uprisings indicate, however, that they began among the peasantry and the poor of the cities.[40] Representatives of the Moslem aristocracy joined the movement later and made themselves the leaders.

The chief cultural heritage of the Kazakhs is in their folklore 538
and music; the two combine in their epic poetry. In addition there 533
is a body of literature known as the "book songs," predominantly religious in character, which were written for the propagation of Islam.

Unlike the literature and oral art of the Uighurs, Kazakh folk art is primarily social, concerned with the collective problems of

[40] During such risings, and especially in the period of turmoil under Yakub Beg, many people fled into Russian territory. Both the Tsarist officials and interested scholars took down a great many "depositions" or personal narratives of these refugees. The University of Kazan, which because it was in the heart of the Russian Tatar region was an important center of Turkic studies, became the great repository of such documents; many of which, however, were not carefully studied until after the Bolshevik Revolution.

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538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra,* represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in
538 contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

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538 are particularly popular because of the close association of the
773 Kazakh cattle breeders with animals — and tales dealing with the struggle for good pasture land. Thus, for example, the tale of *Zhupar*[43] tells of the mother of a great family who leads her children away from the rest of the clan, which has become poor because of cattle starvation.

The heroic epos is of particular importance among the nomads. It is usually connected with actual historical events such as the falling apart of the Kazakh Khanate (*Shora Narokov*), the fight against the Kalmuks (*Er Targyn*), the struggle with the Uzbeks (*Kambara*). The authors of these epics are generally unknown and the epos is spread by the traveling epic bards, *zhyrshi* (from *zhyr*, song, which is the only term the Kazakhs have for the epos). The meter of the epos is usually a seven- or eight-footed verse, with a varying number of lines to a stanza. There is no steady rhythm in the verse. The musical quality is achieved by instrumentation and is built on tonal repetition and alliteration. The more dramatic parts of the epos are rendered in a fast and declamatory meter (*zheldirme* — the trotting race).[44] The origin of most of the epics appears to be very early. The fact that the term "Kazakh" rarely occurs, and that the heroes are called "emigrants from Nogaila" leads to the conclusion that at the time of the origin of most of the epics the Kazakhs were still part of the Golden Horde.

A typical heroic epos is that of *Er Targyn*,[45] which proclaims the virtues and prowess of the typical epic hero, who by his strength, alertness, and sometimes almost supernatural powers, is able to defeat singlehanded the greatest armies and the most powerful supernatural beings and to extricate himself from the most awkward situations. In this particular epos, the hero, a fugitive from his own Khan, finds refuge in the land of the Crimean Khan and by his great power helps him defeat the Kalmuks. For this he is promised the Khan's daughter, whom he wins only

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 140–141.
[44] L. S. Sobolev, *Pesni stepei*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 12–13.
[45] Radlov, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 153–205.

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social 538
status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long 773
and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which 538
are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for 538
their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, 186
their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence. 538

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian 177
exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

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538 ture, based not only on the traditional forms of Kazakh oral
177 poetry, but also on such Western literary forms as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The rapid rise in literacy enabled the new literature to become truly the property of the people. The new themes are concerned with modern problems such as the Civil War, the Five Year Plans, the building of a socialist society and the war against Nazi Germany.

Despite the fact that there are available no texts collected from the Sinkiang Kazakhs, it may be assumed that the social and national upheaval of the Kazakhs on the Russian side of the border has influenced the oral art of the Kazakhs in Sinkiang, particularly since the Russo-Chinese border never presented a serious barrier to the movement of nomads.

538 The main cultural heritage of the Kirghiz, like that of the Kazakhs, is in their tradition of oral art and in a strongly developed sense of music; but epic poetry is even more strongly developed. Many of the Turkic national tales, legends, and heroic episodes have been amalgamated by the Kirghiz into a huge national epos, which has recently been completely recorded for the first time by Soviet ethnographers and folklorists. This national epos, *Manas*,[47] deals primarily with the Kirghiz struggle against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth and eightheenth centuries, which is depicted as a religious fight of the Mohammedan true believers against the infidels. It gives a detailed picture of the life and customs of the Kirghiz, with descriptions of battles, family life, marriage, death ceremonies, feasts. According to Radlov in the nineteenth century and to recent Soviet ethnologists, this epos is still very much alive among the Kirghiz people, and practically every Kirghiz can recite parts of it. Since the Soviet Revolution, the Soviet Kirghiz have developed a considerable body of new literature, in which they have taken over the Western forms of the novel and the drama, in addition to the use of their old traditional epic and poetic forms.

[47] The most recent and most complete translation into Russian is: U. Dzhekishev *et al.*, eds., *Manas*, Moscow, 1946, 370 pp.

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APPENDIX III International Boundaries on the Pamirs

IN THE decades of Anglo-Russian rivalry described in Chapter II, the eventual junction of the expanding frontiers of the British and Russian Empires was an open question. In 1895, however, as part of the easing of relations between Britain and Russia, a Pamir Boundary Commission was empowered to lay down a jointly recognized frontier. 131

This Commission consisted of a Russian Mission under General Shveikovskii, which surveyed the approaches from the northern side, and a British Mission under General Gerard, which surveyed the approaches from the southern side. The two Missions met at Lake Victoria "and from that point to the eastward demarcated the line which was thereafter to divide Russian from British interests in highest Asia." This phrasing is cited from the article "Pamirs" in the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911), by Sir Thomas H. Holdich, who as Colonel Holdich had been an important member of the British Pamir Mission of 1895.

The principal sources for the description of the frontier thus established are:

1. *Report of the Proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, Calcutta, 1897, with chapters by Maj.-Gen. Gerard, Col. Holdich, Lt. Col. Wahab, and others. 131 112
2. *The Indian Borderland*, by T. H. Holdich, London, 1901.
3. Article "Pamirs," by T. H. H. (Sir Thomas H. Holdich),

[p. 259]

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131 in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Ed., Cambridge-New York, 1911.

112 4. *Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan*, 1837–1907, by William Habberton, Urbana, Illinois, 1937.

5. "The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus," by G. N. Curzon, *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, London, 1896.

131 The Anglo-Russian survey resulted in an "Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the region of the Pamirs" (1895). The essential paragraphs, cited here from Habberton's book (Appendix III, pp. 91–92) are:

> 4. Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia engage to abstain from exercising any political influence or control, the former to the north, the latter to the south, of the above line of demarcation.
>
> 5. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engage that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from the East end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan, that it shall not be annexed to Great Britain, and that no military posts or fortifications shall be established in it.

000 In *The Indian Borderland* Holdich unofficially but authoritatively describes the effect of this wording (p. 284):

> [It] defined a buffer between ourselves and Russia. It is not an imposing buffer — this long attenuated arm of Afghanistan reaching out to touch China with the tips of its fingers. It is only eight miles wide at one part, and could be ridden across in a morning's ride.

Neither Afghanistan nor China, though their interests were affected, took part in this important survey and frontier delimita-

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tion. Afghanistan may be considered to have accepted tacitly rather than explicitly its acquisition of a corridor of territory reaching to China. Holdich noted in his 1911 article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that "All the head of the Little Pamir, with the Wakhan valley, is consequently Afghan territory, but no military posts have been established so far." On the other hand Afghanistan has effectively exercised its jurisdiction in this territory. Thus Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (London, 1912, 2 vols.; Vol. II, pp. 63–85) describes how he was escorted through the region in 1906 by an Afghan patrol sent up especially for the purpose, and mentions that the Afghan authorities collected a yearly tithe from the herds of the Kirghiz of the Pamirs.

The effect of the 1895 delimitation may therefore be summarized by saying that it was essentially an Anglo-Russian agreement, and that its most definite result was to set a precise boundary beyond which Russia would not expand in the direction of India. This result was achieved by creating a new sector of the Russo-Afghan frontier, by drawing a line from previously recognized Afghan territory to a point on what both the Russians and the British agreed to recognize as the Chinese frontier.

This part of the demarcation did not create a buffer between British and Russian territory, but merely a line between Russian and Afghan territory. The buffer was created by the further agreement of the British to recognize as Afghan "the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from the East end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier."

The Russians, both Tsarist and Soviet, have stood permanently on the 1895 demarcation as far as it concerned both their own claims and British claims. Nor, as far as the Pamir sector of their frontier is concerned, have they had any disputes with either the Chinese or the Afghans.

The British, right up to the end of their rule in India, stood on their 1895 demarcation of the new Wakhan valley frontier with Afghanistan and had no further contact with the Russians across the buffer.

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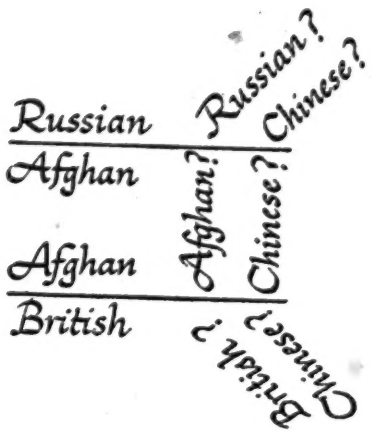
000 The Afghans appear to have remained satisfied.

The only question that is still open, therefore, is the question of Chinese frontier claims in the Pamir region.

The result of the 1895 delimitation, and the relative efficiency of the Afghan buffer between British and Russian territory, may be diagrammed as below:

As this diagram shows, the stability of the complex of Pamir frontiers as a whole, from the time of the Anglo-Russian delimitation in 1895, did not depend solely on the Anglo-Russian agreement and Afghan satisfaction with that agreement. Where each



country had a frontier with China, it also depended on mutual Russo-Chinese, Afghan-Chinese, and Anglo-Chinese satisfaction with that frontier. If, for example, either the Russians or the British had at any time expanded into Chinese territory around the end of the Afghan buffer or corridor, that strip of Afghan territory would have ceased to be a complete buffer, and the British and Russian frontiers would again have been in direct contact.

In this connection it is significant that the British heritage in India and on the Pamirs has now fallen to two heirs, Pakistan and the Union of India. These two heirs are in dispute over the state

of Kashmir, including its little tribal dependencies of Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar in the high Hindu Kush. A part of the Pamir complex of frontiers is therefore open to definition or re-definition between the Union of India, Pakistan, and China. 000

At the time of the Anglo-Russian delimitation of 1895 China, as a weak state, avoided commitment. The Chinese policy, then and later, was to avoid as far as possible the determination of Chinese rights by any of the Great Powers, and to endeavor to keep open a number of traditional claims, however vague, to sovereignty and suzerainty to the west and south of Sinkiang. Among the claims to suzerainty, rather than sovereignty, was the receipt of "tribute" from Hunza, in spite of the fact that Hunza was garrisoned by Kashmir troops under British officers. To make it worth the while of the Mir of Hunza to continue sending the tribute, the presents bestowed on the tribute-bearing delegation exceeded the value of the tribute itself.

The British, for their part, tolerantly permitted the continuation of this old custom, which is mentioned as late as 1922–1924 by C. P. Skrine, who was then British Consul General in Sinkiang, in his book *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926, p. 21). At the same time the Mirs of Hunza, for their part, traditionally claimed not only pasturage rights for the tribesmen of Hunza on the Pamirs, but the right to collect grazing fees from others who pastured their herds in some of that territory. These customary rights, once recognized as far as the high grazing grounds of Sarikol, have been encroached on by the Chinese authorities of Sinkiang, who in 1936 seized three hundred sheep and two men of the Mir of Hunza in Sarikol. (See K. P. S. Menon, *Delhi-Chungking*, Bombay-London, 1947, pp. 28 and 31.)

The Pamir frontier between the old British Empire in India and Chinese territory in Sinkiang must therefore be called an unstable frontier. In what was once British territory, the Gilgit-Hunza-Nagar fringe of Kashmir is now controlled by Pakistan, while Kashmir proper is disputed between Pakistan and the Union of India. In the resulting atmosphere of uncertainty, the question of common frontiers with China, and especially with Russia, has

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000 once more become of interest. The interest is more sensational than really important, since the routes of travel are so poor that they carry only a thin traffic, and the terrain so desolate that it does not permit either the movement of large bodies of troops or the stationing of strong garrisons. Nevertheless, in contrast with the old tendency of British maps to show no direct contact between the British-Indian frontier and Russian territory, recent newspaper maps tend to show a common frontier between territory claimed by Pakistan (or the Union of India) and the Soviet Pamirs.

The history of this uncertainty can be partly traced. It concerns the British-Indian frontier with Sinkiang, not the Russo-Chinese or Afghan-Chinese frontiers, for while there is no record of formal Chinese acceptance of the Russo-Chinese and Afghan-Chinese frontiers as far as they were affected by the Anglo-Russian delimitation of 1895, neither is there any record of dispute.

In 1895, the British attitude appears to have been that Sarikol and the Taghdumbash Pamir belonged to China if they belonged to anybody. In the Pamir Commission *Report*, in Chapter VI, "Report on Survey Work," by Lt. Col. R. H. Wahab (R.E.), on p. 49, there appears the following passage:

> Beyond the desirability of improving our geographical knowledge of the region, it was important to ascertain where the recognized frontier of China actually lay, and this could best be determined by pushing on in an easterly direction until signs of effective occupation were reached. Accordingly, Colonel Holdich and Major Wahab, with two surveyors, left camp on the 4th day of September, 1895, crossed the Bayik pass on the 5th and reached the Taghdumbash stream, head branch of the Yarkand river, on the 6th; here a small outpost, garrisoned by four Chinese soldiers, was found. On the 7th Colonel Holdich, accompanied by Mr. Macartney, started eastwards down the valley towards Tashkurgan, while Major Wahab marched west up the Taghdumbash Pamir. No signs of Chinese occupation were seen in this direction, though the nomad Kirghiz whose tents were found

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for some distance up the valley professed to be Chinese subjects. 000

It seems legitimate to read into this passage a British readiness, at that time, to accept a Chinese claim to the entire Taghdumbash Pamir. On the other hand it is also arguable that the British at that time were prepared to see the Russians take over the Kirghiz population of the Taghdumbash Pamir, west of the tiny Chinese outpost mentioned by Lt. Col. Wahab. The passage supporting this view occurs in Chapter IV of the Pamir Report, by Colonel Holdich, "General Geographical Description of the Pamirs," on p. 39, where Holdich states that the nomad population is . . .

> . . . entirely Kirghiz, and it may, I think, be taken for granted that it will soon be entirely Russian. . . . The total population of non-Russian Kirghiz that we encountered could not possibly have amounted to more than a few hundred. There is doubtless a tendency on their part toward accepting Chinese domination, which is due to the easy terms on which they are permitted to live within Chinese territory, and the absence of direct taxation; the skins of certain wild animals killed by their huntsmen forming the chief tribute claimed by Chinese authority at Tashkurgan. But the security for life and property will inevitably lead them to the Russian fold eventually, especially as there is no ethnographical distinction whatever between the Kirghiz of the Alichur or Alai-Pamir and those of the Taghdumbash. There seems, indeed, to be a certain historical fitness about the return of the Kirghiz to a Christian Government, if they are, as they seem to be, a survival of the medieval Nestorian Christian communities of Asia.

Paragraph 5 of the Pamir Agreement, which has already been cited, should be compared with both of the foregoing passages. In this paragraph the British

> engage that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from

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000

> the East end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan . . .

This wording does not state explicitly, but does allow it to be inferred that — in the British view at that time — south of the Russian frontier, and north of the British frontier, what territory was not Afghan was Chinese. The inference is supported by the map of India between pages 376 and 377 of Vol. XIV of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition, 1911), where a clearly drawn frontier recognizes the entire Taghdumbash Pamir as Chinese, as far south as the Killik Pass. In contrast with this map, however, the text of Sir Thomas Holdich's article in Vol. XX of the same edition of the *Encyclopaedia,* which gives the names of the Pamirs recognized as Russian, does not mention the Taghdumbash Pamir in this enumeration and thus by default does not either allocate it to China or claim it for Britain. Holdich, moreover, was responsible for a striking discrepancy of wording. Although, in his unofficial *Indian Borderland,* he said that the Anglo-Russian demarcation "defined a buffer between ourselves and Russia," he also wrote almost identical passages, both in his *Indian Borderland* and in the "Narrative of Proceedings" which he contributed as Chapter II of the official Pamir Boundary *Report,* in which he referred to a "trijunction" of the "three great Empires" — that is, Britain, Russia, and China, without mention of Afghanistan. If the purpose of creating an Afghan buffer was to prevent junction of the British and Russian frontiers, then why was there still a "trijunction" of the British, Russian, and Chinese frontiers? Habberton, in Chapter V of his Anglo-Russian Relations, rightly criticizes the looseness of Holdich's wording.

In the absence of any official statement on the subject, it yet seems possible to put forward a rational explanation. Through the Pamir Boundary Commission, the British had attained a major objective: they had secured Russian confirmation of a line beyond which Russia would not expand. Anglo-Russian friction died down. It seemed desirable to emphasize a buffer between British and Russian territory rather than contact of British and Russian

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frontiers. The British maps, accordingly, emphasized a meeting of Afghan and Chinese territory that separated British and Russian territory. 000

On the other hand, there had been no formal demarcation of the British-Chinese frontier in this region. It therefore seemed undesirable to make any definite statements in writing, conceding specific territory in the Pamirs to the Chinese.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that British maps on the whole continued to delineate a meeting of Afghan and Chinese territory up to the time of the Russian Revolution. As late as 1920, indeed, in the map attached to *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia,* by Ella Sykes and Sir Percy Sykes, the buffer continues to be shown as an Afghan-Chinese buffer. Sir Percy Sykes was British Consul-General in Kashgar in 1915. By 1926, however, when C. P. Skrine (who had also been Consul-General in Kashgar) published his *Chinese Central Asia,* the map attached to the book showed no Anglo-Chinese frontier on the Pamirs, and left it possible to infer that British territory went on around the end of the Afghan buffer and met the Russian frontier.

Similarly, and with special clearness, the map attached to *Between the Oxus and the Indus* (London, 1935), by Col. R. C. F. Schomberg, who over a period of a good many years traveled intensively and extensively both on the Pamirs and in Sinkiang, unmistakably delineates British territory spreading around the end of the Afghan buffer and a "trijunction" of British, Afghan, and Soviet Russian territory, rather than of British, Russian, and Chinese territory.

Pursuing the hypothesis further, it may be suggested that this change reflected not only the change from friendliness between the British and the old Tsarist regime to hostility and suspicion between the British and the new Soviet regime, but growing British concern over the decay and instability of Chinese rule in Sinkiang.

It does not seem far-fetched to suggest that the British, by altering their usage in the drawing of maps, were diplomatically making preparations for the possibility either of Soviet expansion

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OOO into Sinkiang, or the coming of a regime in Sinkiang that might be more friendly to the Soviets than to the British regime in India. In either event, it might well have seemed to the British that it would be better to claim as strong as possible a frontier in direct contact with the Russian frontier, than to try to support a weak or perhaps even unfriendly Chinese regime in its claims to territory separating British and Russian territory.

The argument is now irrelevant, to the extent that British rule over what was once a string of outposts of the Indian Empire has now lapsed, but it may have left a legacy by influencing the form in which Pakistan and India may dispute the new frontier to be drawn between themselves, and the claims which these two states may eventually make when there is a question of the formal demarcation of their frontiers with China.

(For the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, see Alice Thorner, "The Kashmir Conflict," *Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C., III, January and April, 1949.)

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APPENDIX IV Sinkiang and China's First Foreign Loan

THE SUBJECT of China's first foreign loan has been thoroughly muddled by a series of writers since 1914. Prior to that date Valentine Chirol (Director of the Foreign Department of the London *Times*) made the perfectly clear statement in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Cambridge, 1910, VI, p. 200, that China's first borrowing was to help finance the northwest expedition under Tso Tsung-t'ang. Chirol's assertion was based, it would appear, on his own account in supplementary volume III (p. 31) to the Tenth Edition of the same encyclopaedia, London, 1902. In 1914, however, S. R. Wagel, in his pioneer work, *Finance in China*, Shanghai, 1914, made the absurd statement that China's first foreign loan "was negotiated in 1865, when she borrowed money from Russia to equip an expeditionary force to Ili." Wagel's version was turned around a few years later by Chia Shih-yi, who observed — in his detailed *Financial History of the Republic*, Shanghai, 1916, p. 1070 (in Chinese) — that China's first loan was negotiated in 1865 in order to pay indemnity to Russia in connection with the Ili Treaty." Chia's dating was accepted in 1929 by D. K. Lieu in his *Foreign Investments in China*, Shanghai, 1929, p. 13, and by A. G. Coons, in his *Foreign Public Debt of China*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 1. C. F. Remer, in his standard work on *Foreign Investments in China*, New York, 1933, p. 68, simply follows Lieu.

So far as the versions of Wagel and Chia are concerned, the

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OOO first fact to note is that no treaty of 1865 between China and Russia seems to exist in the Chinese, Russian, or English collections on the subject, nor in the official *Barbarian Records* of the Manchu Empire. There was a Treaty of St. Petersburg negotiated in 1881 between China and Russia, under which Russia gave back to China part of the Ili territory. On this occasion China paid an indemnity to Russia of 1,431,664 pounds and 2 shillings. This is the exact sum which Chia and Lieu assert was borrowed by China in 1865. It would appear, therefore, that they, followed by other writers, have ascribed to 1865 events which occurred in a somewhat different context in 1881. On the basis of available evidence, it may be assumed that China's first foreign loan was negotiated in 1867–1868 from foreign merchants (*wai shang*) in Shanghai, to get funds for Tso Tsung-t'ang's northwest expedition.

Evidence for this position is furnished by official records for the Ch'ing period. The *Shih Lu* contain an authorization of January 3, 1868, for Tso Tsung-t'ang to borrow one million taels from foreign merchants (*wai shang*), on the security of the maritime customs; at the same time he was also authorized to obtain an advance of one million taels from the customs receipts proper. The text on this matter reads as follows:

> Tso Tsung-t'ang had previously petitioned for a loan from foreign merchants, but the Foreign Affairs Office objected because the interest charged was too high. The Foreign Office therefore suggested that the sum demanded by Tso for military purposes be obtained from two sources: (1) half from customs tariff; (2) the other half from loans from foreign merchants to be negotiated by the various local customs. This plan was considered satisfactory. Thereupon Tseng Kuo-fan was instructed to secure one million taels from the customs to be remitted immediately to Tso Tsung-t'ang for military purposes.
>
> As to the other one million taels, the various customs offices in the country should make out forms to be approved by the viceroys. These forms are to be transmitted to Hu

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Kuang-yung and Ying Pao-shih who will carry on the negotiations with the foreign merchants. 000

The two million taels are to be returned from funds to be contributed by the various provinces for the purpose of bandit suppression.

—*Ta Ch'ing shih-lu* ("Veritable Records" of the Ch'ing Dynasty), Jan. 3, 1868.

In his book on Tso Tsung-t'ang, Bales gives a slightly different version of the British effort at mediation. He also adds some fresh material based on the *Nien P'u*, vol. VIII (not available at the Library of Congress); it may, therefore, be worthwhile to reproduce his version here (W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang*, Shanghai, 1937):

The British Minister in Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, approached the Tsungli Yamen with the proposition that Yakub Beg would surrender to the Chinese if he were allowed to keep his kingdom under the overlordship of China. The government was cool to the proposal and Sir Thomas did not press it. The matter was reported to Tso, and in a letter to Tseng Yuan-fu, he said:

> Yesterday I received a letter from the Tsungli Yamen saying that Sir Thomas Wade had stated that he was authorized to arrange the surrender of Yakub Beg. It is the first intimation I have had that Yakub Beg wants to surrender. If the British make such a proposal there must be some reason for it. Let us examine the circumstances. When I wanted to borrow money in Shanghai the British would not loan me any. [*Cf.* footnote 6 above; Tso's remark underlines the need for further investigation of the foreign loans to China in this period.] A Shanghai paper said that the Sinkiang campaign should by all means be abandoned. This paper even reported that my army has been defeated and driven back through the pass at Chiayukuan. These circumstances throw some light on the British proposals. *Nien P'u*, VIII, p. 17.

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000 The analyst says that the British Government took up the matter with Kuo Sung-t'ao, Chinese Minister in London, representing to him that it would be a good thing for China to set up a Moslem state in Central Asia and intimating that the Kingdom of Kashgaria would be ideal for the purpose. Kuo Sung-t'ao seemed to be rather favorable to the idea but when the matter was referred to Tso he bristled all over. He informed the Tsungli Yamen that the matter of Yakub Beg was purely a domestic question and that neither England nor anyone else had any concern whatever with it; that if Yakub Beg wanted to surrender he should come to Suchow, where he would be treated as one in rebellion against Chinese authority; that the question was entirely outside the province of the Tsungli Yamen and solely within his own jurisdiction; and that if England wanted a Moslem kingdom set up in Central Asia she should furnish the territory of which she had an abundance in northern India. (*Nien P'u,* VIII, pp. 18 and 27; Bales, pp. 360–361.)

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APPENDIX V Regions of Sinkiang

THE PHYSICAL framework of Sinkiang falls into six divisions. Taken from north to south, they have been described by Dr. S. Ting of the Academia Sinica as: 133

1. *The Northern Highlands,* forming the northern rim of Jungaria. Most of this region reaches an altitude of 5000 feet, with some peaks of 13,000 feet in the great Altai range which forms most of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Republic. There are two subregions, the Burgun plateau and, between it and the Altai, the sunken valley of the Black Irtish. The waters of the Irtish flow into the Ob, and all across Siberia to the Arctic Ocean. No other streams from Sinkiang reach the ocean; all die in inland deserts or salt lakes.

2. *The Jungarian Basin,* at an elevation of 600 to 1500 feet, comprises two subregions, the Manass Basin and the Chingho plain, both overlooked from the south by the snowy crests of the Tien Shan, which, however, are often invisible because of the dust haze over the lowlands. The Manass River slows abruptly as it comes out of the mountains, and feeds a wide area of swamps. In the Chingho plain three rivers, the Ching, Kur, and Borotala, converge to form Ebi Nor, a lake with no outlet at an elevation of 700 feet. Its ancient shorelines are 300 feet above the present surface, and in the plain around it there are both swamps and sand dunes.

3. *The Tien Shan range* forms a region in itself, occupying nearly a quarter of the area of Sinkiang. For several hundred miles its crests are crowned with snow. The highest peak

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133 is Khan Tengri, Lord of Heaven, with an altitude of over 23,000 feet. Below it is the greatest glacier, the Muzart, which is overlooked by magnificent cliffs of marble and porphyry. On the northern slopes of the main range there are deep evergreen forests and rich meadows, while the southern slopes are dry and unforested. Through gaps in the range run the main routes from Jungaria in the north to the Tarim Basin in the south. At the northwestern end of the range the Ili Valley, or Kulja plain, has an elevation of 2800 feet. With a rainfall of ten inches a year, this is the richest region in Sinkiang. Other subregions are the Turfan Depression which, under the shadow of peaks that range up to nearly 20,000 feet, drops to a depth of nearly 1000 feet below sea level; the Barkul Basin, and the Uch-Turfan Plain. The Bai Basin, though classed by some geographers with the Tarim Basin, is also assigned by Dr. Ting to the Tien Shan, because of its geological formation.

4. *The Tarim Basin* is a system of concentric zones. The rim of the basin is formed by the Tien Shan in the north, the Kunlun in the south, and the Pamirs and Alai in the west and northwest. At the foot of this rim there is a narrow belt of boulder fans enclosing the vast central desert of drifting sand dunes, the Taklamakan. The slope of the inner basin is from about 4000 feet in the west to about 2500 feet in the east. Into it flow the Khotan Darya, the Yarkand Darya, the Aksu Darya and the Konche Darya, which combine to form the Tarim River. Lesser streams like the Keriya and the Niya die in the desert before they reach the Tarim, while the Charchen reaches the Tarim only at its dying eastern end. The waters of the Tarim do not always reach their ancient terminal depression, the desert lake of Lob Nor, but end in vague reedy marshes. The oases of the Tarim Basin are formed on the rivers at the points where they leave the narrow, hard boulder fan to enter the wide desert.

5. *The Pei Shan Highlands* close off the eastern end of the Tarim Basin. The Pei Shan proper, or North Mountains, are a desert range forming the northern edge of the "Kansu Corridor" which reaches out from Northwest China to Sinkiang. The north-

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ern ranges of these mountains are called by the Mongols *Mechin Ola* or "Ape Mountains." Grouped with them, in Dr. Ting's classification, is the plateau called by the Chinese *Hsinghsinghsia* or "the Ravine of the Apes." In this whole region there are very ancient legends of "man apes" which capture human beings. Connected with these highlands are the Lob Plateau, known in Chinese as the White Dragon Heap, which rises east of the Lob Depression and marks the divide between the Tarim and the Sulu Rivers, and the Kuruk Tagh or Dry Mountains. The flat tops of all these heights mark the 5000 foot level of an ancient connected plateau. The Kuruk Tagh in particular are a very ancient formation of metamorphic rocks. Included under Dr. Ting's classification with the Pei Shan group instead of the Tien Shan formation is the subregion of the Kharashahr Basin, an intermontane trough enclosing the lake called Bagrach Kol at an altitude of 3300 feet, with desert to the east of it, sand dunes to the south, and swamps on its northern and western shores. 133

6. *The Kunlun Highlands* form the southern rampart of Sinkiang. Seen from the desert they form a mountain wall, but at their crest begins the northern plateau of Tibet, with heights of over 20,000 feet.

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APPENDIX VI The Soils of Sinkiang

134 THE SOILS of Sinkiang have been formed by mechanical weathering caused by shortage of rainfall, dryness of the air, and high variation between day and night temperatures. Alkaline soils have formed where water seeping through alluvial fans along the edges of the foothills has deposited soluble salts on flat land below the fans.

Brown forest soils and the grassland soils of high meadows are found on the upper slopes of the Tien Shan. Going down the northern slopes of the Tien Shan, chestnut soils are found on the gentle slopes at the base of the range, succeeded farther out on the plain and in the depressions by alkaline soils, desert soils, and sand dunes. On the southern, drier side of the range, the vertical distribution is much more irregular. At the higher altitudes there is less brown forest soil and grassland soil than on the northern side. The foothill ranges are covered with barren rocks on exposed slopes, but there are light-colored chestnut soils and alkaline soils in hollows among the hills. In areas lying between drifting deserts and boulder fans the higher soils are alluvial, the lower soils alkaline; and farthest out from the mountains there stretch desert soils and sand dunes.

The northerly slope of the Kunlun, overlooking the Tarim Basin, matches the southerly face of the Tien Shan, except that there are no forests high up on the Kunlun and the soils found there are chiefly immature. There is no information about the soils of the Altai or northern rim of Jungaria.

Chestnut soils from lower mountain slopes on the southern edge of Jungaria and in the Kulja plain vary from dark to light brown.

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Their typical natural cover is short grass. Thin chestnut soils are suitable only for grazing, but thick layers permit dry farming. Alkaline soils are found in poorly drained lowlands and where irrigated alluvial soils have been alkalinized. Their crop productivity is low. They have been noted particularly between Kharashahr and Bugur, in Kharashahr, Yangi-Hissar, and Yarkand, and on both sides of the Khotan Darya and the Tarim. Desert soils which are low in organic matter but can be utilized for farming if irrigated are found in the oases of Komul, Pichang, Turfan, and Toksun.

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APPENDIX VII Oil in Sinkiang

315 It has long been known that there are sources of oil in Sinkiang. Seepage oil, thinned out with vegetable oil, was traditionally used for lighting. The crude oil was also used for axle grease.

Deposits are known to lie along the Tien Shan, both north and south of the main range. More recently, oil has been struck in the extreme south of Sinkiang, at the edge of the Tibetan plateau.

East of Sinkiang, there is oil in the western "panhandle" of Kansu; still farther east, oil has been worked on a small scale in northern Shensi province, near the wartime Communist capital of Yenan. It does not appear to be known whether any or all of these deposits, which are the only known deposits in Chinese territory, are geologically related to the oil fields of the Caspian region, in Soviet territory, or to those of Iran in the Middle East.

135 In 1948, the Chinese National Resources Commission (NRC)
315 confirmed press reports of the discovery of oil on the Sinkiang-Ch'inghai border, near the newly constructed highway connecting those two provinces. Mr. C. H. Wu, Secretary General of the NRC, stated that the field is located at Timurlik, near the border of the Tsaidam Basin, which forms the lowest part of the Tibetan plateau, between 80 and 92 degrees longitude and 36 and 40 degrees latitude. It was discovered by the exploration department of the Kansu-Ch'inghai branch of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation, an NRC subsidiary. According to Dr. Wu, a cursory survey reveals more than twenty horizons of oil sand in this field, the thickest horizon being three meters deep. All horizons occur in the Red Bed of the Tertiary Age.

Among the previously known fields, one near Urumchi has been

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worked at times in the past when oil could not be obtained from Russia. This field is known to be of the Jurassic Age. 315

A small field, known as Jushantze, is located twenty kilometers southeast of Wusu, about halfway along the main trade route between Urumchi and Kulja. The wells, which are known to be shallow, produce a paraffin-base oil under natural pressure. There is no recent information on production. 135

When the Russians withdrew from Sinkiang in 1942 they capped and turned over to the provincial authorities 25 wells which had been producing 49–52 gravity oil at a depth of 4800 feet. It appears probable that these wells were in the Jushantze field. Although the Russians were quoted as stating that they would return at a later date to work the field again, they took most of the oil-field machinery with them when they withdrew. 315

(Sources: Information from Chinese National Resources Commission, supplied by United States Department of Commerce; see also Huang Chi-ch'ing, *Report on Geological Investigation of Some Oil-Fields in Sinkiang*, by T. K. Huang and others. Nanking, National Geological Survey of China, 1947; No. 21 of Series A of *Memoirs* of Geological Survey of China. Text in English.) 315 113

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Some Sinkiang Place Names and Their Alternatives

Aksu (Wen-su)
Bai (Pai-ch'eng)
Baitik Bogda (Pei-ta-shan)
Barkul (Pa-li-k'un, Chen-hsi)
Charchen (Cherchen, Ch'ieh-mo)
Charklik (Cho-chiang)
Chingho
Chira (T'e-le)
Chuguchak (Tarbagatai, T'a-ch'eng)
Guma Bazar (P'i-shan)
Ili (River, Valley)
Kashgar (Shu-le)
Keriya (Yü-t'ien)
Kharakash (Mo-yü)
Kharashahr (Yen-chi, Yenki)
Khargalik (Yeh-ch'ing)
Khotan (Ho-tien)
Komul (Hami)
Kucha (Kuche)
Kuchengtze (Ch'i-t'ai hsien, Khitai)
Kulja (Ining)
Kurla (Kórla)
Lob Nor (Lop Nor)
Lukchun
Manass (Sui-lai)
Maralbashi
Merket
Muleiho
Sharasume (Shirasume, Ch'eng-hua-ssu, Altai, A-ch'eng)
Suchow (Hsü-chou)
Sui-ting (Ning-yuan)
Tarim (River, Basin)
Tien Shan
Toksun
Turfan (T'u-lu-fan)
Uch Turfan
Urumchi (Ti-hua)
Yangi Hissar
Yarkand (So-che)

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Uzbeg RN5

[For information on the Uzbegs in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 149-150.]

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AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

[For a history of relations between Sinkiang and China, Russia, England, France, and their effect on trade, communications and provincial government, see Category 116, pp. 45-102.]

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[For a discussion of the cultural, ethnic and political differences among the several nationalities in Sinkiang, see Category 116, pp. 107-151.]

[For information on the Manchus in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 147-149.]

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Kazan Tatar RF5

[For information on the Kazan Tatars in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 150-151.]

113
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Great Russians RF2

[For information on the Great Russians in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 145-147.]

113
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China AF1

[For information on the Chinese in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 139-145.]

113, 563 Kazak RQ2

[For information on the Kazak in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 128-132.]

113
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Kirghiz RP2

[For information on the Kirghiz in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 132-134.]

113
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Mongolia AH1

[For information on the Mongols in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 134-137.]

113,'563 Uighur AI4

[For information on the Uighurs in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 122-128.]

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GATEWAY TO ASIA: SINKIANG

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000 *Gateway to Asia:*

SINKIANG

Frontier of the Chinese Far West

by

MARTIN R. NORINS

INTRODUCTION BY OWEN LATTIMORE

Illustrated with Maps and Photographs

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INTRODUCTION

Sinkiang's Place In the Future of China

By Owen Lattimore

There can be few large regions in the world that combine, in the way that Sinkiang does, isolation and a rich literature of travel and of natural and social sciences. Though Sinkiang has never been open to the casual tourist, it has been the setting of some of the major geographical, geological, botanical, archeological and historical investigation and writing of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The names of those who have contributed to the literature include, from the middle ages, William of Rubruck, Carpini, and Marco Polo; the British from Atkinson to Shaw, and Forsyth, and later Ney Elias, Younghusband, Stein and Skrine; the Russians, with perhaps the greatest list of all, including Prjevalskii, the Grum-Grjimailo brothers, Kozlov, Obruchev, and a host of others; the French with Grenard and Pelliot; the Germans with Grünwedel, von le Coq and many writers on linguistics; the Austrian Merzbacher; the Dutch historian De Groot; the Italian De Filippi; Sven Hedin and many younger Swedes and Danes like Bergman and Haslund; and Americans like Schuyler and Huntington. Indeed, it is easier to write a long list than a short one, because the material relating to Sinkiang has led to so much comment, research and speculation in so many countries.

It is noticeable, however, that in the literature of Sinkiang the most important contributions of the Chinese are to be found in the chronicles of the past. Were it not for the Chinese genius for compiling history, our knowledge of the peoples and tribes and politics of Sinkiang for more than two thousand years would be much more shadowy. In the nineteenth century, however, Chinese concern with Sinkiang became more and more perfunctory, and the Chinese literature less important and poorer in quality. Even when dealing with the distribution, characteristics, and political grouping of the peoples of Sinkiang, Chinese writers began to show a weak tendency to forego direct observation and rely instead on quotation.

114 This fading out of the Chinese interest in Sinkiang reflected a major change in China's fortunes. During the nineteenth century Western imperialism began to press heavily on China from the seacoast, and consequently Chinese thought drew away from the landward frontiers. It is true that Tsarist Russia threatened to penetrate and even to annex Mongolia and Sinkiang, while the British exercised more real control in Tibet than did the Chinese; but these were the least Chinese territories of China, most of whose people differed in their way of life from the Chinese, and few of whom even spoke Chinese. Naturally, in a long period of great danger to the Chinese nation as a whole, attention was concentrated on the areas of densest Chinese population near the coast, and on political relations with those countries which had the kind of power that expressed itself in the "gunboat policy" of the nineteenth century.

In our own time we can see why the Chinese, without turning away from their long maritime coast and the future developments in trade and politics with which they will have to deal along that coast, are also turning back to their long inland frontiers and enquiring into the future opportunities and problems of the deep hinterland. The Sino-Swedish Scientific Expedition, which carried on Sven Hedin's later exploration work in Sinkiang, included several Chinese scientists who published not only scientific papers but accounts of their travels, with comments on contemporary affairs in Central Asia. In the same period a Chinese diplomat, Aitchen K. Wu, published a lively personal account of the political intrigue and civil war out of which there finally developed the recent progressive tendencies of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. An English version of his book has been published under the title of *Turkistan Tumult.*

In the same period there flourished a considerable periodical literature, including such journals as the *Northwest Monthly* and many articles in other journals, like *New Asia* and the scholarly *Yü Kung,* or *The Chinese Historical Geography.* The early years of this literature have seen the publication of much that is of only secondary value; but there is a clear tendency for the literature to increase in importance, and the time will come when Western political scientists and econ-

omists who wish to deal authoritatively with the questions of Central Asia will have to depend more and more on Chinese materials. 114

Mr. Norins' work marks the beginning of this trend. He has not been able to travel in Sinkiang, but by study of contemporary Chinese source materials he has been able to expand the observations of Western travelers and to produce an interesting and important book. The trend will go on. There is a clear prophecy of this in the fact that in his use of Chinese sources Mr. Norins finds evidence of lively differences of views and interpretations. China's rediscovery of Chinese Central Asia will be accompanied by controversy, and the different policies advanced in controversy will have an international as well as a domestic significance.

Within the area occupied by Sinkiang there probably lies the geographical center of gravity between the Atlantic, Arctic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. There was a time, toward the end of the last century, when Kipling was writing about the "grey menace" of Tsarist Russia, and when Russian and British explorers, apprehensively watching each other and sometimes actually putting each other under arrest, were trying to discover and list all the passes across the Pamirs, the Karakoram and the Himalayas. What they were looking for was an "artillery pass"—a way by which wheeled vehicles could link up the zones of British and Russian imperialist expansion in Inner Asia. During this period Sinkiang, like Afghanistan, was in danger of being ground between the upper Russian millstone and the lower British millstone. The serious way in which the rival seekers of the White Man's Burden sent envoys, gifts, and windy despatches to Yakub Beg, a dancing-boy turned brigand, who had overthrown the Manchu-Chinese power at Kashgar, makes grotesque and sometimes bloody reading. 000

This period ended in an anti-climax. It was discovered that there was no "artillery pass." It would be too expensive either for the British to encroach on territory coveted by the Russians, or for the Russians to push their Central Asian conquests actually to within snatching distance of the "brightest jewel in the British crown." It then became convenient to recall the sovereignty of Afghanistan and China. With appropriate solemnity, frontiers were delimited in such a way that a

000 narrow corridor was created across the Pamirs, the western end of it held by the Afghans and the eastern end by the Chinese. In this way the British and Russians were insulated from each other, and enabled to fall back on bearing the White Man's Burden at the expense of more accessible "natives."

Since then, there have been two rather commonly held opinions, or rather preconceptions, about Sinkiang: that its proper function is to be a buffer between China and Russia, or that it is destined to be absorbed by Russia and amalgamated with Soviet Turkestan. Neither concept is adequate. As the center of gravity of the largest land-mass in the world, and as a territory ruled by a minority and inhabited by subject races greatly exceeding in number the ruling minority, the fate of Sinkiang will affect, and be affected by, everything that happens in India, Afghanistan and Iran, as well as China and Soviet Asia.

The geography of this complex relationship is interesting. Sinkiang is at once a place of isolation and a vast area of passage; a blank space between different kinds of world, and a world in itself of prolix variety. The changing phases of history bring different aspects into emphasis.

Some two thousand years ago the Chinese were brought into contact with Sinkiang by geographical peculiarities which made Sinkiang two kinds of frontier. The side of Sinkiang lying nearest to what is now called "China proper" was a barrier. The Chinese, as an agricultural people, spread up to this barrier. They were not only a farming people, but a people whose farming was already identified with habitual techniques and a social structure which did not easily adapt itself to changes. The Chinese gravitated toward areas which could be intensively cultivated and closely settled. Transportation of farm products over long distances was difficult and uneconomic, except where rivers and canals could be used.

Consequently trade tended to circulate in small unit-areas; a typical unit being a walled city, drawing grain from the countryside and supplying goods made by artisans to the countryside. The wealthy areas of China, in which the highest culture flourished, were those in which the radius of trade between a city and its unit area did not

exceed from twenty to thirty miles—a day's journey by cart, or a day's journey by a man carrying burdens. Areas in which the radius of trade exceeded two days' journey were noticeably poorer and less "civilized." Areas with an even larger radius of trade were decidedly underpopulated, poor, and backward. Sinkiang, as a frontier, represented the line of diminishing returns at which the Chinese way of living tended to peter out, because of poor rainfall, the inability to live closely together and till small fields by intensive methods, and the impossibility of sustaining cities, except at excessive distances apart.

A permanent, linear frontier would have resulted had it not been for the fact that the very land which was marginal and only doubtfully attractive for Chinese agriculture was decidedly profitable for pastoral nomads. Just as the Chinese order of life produced close settlement in villages and cities, the nomad order of life expressed itself in widely scattered encampments. The two social structures met, but did not interlock. Throughout centuries of history, they never fused. The radical difference between the two structures encouraged trade, it is true; but it also bred war.

The most marginal outlying Chinese settlements were, by the prevailing standard of China, unprofitable both for taxation and for trade. Grain was the essential standard of both trade and taxation. The dry margins of the steppe produced little grain per acre, and the distance to grain-consuming cities was so great that the profit on a cartload was more than eaten up by the animals which drew the cart.

For the pastoral nomads, the marginal areas held quite different values. Land which was poor in terms of grain crops might well be rich in terms of grazing for sheep, cattle and horses. If, therefore, the trend of the time was toward war, the nomads would try to drive the Chinese out of the marginal area. If, on the other hand, the general balance of the factors at work made for peace rather than war, the trade of these areas tended to be oriented toward the nomads instead of toward China. Throughout Asia, the nomads of the pastoral areas have always disliked to grow grain, but liked to acquire it, either by trade or as a tribute levied from settled regions. Grain which it was unprofitable to transport "inward" to areas in China which grew

000 plenty of grain for themselves could be transported profitably "outward" to regions which grew no grain at all. This, however, resulted in divorcing the border Chinese from the main body of the Chinese people. Either their own economic interest in trade with the nomads inclined them to seek the political protection of nomad chiefs; or the combined political and economic interests of tribal chiefs urged them to assert rights of taxation and levy over the border villages.

Out of this kind of relationship there grew an ebb and flow which prevented the formation of a permanent linear frontier. Either the nomads, enriched by the tribute of border villages, tried to press deeper into China, demanding increased tribute, or the Chinese, trying to make safe the territory which they did want, made expeditions into territory which they did not want, but were forced to try to control, in order to prevent the power of the nomads from becoming too great. The Roman Empire had similar problems, and the British Empire has also been plagued by them, especially on the Northwest Frontier of India.

Sinkiang's history was governed for a score of centuries by phenomena of this order. What is now Northern Sinkiang (Jungaria) is a steppe land, in which the herds of nomads have grazed since the formation of the Chinese frontier, and through which have passed some of the very greatest nomadic migrations. Southern Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) is a land of deserts, too poor for continuous grazing, and of rich, but small and widely separated agricultural oases. Control of these oases was often important in determining the balance of power between China and nomads. The intensive agriculture of the oases was akin to that of China, but the intervening deserts made it impossible for the Chinese to spread up evenly to the oases and absorb them. They could only be held as Chinese outposts; the object of the Chinese being, in some periods, to turn the flank of the nomads and in other periods to protect the flank of China by denying to nomads the tribute of the oases.

In the last century most Chinese and most Westerners lost sight of these regions and forgot the significance of their history. Firearms had destroyed the advantage which nomads, in the day of the bow and

arrow, had held over agricultural peoples. China was no longer threatened by nomad invasions through the line of the Great Wall. The Manchus, the last of these invaders, held with difficulty in the nineteenth century the empire which they had seized in the seventeenth century. China's most vulnerable side was now the long seacoast, along which the Western powers had established the Treaty Ports. 000

In this period the old ebb and flow of the history of Sinkiang, and of all Central Asia and Mongolia, settled into relative stagnation, disturbed chiefly by the spread and growth of Tsarist Russia. Sinkiang became a kind of Chinese India, of many peoples, languages, and religions, and of mixed agricultural and pastoral economy. The most numerous people were the Turki—now officially known, by the revival of a medieval tribal name, as the Uighurs—but they had no political unity because they were scattered in widely separated oases. Nor were the nomads politically united, because some were Moslems, speaking different forms of the Turkish language, while others were Mongol-speaking Lama-Buddhists. Even the Chinese, numbering only about ten per cent of the total population, were weakened by the division between Moslems and non-Moslems.

We are now in a new period. Even if we restrict our view to Sinkiang alone, it can be seen that the stagnation has ended. If we widen our view, it is easy to see that although the coast of China is not losing its importance, the long inland frontier is certainly gaining in importance. We can also see, from the events related by Mr. Norins, that the revival of the importance of the inland frontier has been stimulated by Japan's aggression driving inward from the coast. The contemporary phase of Sinkiang's history dates from 1932, when the whole structure of China had been shocked and weakened by Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

The Japanese factor cannot be overemphasized in assessing recent developments in Sinkiang. It is undoubtedly the key factor in explaining Russian policy. In 1932 the Japanese installed a bogus government of "Manchukuo" in China's Northeastern Provinces. In 1933 they overran the province of Jehol—a hundred thousand square miles of territory—and subjected it to "Manchukuo." This opened to them a

000 corridor leading westward through Inner Mongolia. From 1933 to the unleashing of the general Japanese attack on China in 1937, a series of efforts was made to create a puppet Mongol system in Inner Mongolia subservient to Japanese military ambitions, and to get into touch with the powerful Moslem minorities in Northwest China. If these measures had succeeded, the Japanese would have been able to cut China off entirely from Russia, in which case the Russians would never have been able to send through the important supplies which did so much to keep China going, especially in the critical years from 1939 to 1941, when American supplies to China were at a minimum and American sales to Japan were booming.

Looking back over the past ten years, it can now be seen with what boldness of action and sureness of political touch the Russians countered Japan's attempted penetration. The first step was to give military support to the faction in Sinkiang's civil wars which was both militarily the most competent and politically the most legitimate successor to the previously established provincial government. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the head of this faction, came originally from Manchuria. Accordingly, one form of help given him was to allow Chinese troops, who had retreated into Siberia and had there been interned after fighting the Japanese in Manchuria, to be "repatriated" to Sinkiang. This gave Sheng Shih-ts'ai a nucleus of troops who would be loyal to him personally, and who would at the same time reinforce his loyalty to China, since their ambition was not to remain in Sinkiang, but to return eventually to their own homes in the Northeast.

This was not the only aid. Soviet tanks and planes were also sent into Sinkiang, and even troops, who were called "Altai Volunteers." These "volunteers" appear to have been a mixture of trained Soviet troops with Russians, domiciled in Sinkiang, who years before had fought against or fled from the Soviet Revolution. Concerning these Russians of widely different experience there is a remark, recorded by Sven Hedin in "The Flight of 'Big Horse,'" which deserves wide quotation. Hedin asked one of the "White" Russians what he thought of being in service with the Red Russians. "When we asked how it was possible for Reds and Whites to work together, a powerfully built,

fair-haired fellow replied: 'Why, when we've got a common object we get on all right.'" 000

The ultimate significance of Soviet activity in Sinkiang has only recently been revealed. For years the Russians maintained an armored motorized unit on Sinkiang soil. Its post was at or near Hami (Qomul) near the eastern frontier, guarding the approach from Kansu. What was the purpose of this detachment? Was it to defend Sinkiang from intervention by the National Government? Or was it an advance guard of Soviet penetration?

By withdrawing the force, the Russians have in my opinion made its purpose clear. Motorized exploring expeditions like those of Roy Chapman Andrews, Sven Hedin and the Citroën Expedition had opened up new possibilities. The motorized Japanese occupation of the rugged terrain of Jehol in ten days had proved that the Japanese knew how to exploit these possibilities. A Chinese truck company, using the experience of the Hedin explorations, had worked out a fast route westward through Inner Mongolia to Sinkiang.

Militarily, the threat of this route was less to Sinkiang than to the provinces of Kansu and Ningsia. A successful dash westward might enable the Japanese to swing south into these provinces, divide them from Sinkiang, cut the Sinkiang supply route, lodge a mobile force in the rear of Chiang Kai-shek's armies, and make a strong appeal to the Moslems of the Northwest to earn preferential treatment by dissociating themselves from other Chinese and accepting Japan's hegemony. A threat of motorized action like this could only be countered by the ability to meet motorized movement with motorized movement. The Chinese did not have the equipment. The Russians did; but they could only act in time from a forward base.

This, to my mind, was the major reason for stationing a Soviet force at Hami. It is very likely that there was more than one reason which influenced the Russians to withdraw from this position in 1943; but the greatest significance of the move, in my opinion, is that it proved that the Russians considered the Japanese no longer capable of a bold forward strategy in Northwest China.

A political course of action beyond one's own frontiers does not nec-

000 essarily involve military measures; but military action on foreign soil always entails political consequences. Having enabled a Chinese, non-Moslem faction, representing a population minority of ten per cent, in a predominantly Moslem province, to take over control of Sinkiang, the Russians had to follow through with some kind of policy that would work. Looking back on the situation as it was then, and on the sequence of events narrated by Mr. Norins, it is evident that there were three alternatives:

1. The Russians could follow a policy that would invite and facilitate the intervention of China's Central Government and give it control over the province. This would not have been a realistic policy at the time. It would have required weakening the provincial government, without any assurance that the Central Government would be strengthened. In the early thirties the Central Government was employing all of its best troops far away, south of the Yangtze, against the Communists. It could not have penetrated to Sinkiang without using many of these troops, and they would have had to pass through the territories of powerful Moslem war lords in Northwest China who were not yet ready to allow Chiang Kai-shek to extend real control over their affairs. (They were ready to allow this only when the Chinese Communists moved to the Northwest, and the Government troops, following and blockading them, established civil and political control.)

2. The Russians could themselves have annexed and absorbed Sinkiang. Evidently they did not want to do so. Since we do not know in detail why they did not want to, we can only guess at the reasons. One guess, or series of guesses, would take the following into account: The Russians were feverishly industrializing their own territories, because they had plenty of raw materials but not nearly enough industry. Sinkiang would have given them only greater surpluses of what they already had in surplus, while making even greater a problem of industrialization which had not yet been mastered. Politically, moreover, the Russians were more anxious to consolidate their own territory than to seize new possessions, it being their proclaimed belief that they were in danger of attack.

3. There remained the policy which was actually followed; help for the provincial government; furtherance of trade and economic development; aid in education and medicine. This policy had interesting consequences. Although the provincial government had been given enough military aid to end civil war, the Chinese minority was in no position to rule indefinitely by force. The Chinese in Sinkiang could be compared with the British in India only if we imagine the British in India without a Suez Canal short cut for bulk trade, unable to receive reinforcements from England, and unable to manufacture arms locally. This was the background of the reforms of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, enumerated by Mr. Norins. The continuance of Chinese rule had to be made welcome; and to be made welcome it had to be identified with peace, careers opened to the native peoples, education to enable them to aspire to those careers, and economic prosperity. 000

A new period has succeeded the period of successful Chinese-Russian collaboration in Sinkiang. My guess, that the Russians no longer fear a swift Japanese thrust to the heart of Asia, may or may not be right; but it seems to be borne out by the broad trend of Russian policy. The power of the National Government is now well established in Northwest China. Whatever danger there may once have been that Moslem adventurers might flirt with the Japanese is now past. Not only Moslem leaders but all the Moslem communities have shown that they are Chinese patriots, devoted to the cause of absolute victory over the Japanese invaders.

Consequently the time has come for direct and normal relations between the National Government and the provincial government of Sinkiang. With their resumption, it was proper for the Russians to step out of the picture entirely. With the energy not uncommon in their foreign policy, they have not merely stepped out: they have jumped out. This will undoubtedly mean a certain amount of dislocation in the economic life of Sinkiang, but it has the advantage of making policies, decisions, and responsibilities perfectly clear. The native peoples cannot doubt and wonder how much to attribute to the Chinese and how much to the Russians. If things go well, the credit will go to the Chinese provincial and National authorities; if

there are mistakes, they will also be Chinese. The only "Machiavellian" motive that can be imputed to the Russians is this: if things go badly, the people will remember "how much better it was in the days when the Russians were so active."

Until the record of Chinese performance in Sinkiang begins to unfold, there can be little profit in discussing the details of alternative policies. It is better to restrict discussion to a broad statement of problems. The primary problem is this: the Sinkiang frontier can no longer be described as either a linear or an areal problem in the old sense. While the old problems of minorities and how to handle them remain, all major policies must henceforth be policies for China as a whole. In the concluding stages of the war and the initial stages of the peace, China will not be able to experiment with double standards of policy.

As an illustration, consider the great problem of land ownership in China. Sinkiang is not the only Chinese territory with room for more population. The question is not only one of empty land, but of the utilization of land. The "overpopulated" areas of China are those in which traditional methods of cultivation are traditionally allied with a system of landlords who take most of the profits of good years, and tenants who suffer most of the consequences of bad years. There are vast areas of China which could be usefully settled; but not under this system—only under a system of free proprietors, with diversification of agriculture by the development of mixed farming, dairying, fruit-growing, and the encouragement of scattered light industries as well as centralized heavy industries.

Unless this is taken into account, the migration of large numbers of poor peasants to Sinkiang, with no capital, would merely result in spreading landlordism, usury, and rural bankruptcy. This would be no solution for China, and in Sinkiang it would inevitably lead to friction between Chinese and non-Chinese. The problem may be summed up by saying that for the heart of China and the fringes of China the alternative equations are now the same: either progressive politics and progressive economic measures, going hand in hand, or economic stagnation and political reaction, going hand in hand.

There remain some words to be said about the place and function

of Sinkiang in the winning of the war. There is an essential distinction between the use that might have been made of the Sinkiang supply route before Pearl Harbor and the use that could be made of it from now to the end of the war. Before Pearl Harbor, and from Pearl Harbor to the battle of Midway in 1942, when American naval power began to reassert itself, Japanese blockade of the coast of China was tightening, with no naval pressure against Japan to offset it. During this period the Sinkiang supply route was more important, though less publicized, than the Burma Road. It could have been made much more important, if there had been a concerted agreement between America, Britain and Russia to increase aid to China by getting more material into Siberia and organizing and improving traffic from Siberia through Sinkiang. 000

That period is closed, but Mr. Norins fails to appreciate, in his final chapters, the reasons for which it has closed. America has now organized and deployed an immense naval, military, and air potential in the Pacific. One way of describing this is to say that the American war effort in the Pacific is now geared to a strategy in which aid *for* China far outweighs aid *to* China. Great as America's manpower and war production are, they are not so great that we could organize a vast air, ship, rail and truck effort to get material into Siberia and through Siberia into China, in addition to our mobilization and deployment in the Pacific. Sinkiang was the shortest way through to China only for a limited period, because of the neutrality of America and Britain in the Pacific. It has now become, logistically, the longest way round.

It is true that logistic problems would again be radically changed if Russia were at war with Japan; but in that case the logical thing to do would be to support the Russian effort in the area nearest to Japan, rather than to detour men and materials around the Central Asian Robin Hood's barn of Sinkiang. This in no way detracts from the future importance of Sinkiang in the continental development of the heart of Asia; but full realization of the long-term importance of Sinkiang should not be allowed to throw out of focus our perception of the phases through which the war has already passed and the phases which have still to develop.

FOREWORD

000 SINKIANG, China's northwesternmost province, lies deep inland on the Central Asian frontier of Russia and China. The region offers colonists something of the rugged pioneer attractions which California presented to the United States in the days of '49. But Sinkiang means even more in 1944. Prompt use of the transportation faciiities of the province by the United Nations can help to bring about Japan's defeat in the Pacific war.

Due to the seclusion enforced concerning Sinkiang in recent years few outsiders know what has actually been taking place there. Not only has it been difficult for foreigners to obtain permission to enter, but even reliable second-hand information has been rare. From the opening of air service between China and the Soviet Union in 1939 until very recently only a few foreigners like Sir Stafford Cripps of Britain and Mr. Wendell L. Willkie of the United States have been permitted to pass through Sinkiang. Even they have gone through merely in transit. Secrecy has been less stressed where Chinese and Russians have been concerned, yet it has operated to keep out even certain Chinese from other provinces.

That this has happened is largely due to unique political developments. Although Sinkiang is officially a Chinese province, the authority of the Chinese National Government over the region in the not too distant past has in certain cases been almost unavailing, and many exaggerated reports have hinted that Sinkiang had come under Soviet Russian political domination. In this book I attempt to appraise these developments impartially.

It is unwise for problems of Sinkiang to be glossed over any longer, even despite a mistaken supposition that by bringing them before the United Nations public one might give aid to the enemy. The enemy is

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better aware of conditions in Sinkiang than are most Americans, and hopes to exploit those conditions. There should be adequate knowledge not only of Sinkiang's physical and historical background, but of at least some of the more important questions which have arisen in recent years and of the opportunities and dangers brought by the war.

This book is admittedly not a complete study—of that, circumstances and the times would not permit; but it may at least serve to bring to general attention certain material about present-day Sinkiang to which I have had access but which has not been easily available in the United States. This material quite obviously reflects opposing points of view which it is sometimes difficult to assess. And though I have attempted to be exceedingly scrupulous in the use of sources, figures in regard to the Chinese Far West are largely estimates and undoubtedly subject to error. For this, and other shortcomings of the study, I beg the reader's indulgence.

It is impossible to express gratitude properly to all those to whom I am indebted for help in the writing of this book. I feel compelled to mention here, however, the names of certain persons to whom I owe special thanks: Mr. Robert J. Kerner, Department of History, University of California, through his graduate seminars inducted me into the field of serious study concerning Sinkiang. Mr. Peter Boodberg, Department of Oriental Languages, University of California, gave me my first training in the Chinese language. Mr. Chang Wei-hua of Cheeloo University, Mr. S. H. Hsieh, Sun Yung-fu, and a host of other friends in Chengtu and elsewhere in China, were understanding, friendly, and helpful while I was a guest in their country from 1939 to 1941. Mr. Mortimer Graves, Executive Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, has been sympathetically helpful, particularly since my return from China in August, 1941. Mr. William L. Holland, Research Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has kindly helped me with some preliminary editorial work. Mr. Owen Lattimore, whose writings in themselves have obligated me as well as any other student of Chinese inland Asia, has generously given me of his personal time and friendly suggestions on numerous occasions. I am also especially

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

obligated to Mr. Lattimore for his kindness in having consented to write the introduction to the present book. Of course, responsibility for the facts, conclusions, and translation as here presented, rests solely with me.

In the text, for distance measurements I have usually converted kilometer references to miles and the less well-known Chinese weights and measures to their approximate English language equivalents. So far as the place-name problem is concerned each separate instance has presented its own difficulty and, since there have been many such instances, the results of my effort necessarily have been limited. As much as has been practicable, I have been guided in my selection of preferred place names by what I have thought to be (1) common English language usage and (2) the modern Chinese names. In many cases common English language usage has been based, not without intent, on what is actually transliteration or translation from a "native," or sometimes the Russian, language. The principles by which I have been guided in my transliteration of place names from Chinese into English are summarized on the introductory page of the appended glossaries. For the lay reader who may experience difficulty in pronouncing the name "Sinkiang," I recommend the usage offered in *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (fourth edition of the Merriam Series, G. & C. Merriam Co., 1934, p. 1164)—"sĭn′ kyäng′" (sin-kyahng′). It is also good practice to use the pronunciation "Hsin-chiang′" (Shin-jyang′), which closely approximates the sound of the name as it is spoken in the Chinese national language.

MARTIN R. NORINS.

Los Angeles,
April 25, 1944.

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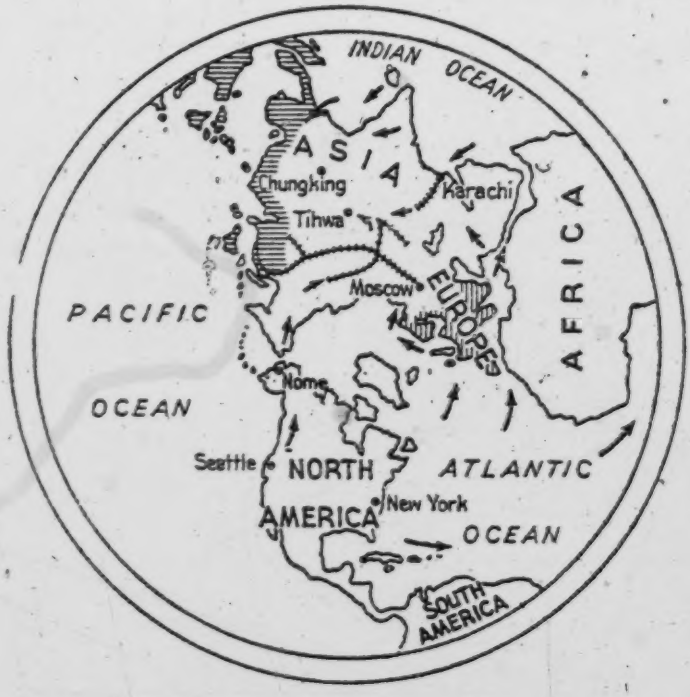

MAIN UNITED NATIONS TRANSPORT ROUTES TO EURASIA AND SINKIANG

Transport routes to Eurasia with special emphasis upon those going from: (1) New York to Moscow, Tihwa (Sinkiang), and Chungking; (2) New York to Karachi, Tihwa (Sinkiang), and Chungking; and (3) Seattle to Nome, Tihwa (Sinkiang) and Chungking.

Japanese War Periphery
German-Italian War Periphery
Railroads

Martin R. Norins, January, 1944

HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.

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2: Norias S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang: All

I

THE SINO-RUSSIAN REAR

000 Most Americans have begun to appreciate, though probably not yet adequately, the importance of China and Soviet Russia as *war fronts*. But that still vague appreciation is largely bound up with the concept of *American war fronts*—and almost not at all with the question of how much of China and Russia is war front and how much is not in the eyes of Chinese and Russians themselves. This clouded outlook can be considerably clarified if one will but envisage the fighting of China and Russia as protecting and stemming from one geographical entity, a "Sino-Russian Rear" with Sinkiang near its core. Then the *Chinese war front* in the Orient and the *Russian war front* in the Occident are both seen as peripheral defenses for one whole land mass. It is largely in the inland areas of this land mass, in the contiguous and merging hinterland of the "Sino-Russian Rear" where Sinkiang is found, that China and Soviet Russia have been forging the modern iron of their resistance to Axis devastation.

However it may seem on first thought, this "Sino-Russian Rear" is in fact not at all remote from America, nor is the concept alien. For now that the pattern of the war has become clearer one can realize that the Axis nations have so far been unable to achieve their ends for two main reasons: (1) that resistance has persisted in the Eastern Hemisphere and particularly in the area there *behind* the Chinese and Russian war fronts of Asia and Europe and (2) that *behind* the Eastern Hemisphere the United States has been developing her ocean-sheltered resources of the North American continent partially in support and partially in leadership of that resistance. In these two major "rears"—the American and the Sino-Russian—are held principal keys to United Nations victory and future world freedom. Though far apart in terms of

000 miles the two "rears" are close in spirit and aim, and the talents of the peoples in one need to be transferred back and forth for application to the resources of the other.

The concept of the "rear," as well as its expression in terms of a fighting-building "Sino-Russian Rear" and a fighting-producing "American Rear," though until now almost unrecognized in the Occident, has actually permeated most United Nations war strategy so far. The "rear" idea was really first applied by Soviet Russia, when she built up her Central Asian and Siberian "wastelands" under the Soviet Five-Year Plans. But as a kind of tactics, it was first utilized in war by Nationalist China. After the Extraordinary Session of the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang in Hankow during March, 1938, Nationalist China reorientated her warfare to *K'ang-chan Chien-kuo* ("Resistance and Reconstruction"): i.e., *K'ang-chan tsai Ch'ien-fang; Chien-kuo tsai Hou-fang* ("Resistance at the Front; Reconstruction in the Rear"). In war terms this has meant resisting the Japanese at the *war front* in the best fashion that primitive weapons would allow while new industrialized and militarized bases were reconstructed in the *war rear*—in the Chinese Far West. Soviet warfare has, with benefit of longer planning and of observation of China's experiences, since June, 1941, been similarly patterned, although with greater emphasis on the offensive. As a consequence the heart of the Eastern Hemisphere—a vast Chinese and Russian bulwark extending from the Urals and the Caspian Sea in Soviet Russia to the eastern edge of the rugged Chinese Far West, on the south along the mountains fringing Iran and Afghanistan and passing east to include the Tibetan Plateau, and on the north enfolding the Russian Arctic, the Siberian snows and the Mongolian steppe—has been fashioned as a rugged inland "rear" on the *reconstruction* and spirit of which almost a billion of our allies are basing their *resistance* to the Axis today.

Britain's Imperial Defense for a time and on a different scale had the same kind of "rear" basis after 1939; the large dispersal of her resources for industrial and military production and training went to the other members of the British Commonwealth. "Defense of the Western Hemisphere," the American thesis of 1940 and 1941, was based on

like principles. Although elaboration concerning the scheme may not 000
have been expressed precisely in this way, the American defense plan did envisage the British, Chinese, and Russian "fronts" and "rears" alike as fitting into a global scheme for United States benefit according to which she herself would be the principal "rear."

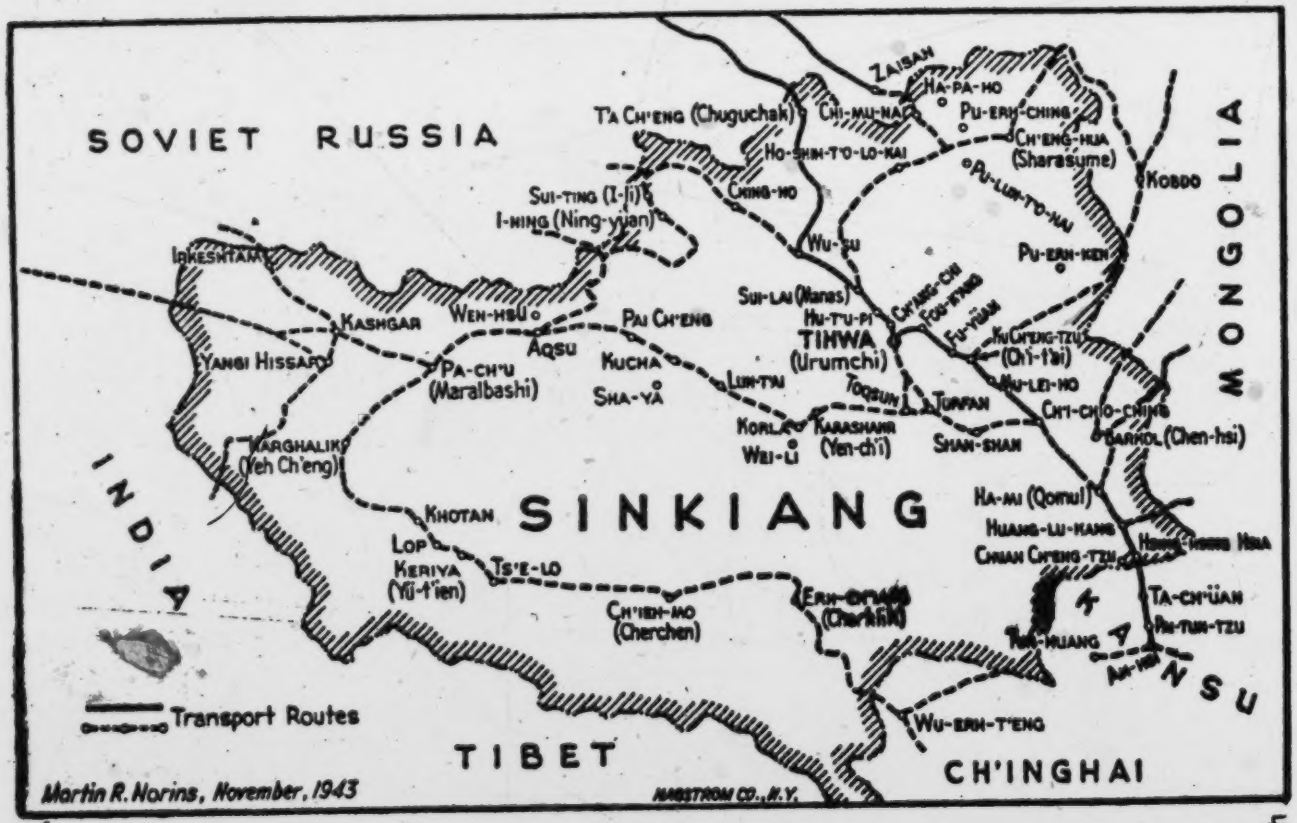
Conceptions of "front" and "rear" were immensely simplified by the Japanese onslaught which, between December, 1941, and May, 1942, laid waste areas of East Asia, from Hongkong and the Dutch East Indies to Burma. The Eastern Hemisphere had been brought within range of Axis encirclement and there was grave fear of what effect that might have upon the Americas. Immediately any "resistance-island" in the Eastern Hemisphere became obviously precious to America, and the two most sizable United Nations "resistance-islands" of the globe became those of the United States herself (protected by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and continental resistance beyond those waters) and the inland Asiatic frontier between China and Russia (behind desperate fighting lines). In another sense, the ocean edges of the world became the *war fronts* or fighting peripheries and the hemispheric land interiors became the *war rears* or production centers from which the *war fronts* were to be supplied.

This exposes bed-rock fundamentals. The United Nations for maximum efficiency in their joint prosecution of this war on the continental peripheries must be able to maintain unimpeded supply lines between the two great world rears—the American and the Sino-Russian. So far the war against the Axis in the Eastern Hemisphere has been mainly one of resistance. Until that resistance is transformed successfully into offensives and into final victory in Asia as well as Europe, the Axis will continue to threaten world peace and security. "Fringe" offensives will be helpful in part, and that is why bases in Britain, bombing raids on Western Europe, the winning back of part of the Solomon Islands, the offensive in Italy, and successes elsewhere are positive factors. But it would be a mistake to classify "fringe" actions for more than what they are. It would, further, be wasteful not to employ for long-range military-supply and production purposes, and to the utmost, the outstanding United Nations resistance-island in the Eastern Hemisphere—

000 the Sino-Russian Rear of inland Eurasia. In Sinkiang, an area peculiarly indebted to both Nationalist China and Soviet Russia and yet something apart from either, the United Nations are now at last offered an opportunity for just such action.

For today the innermost recesses of Central Asia are once more accessible. General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Governor of Sinkiang, has arranged in Chur, 'ir with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the opening up of the province. Hundreds of new settlers have already arrived, a vast new development program is under way, and the whole Chinese Northwest is astir with activity.

European members of the Axis were among the earliest to recognize Sinkiang's value as an entree to China, and it is well that they do not have the opportunity that lies open to the United Nations today to work with this province. When German and Italian diplomatic relations with Nationalist China were severed in 1941, Germans leaving Chungking reportedly prophesied they would return by way of Turkestan. The German drive from Berlin southeast to the Caucasus from June, 1941, to December, 1942, probably was dictated at least as much by this hope as by the temptation of Russian oil. For direct Nazi contact with China via Russian Turkestan and Sinkiang might have written a new formidable story in Far Eastern politics, and German attempts to collaborate with Wang Ching-wei then might have made him more than a Japanese marionette. With German military might severely taxed in Europe, that danger now seems past. The roads through Sinkiang fortunately have been opened, not to the Axis, but to the United Nations. They are accessible for military supply to China; and the region through which they pass is at the same time the new frontier region which the Chungking government is vigorously planning to develop.


SOVIET RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
INDIA
TIBET
CH'INGHAI
KANSU
SINKIANG
ZAISAN
HA-PA-HO
PU-ERH-CHING
CH'ENG-HUA (Sharasume)
KOBDO
T'A CH'ENG (Chuguchak)
CHI-MU-NAI
HO-SHIN-T'O-LO-KAI
CHING-HO
PU-LUN-TO-NAI
PU-ERH-KEN
SUI-TING (I-li)
I-HING (Ning-yüan)
Wu-su
IRKESHTAM
KASHGAR
WEN-HSU
PAI CH'ENG
SUI-LAI (Manas)
HU-T'U-PI
TIHWA (Urumchi)
CH'ANG-CHI
FOU-KANG
FU-YÜAN
KU CH'ENG-TZU (Ch'i-t'ai)
YANGI HISSAR
PA-CH'U (Maralbashi)
AQSU
KUCHA
SHA-YA
LUN-T'AI
TOQSUN
TURFAN
MU-LEI-HO
CHI-CHIO-CHING
BARKOL (Chen-hsi)
KORLA
WEI-LI
KARASHAHR (Yen-ch'i)
SHAN-SHAN
MARGHALIK (Yeh Ch'eng)
HA-MI (Qomul)
KHOTAN
LOP
KERIYA (Yü-t'ien)
TS'E-LO
HUANG-LU-HANG
CHIAN CH'ENG-TZU
CH'IEH-MO (Cherchen)
ERH-CH'ANG (Charklik)
TA-CH'ÜAN
PU-TUN-TZU
TUN-HUANG
WU-ERH-T'ENG
Transport Routes
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.

[p. 31]

487

II

SINKIANG: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

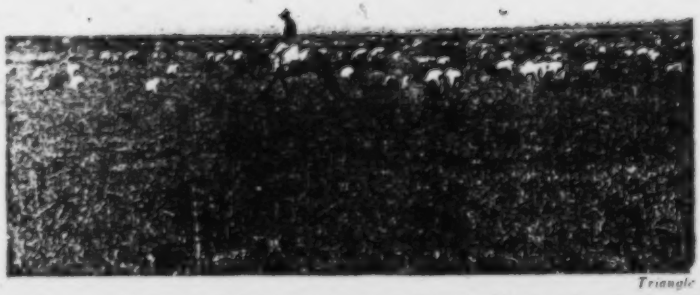
131 SINKIANG or Chinese Turkestan is a spacious attractive land of about
161 550,000 square miles, approximately two and a half times the size of France. Yet the province is inhabited only by about four million persons, or an average of less than nine per square mile. By way of contrast Kiangsu Province, which contains Shanghai and other teeming port cities, is one-fourteenth the size of Sinkiang and yet, before the war, had a population density more than one hundred times as great!

131 By nature a distant and self-contained area, Sinkiang is enclosed on three sides by mountains and on one side by desert and barren terrain. On the west are the T'ien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains; to the south, the lofty K'unlun Mountains of Tibet; on the extreme north, the little visited Altai ranges; and on the east, the Gobi of Mongolia and the Tsaidam wastelands of Western Ch'inghai or Kokonor.

133 The interior of Sinkiang does have vast expanses of desert. But the T'ien Shan extend from west to east through the center of the province, the Manas and the Tarim River systems moisten immense parts in the north and south respectively, and there are not a few luxuriant, well-watered oases at the bases of her encircling and bisecting mountains. The forested slopes of the Altai ranges and the northern T'ien Shan, the fertile regions alongside the Manas River in the north and throughout the Tarim River basin in the south, and the numerous dot-like oases in the interior—these form the bases for provincial cities and east-west communications.

103 In early times Chinese often referred to what is now Sinkiang as *Hsi Yü* ("The Western Regions") or as *T'ien-shan-nan-lu* and *T'ien-shan-pei-lu,* i.e., a "Road South of the Heavenly Mountains" and a "Road North of the Heavenly Mountains." These two latter names fitted the natural caravan highways which progressed westward from Chinese Kansu Province on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

233



Triangle

Sheep numberless as the stars. The shepherd, riding back and forth among his flocks spread out over a half mile, finds moving them from one pasture land to the next a slow process.

[p. 32 (A)]

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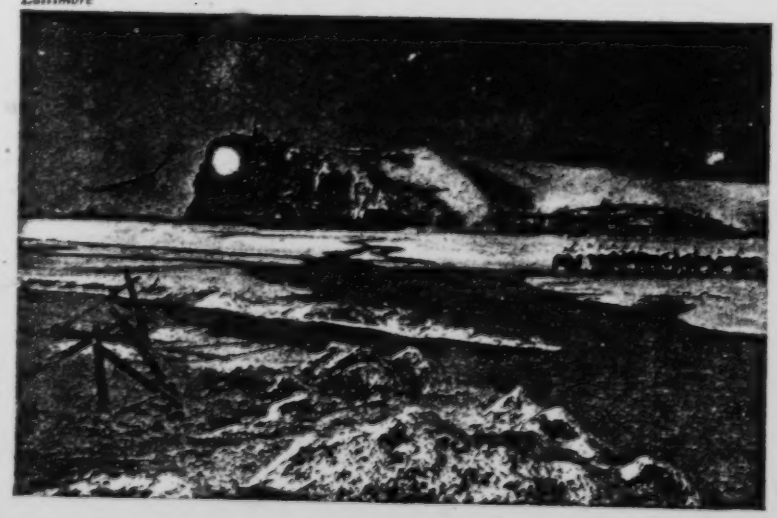
Lattimore

Life centers around the village pool in this village south of the Tien Shan.

Bleak winter settles over the valley of the Urumchi River.

Lattimore



[p. 32 (B)]

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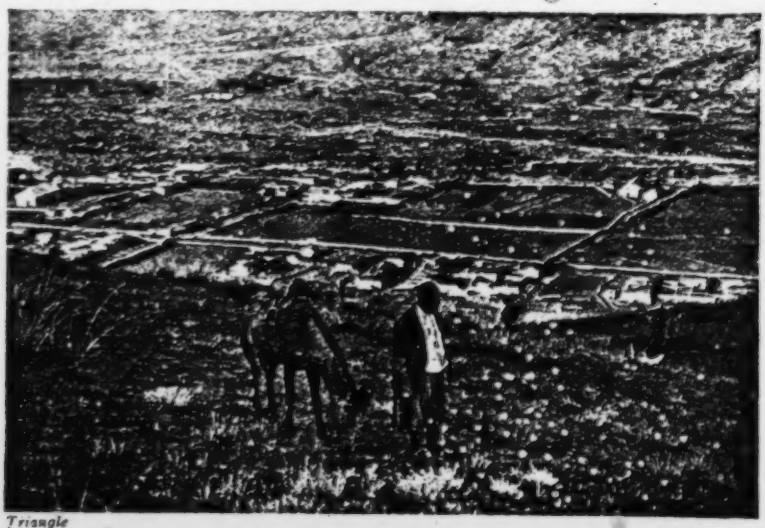


Triangle

Panoramic view of a typical settlement in the verdant Tekes valley, where cultivation is possible. For the rest there are the grasslands.

The houses in the valley are of log and mud. The summer grazing grounds are on the steep hill at the left.

Triangle

342

[p. 32 (C)]

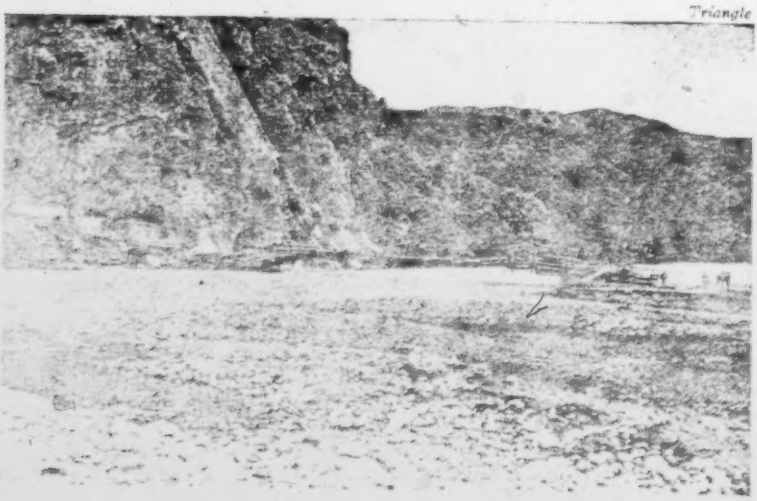
484

Lattimore

Travellers must often ford the Tekes and other rivers when the spring thaws come and there is no bridge.

Cantilever bridge across the Tekes River. Deep and swift-flowing mountain streams such as the Tekes makes travelling dangerous as well as difficult.

Triangle



p. 32 (D)

000

Kwang-Guillumette

Mr. Willkie is welcomed by General Sheng Shih-tsai, Commissioner of Military Affairs in Sinkiang Province.

The chief of the Tekes Kirghiz with the Lama on his left and the ranking priest on his right.

Triangle

792

[p. 32 (E)]

363
346

Lattimore

The sun lays down patterns on a Kashgar street.

Lattimore

A Kashgar mosque where the faithful turn for rest and prayer.

The market place is important for the exchange of wares and gossip in Kashgar.

366

Lattimore

[p. 32 (F)]

The snow has come and the nomads must seek other grounds for their flocks.

233

Lattimore

342

The nomad spends the night in his temporary shelter which he sets up each evening.

[p. 32 (G)]

484

Lattimore

Travellers come into Yarkand at a fast trot.

363

Lattimore

But life moves more slowly in the city itself.

[p. 32 (H)]

487 Sinkiang, "farther than any country from the sea," was once traversed by an old trans-Eurasian Silk Road. Medieval caravans, of Marco Polo's time and before, threaded their way laboriously along it in almost endless lines bearing goods from West to East and back. First high over the jagged Karakorum and Pamir Mountains, then in a gradual winding descent, went the old Silk Road, and along it coursed the trade and embassies of antiquity. Once at the watered bases of Sinkiang's snow-tipped mountains, the trail became covered with string upon string of desert camels, who plodded from oasis to oasis until, past the ancient kingdom of Khotan and the waters of the now-vanished Lob Nor, they wended their way eastward out of Sinkiang to the court of old Cathay.

Advent of fifteenth-century maritime travel turned traders to the sea; and the old caravan trek lost its one-time prominence. Central Asia, which had served as a natural land gateway between Europe and the Orient, was left to lapse into petty internal tribulations, slumber, and finally stagnation. Not until 1931, when Japan began World War II by her invasion of Manchuria, was this remote Sinkiang hinterland at last roughly awakened.

162 Up to then Sinkiang Province was a picturesque but ill-esteemed old-style Chinese dependency, a frontier land of Central Asiatic tribesmen ruled over by a minority of "Han" Chinese officials. It was an open land of lean Kalmuck nomads and hardy Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping like mad across the steppes, of rugged mountains and luxuriant oases and ancient ruins buried in the Takla Makan, a land of mosques and lamaseries and century-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Tung-kans; in short, a land of perhaps the most colorful mixture of race and custom and habitat that ever did exist. Market day in a bazaar might find dark bearded Uighurs from Kashgar in long, bright-colored coats together with veiled and white-cloaked women, a crowd which perhaps would include booted Kirgiz, so-called Aryan Sarikolis from the Taghdumbash Pamir, perhaps outcast unveiled Dulani women from Maralbashi, and a scattering of foreigners from Afghanistan, India, and Russian Turkestan.

000 Like all frontiersmen, the people of Sinkiang are given to tall tales.

000 A Sinkiang pilgrim, so the story goes, set out from Ha-mi one day early in this century to see the wondrous iron bridge that an American company had built over the Yellow River near Lan-chou, Kansu. Midway on his journey out of the province and down the panhandle corridor of Western Kansu this Sinkiang man, Ma by name, came upon a Lan-chou countryman also named Ma. From early childhood this second Ma had heard such unbelievable stories about the Ha-mi melons grown in Sinkiang that he was at last setting out to see them for himself. Sipping tea at a roadside inn, the two passed the time of day and soon waxed friendly.

"So far as our Iron Bridge is concerned," stated the Ma of Lan-chou, "it is the highest yet. At this date last year a man fell over the side and, when I left, his body had not yet reached the water."

"H-m-m," murmured the Ma of Ha-mi. "Yes, that's high. But as far as our melons are concerned, you are wasting your time traveling all the way to Ha-mi to see them. They grow to such a size, you know, that by this time next year they will be with you in Lan-chou."

438 Sinkiang *(Hsin-chiang)* has often been called the "New Dominion," and to Chinese, exaggerations notwithstanding, this "new" frontier land has for centuries been full of the wonderful, the picturesque, the bizarre, the new. In the olden days one who brought Ha-mi melons to the capital of the Middle Kingdom would merit special favor, and even today the clippers that soar across Northwest China from Sinkiang to Szethwan inevitably carry a few, now and then, as rare delicacies for the people of Chungking. A rice kernel a half inch long is said to have been developed in the Sinkiang oasis of Aqsu during Manchu Dynasty times, the grapes of Turfan have long been considered unequaled in sweetness and perfection, and today it is the fabulous wealth of Sinkiang's undeveloped natural resources that is inspiring wondrous tales.

35 Like a legend, the news of riches in Sinkiang has run through China in the past decade—and not without reason. For the North Road and South Road are both plentifully supplied with mineral goods. Certain strategic materials are not present, it is true, but in the North Sinkiang triangle bounded by the three Regions of I-li, T'a Ch'eng, and Tihwa

alone, resources are available in such an abundance as can furnish the 135
foundation for a thriving industrialization.

Iron, coal, copper and gold have been found near Sui-ting (I-li). 135
Henceforth this important center on the Soviet-Chinese border may 316
take its prosperous tea and fur trade for granted and brag, instead, of blazing furnaces. T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), a frontier locality on the road from the Turksib Railway and probably the only city to have boomed more than Sui-ting, is already boasting of the iron vein one hundred and thirty miles long which runs right through the town, and of the Black Oil Mountain nearby. The oil appears abundantly in the form of springs and is especially black and thick. It is probably a tar, for it gets hard and has been used in the laying out and paving of the new provincial highways. There is coal too, not far away. But miners are nothing new for T'a Ch'eng; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were thousands of them prospecting in the fifty square miles or so of gold mines roundabout, or so the old people say.

Tihwa (Urumchi), the provincial capital, with a population judged 135
at around 100,000, dominates both the North and South Roads: hence its 361
military and political importance. Nowadays, not to be outdone, it has also been showing great industrial promise. Most of its houses are heated with oil or coal produced in the vicinity. One visitor to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's headquarters saw a piece of coal so huge that it took two men to carry it.

Farther south, Kashgar (Su-fu), largest oasis in Sinkiang and hub of 361
both transport and political interests from the neighboring lands of 315
Northwest India, Afghanistan, and Soviet Turkestan, is also blessed 648
with natural resources. Kashgar oil, though often merely "scooped out" by primitive means, has long provided the city with gasoline, kerosene, machine oil, and grease. Even Ma Titai, old-school Commander-in-Chief of the Kashgar district at the close of World War I, guessed at the worth of the oil in his domain. He put most of his personal army to the task of tapping wells for him, and almost negotiated a deal with Soviet Russians of Ferghana for modern machinery. The Russians had said they would supply the machinery and would personally see to its being escorted to Kashgar, when Ma's plans hit a snag. His ambitions

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

III

SHENG SHIH-TS'AI AND THE "NEW NEW DOMINION"

185 When Sheng Shih-ts'ai was offered direction of Sinkiang destinies, history began to record a courageous new chapter—for long a secret and maligned one—in the annals of human emancipation. For Sheng urged that the province discard the old-style dependency tradition and, by adopting a great new six-point charter, cast in her lot with progress. By his Six Great Policies he aimed at reviving long-submerged cultural aspirations of Sinkiang native races and at bringing about revolutionary Sinkiang reconstruction. This he tried to do within the limits of nominal control of the Chinese Republic, at the price of favoring "radical" Soviet ideas, and at the cost of offending other less far-sighted Chinese, as well as many assertedly "foreign imperialist" interests. He has, in brief, made the province into a New Sinkiang *(Hsin Hsin-chiang)*, a remarkable "New New Dominion."

75 Sheng, a moderate-sized, handsome man, with an exceptionally full crop of dark hair and a thick, descending mustache, started out for the region late in the 1920's. Yang Tseng-hsin, warlord master of the province since abdication of the Manchu Dynasty, had been assassinated in July, 1928, and his place taken by the weak, avaricious Chin Shu-jen. Provincial General Secretary Lu Hsüeh-tsu had gone from Sinkiang to Nanking on business, and had been requested by Chin to look around while there for a man of military background possibly suited to build up the army of the frontier province. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was the man Lu selected.

643 Born in K'ai-yüan county of Liaoning, Manchuria, in 1893. Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been reared "in a small family" and amid conditions of "poverty" and "cold." How he managed an education with such meager resources is not clear, but he attended primary and middle schools, and even had some university training in Nanking. There he studied European history under Chang Chi-luan, the late editor of China's most famous newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*. Sheng never seems to have forgot-

ten his old teacher, and that is probably one of the reasons that the *Ta Kung Pao* has often been able to reveal more information concerning the New Sinkiang than other Chinese journals. 643

Though Sheng started out to be a student of the arts, the trend of events in China led him, midway in his career, to study military science also. It was after a period of attendance at a university in Japan—where he and his biographer, Tu Chung-yüan, became friends—that Sheng returned to China and entered the then famous military academy at Shaokwan (Ch'ü-chiang) in Kwangtung Province. Li Ken-yüan, an old-time Yünnan militarist-revolutionary, was in charge and guided the young student through the academic ropes. On graduation, Sheng was given an introduction to Kuo Sung-ling, one of the prominent war lords of his native Northeast China.

General Kuo made Sheng a *Hsiao P'ai Chang* (Second Lieutenant) and rapidly promoted him until he became a *Ying Chang* (Battalion Commander). Then he was permitted another period of study, this time in a Japanese military academy. He had not been in Japan long, however, when he was called back to China to join in a military *Putsch*. It failed, and as a consequence General Kuo was killed. Sheng, having lost his benefactor and himself become involved in difficulties, returned to Japan "to read books." While there he received financial backing from none other than Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. As a consequence, it is said, he has since referred to himself as "The Student" when signing telegraph messages addressed to the Chinese national leader.

Soon after his Japanese military training had been completed, Sheng Shih-ts'ai joined the Generalissimo in the northward march against the war lords of Pei-p'ing or Peking as it was then called. He was shortly given a post in the office of the Chinese General Staff but was not happy there and decided to try his luck on the Chinese frontier. On first thought, probably due to his past tutelage under a Yünnanese schoolmaster at Ch'ü-chiang, he considered going to Yünnan. The attractions of the vaster and richer territory of Sinkiang, however, ultimately won him.

Not the most pleasant introduction to Sinkiang awaited Sheng. He 643 175

643 had met Lu Hsüeh-tsu in Nanking through the offices of a mutual
175 friend, and Lu was persuaded to recommend him to the Sinkiang Military Governor. But when Chin Shu-jen learned of Sheng's background he seemed to fear to take him on; Chin wanted a subordinate, not a possible rival. It was only through third party pressure that Chin agreed to give Sheng his chance. Then, just as the young appointee was about to leave Eastern China, Sino-Russian hostilities over the Chinese Eastern Railway broke out and interrupted normal air transport through Soviet Russia via Vladivostok. Since it was by that route that Sheng had planned to travel, he was forced to spend eight months in Pei-p'ing "reading" again until communications were restored. When the line was at last reopened, he flew through Siberia to his destination; there he was temporarily lodged as a guest of Lu Hsüeh-tsu, who had been his traveling companion. But Sheng did not get to see Chin Shu-jen until over a week had passed; for Lu and the military governor had had a quarrel almost as soon as Lu arrived.

At last Sheng was assigned a position with the General Staff in the Office of the Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang. Not a particularly attractive "boost" for one with Sheng's background, the assignment found him nevertheless immediately setting to his tasks. By 1930 he had worked himself up to the position of Chief of the General Staff in the Office; then, when revolt broke out in Ha-mi, he was made Commander-in-Chief at the Front.

175 Chin Shu-jen, a man weaker than those before him and yet covetously
669 retaining the old exploitation methods, had attempted to monopolize taxes on Sinkiang foreign trade and had given his sons extensive regional authority. This combination had caused such resentment that, apparently with some Japanese instigation filtering in through Mongolia, it surged up in a swelling tide and flung the waves of civil war over the province. The incident which finally precipitated his downfall came with the death of the Mohammedan Prince of Qomul in 1930.

Qomul, the Moslem city known to Chinese as Ha-mi, as late as 1930 had been still under only nominal Chinese suzerainty. But when its prince died his son was "received" into Chinese protective custody; then the ancient principality of Qomul was legally abolished and the region

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669

broken down into three Chinese counties, Ha-mi, I-ho, and I-wu. From those, according to the existing Chinese law, certain taxes were automatically due to the provincial government and to other Chinese government authority. This alone might have been enough to rouse the Moslems of the old principality, for up to then they had not been accustomed to pay such taxes. But to make matters worse a party of eighty Kansu refugees had been brought by Chin Shu-jen to Sinkiang and allotted some of the Moslem land in the "new" I-ho county. Finally, one of the "infidel" tax collectors tried to marry a pretty Moslem girl. In their fury the Moslems killed the tax collector and the eighty Kansu refugees. The small nucleus of Mohammedan rioters gradually accumulated "thousands" more, and open revolt against the Sinkiang administration began.

The whole affair was an expensive demonstration of Chin Shu-jen's ineptitude for the office of Sinkiang Provincial Chairman. The old Prince of Qomul had been thoroughly hated by his own people, and his demise need not have created such an outbreak. Yet, once the revolt had been started, it assumed devastating proportions.

Two of the rebels went to Kansu and solicited help from Ma Chung-ying. With some four hundred Moslem comrades from Kansu to help him, Ma marched forward into Sinkiang. This was one of the far-famed Ma's of the Tung-kan (Tungan) clan. Born at the town of Hochow in Southern Kansu, he had entered the Ch'inghai army of one of his namesakes, Ma Pu-fang, at the age of seventeen. After a time he had gathered his own Moslem Chinese army about him and swiftly brought his name to notice in Kansu military affairs. So prominent had he become by the spring of 1936 that Chiang Kai-shek had permitted him to enroll in the Nationalist military academy at Nanking for a three months' indoctrination course. When he returned to the Northwest, however, his ambitions brought him rapidly into difficulty with other prominent leaders of the region. He had just suffered a military defeat at the hands of Ma Pu-fang when the call came from Ha-mi.

Ma Chung-ying entered Sinkiang as a liberator, and at first recruits came by the throng to his army, the official 36th Division which

175 669 Nanking had authorized him to command. He attacked Chen-hsi (Barkol) successfully, and then Ha-mi and Ch'i-chio-ching. Though partly victorious in these latter encounters, he was wounded and temporarily retired to refuge in Kansu. He returned to the fray in May, 1932, chiefly assisted by another Moslem, Ma Shih-ming. Chin Shu-jen then directed Sheng Shih-ts'ai, already promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief at the Front, to march against the rebels. Sheng was so successful that two of the Moslem leaders, Yulbaz and Khoja Niaz by name, fled from the province. Ma Shih-ming, however, had marched to Shan-shan and launched a counter-attack in the winter of 1932. His forces soon were approaching the outskirts of Tihwa, the provincial capital.

At this time over a thousand of the refugee troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army from Manchuria—then continuing a journey back into China via Sinkiang—began to march down from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak) to defend Tihwa. Ma Shih-ming, noting this, withdrew his Moslem forces to San-tao Pa, which commanded access to the rice-producing areas on which Tihwa was dependent. Chin Shu-jen therefore ordered Sheng Shih-ts'ai to take the new forces with him in an attack on San-tao Pa and later Fou-k'ang, another Moslem stronghold. Sheng had just chased the Tung-kans out of San-tao Pa when there came a new turn of events.

A heavy slaughter of Han Chinese had been going on in many centers elsewhere in the province, and within the provincial capital there was a great rice shortage. Chinese military and civilian leaders alike, therefore, had by this time begun to resent the continued fighting; Tihwa had even come to feel that if Chin Shu-jen were ousted from his post as Provincial Chairman the warfare might subside. White Russian troops, constituting a sizable portion of the soldiers upon whom Chin counted for protection, were at the same time restless about poor treatment they had been receiving. This unhealthy state of affairs came to a climax on April 12, 1933, the occasion of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, when these same White Russians announced that Moslems were attacking the city. A mob, entering the gates of Tihwa, rushed forward in a direct attack on the provincial government headquarters. In the midst

of this pandemonium Chin Shu-jen fled out of the city. Provincial military responsibility thus fell directly on Sheng Shih-ts'ai's shoulders. 175 669

Tu Chung-yüan, whose account in Chinese of the New Sinkiang has been exceptionally revealing, continues with the story in this way:

> After Chin Shu-jen had fled, the White Russian Army captured both Chin Shu-hsin, his son, and Commander Ts'ui Chao-chi. Ultimately Chin Shu-hsin was killed because he tried to flee during his trial.
>
> It was evening in the city when the White Russian Army opened the meeting. Liu Wen-lung, Provincial Commissioner of Education, was chosen Provisional Chairman of the Provincial Government. Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian Northeast National Salvation Army, was named Provisional Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, and twenty-four men, including Ch'en Chung, T'ao Ming-yüeh and others, were selected as members of a Sinkiang Provincial Government Maintenance Committee. Liu Wen-lung posited three principles for the meeting: Protection of Chin Shu-jen's life and property; Protection of the Consulate; and Maintenance of order.
>
> At the time Cheng Jun-ch'eng was outside the city and did not know what had taken place, so Yang Hsüeh-yüan was sent to get him. Cheng, after declining his appointment three times, finally consented to accept it temporarily. But it was known Chin's appointment of Sheng Shih-ts'ai indicated the latter had considerable power, and some feared that Sheng might help Chin Shu-jen. Pai Yü-hsiu was appointed to see Sheng about taking over Chin's office . . . but was wounded. At the time both Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Yang Hsüeh-yüan were at Cheng Jun-ch'eng's headquarters, and all three of them entered the city together. Cheng continually argued that he and his troops were guests of Sinkiang, and that he could not accept appointment in the province. The people therefore selected Sheng as Provisional Border Defense Commander . . .

Young Sheng Shih-ts'ai, rich in military background, recognized this opportunity for what it was; his military successes had already won him acclaim and the Sinkiang capital was looking for a new military leader. Though Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian contingent passing through Sinkiang, might have been first choice, he did not feel free to accept provincial military command. Perhaps Sheng helped persuade him to decline. Sheng was the most eligible leader left and, accordingly, was selected.

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Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been placed in a difficult position, and at first there seemed little that he could do. The Tung-kan armies of Ma Chung-ying had cut him off and were bleeding the countryside of Eastern Sinkiang of its sustenance. Everywhere along the road from Ha-mi to Tihwa there was "misery, debris, devastation!" At Ha-mi the shops were closed, their fronts barred with sinister wood shutters. The village of T'ou-p'u had become merely "heaps of clay." At Ch'i-chio-ching the streets were littered and stinking with the bodies of dead horses shot in battle. Movement on the thoroughfares of Turfan had ceased, its commerce was paralyzed, and there, too, the shops were shuttered and bolted. Ma Chung-ying had become the "autocrat of Eastern Sinkiang" from Ha-mi to Korla and west as far as Kashgar; by June, 1933, he had entered even Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) "unhindered" and had begun to push from there towards Tihwa. Behind him, though, he had left a wake of pillaging and poverty. The ruthlessness with which he and his men plundered the countryside and the people earned him hatred even from countless fellow Moslems as well as from the Han Chinese.

Sheng directed the Northeast Resist Japan Army to continue the march against Ma, who was as a consequence forced temporarily into a retreat; but he recovered enough to reform his men into ranks and to capture Turfan. From there, where the North and South Roads of Sinkiang come closest to juncture, he controlled access to both East and South Sinkiang. This news came as a severe jolt to the capital, for revolt had also broken out further north at I-li (Sui-ting), under General Chang Pei-yüan. Representatives of the Chinese National Government took this opportunity to attempt negotiation of a peace between Sheng and Ma. Nanking sent first General Huang Mu-sung, then the late Lo Wen-kan. But both were unsuccessful. Sheng was amenable, yet requested that Ma make Ha-mi his headquarters and take orders from the provincial government; to this Ma would not consent. Instead, at the turn of 1934, he once more marched his armies toward the capital which had just sent its main force in the direction of T'a Ch'eng to put down the Altai uprising of Chang Pei-yüan.

At this point Sheng Shih-ts'ai arranged with Soviet Russia to import

large amounts of war materials—trucks, armored cars, machine-guns, ammunition, and even airplanes. With these and the help of Russian troops from the Altai area, the government forces captured Hsi-hu, on the Altai road, and compelled General Chang to flee ultimately toward an ignominious suicide. Then Sheng turned once more to press home his attack on Ma Chung-ying. Had the Russian matériel not been obtained, Ma might have won the battle of Tihwa. As it was, the Tung-kans were forced to flee back all the way to Toqsun; and Sheng's armies began to block their enemies off, both outside Turfan and in the vicinity of Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). Ma's position quickly became so desperate that he began a long retreat to the southwest in the direction of Kashgar. Sheng's airplanes harried the retiring forces with bombs at Turfan and again at Korla, and it was only by the narrowest margin that the Tung-kan leader squeezed past those towns to Kucha. From there he fled to the comparative security of Kashgar in April, 1934. Yet he was forced to leave even that refuge, for troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army marched in within four months. Ma is said to have been escorted over the Chinese frontier into Russia, and his whereabouts have since then seemingly been swallowed up in mystery.

Sinkiang was not, however, sorry to see him depart, after the four years of warfare. The desperate people were instead only too ready to heed proclamations which were dropped from Sheng Shih-ts'ai's airplanes urging the populace to make "genuine submission" in return for "rehabilitation" and "safety." An army of Kirgizes, Turkis, Torguts, Taranchis, and White Russians, according to words ascribed to one of the tribesmen himself, had at last been formed "to drive Ma and the Tungans out of Sinkiang." All who followed Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been promised, too, that "a new era" had begun for the province; that General Sheng was going to reorganize Sinkiang administration and bring "order, peace, and security."

On first coming to power in 1933, Sheng Shih-ts'ai concerned himself principally with the handling of dissident factions; soon, however, he issued declarations of radical administrative policy, and then introduced a first, and in due course a second, three-year plan of provincial reconstruction. His program was not at first so effective in South Sin-

185 kiang as in North Sinkiang, and his accomplishments have been less noticeable there. But at that, under his administration Sinkiang Province boasts of its modern innovations, such as electric light, telephone, and wireless improvements, of airplane and widespread automobile transportation, of motion pictures, daily newspapers, and of rapidly spreading literacy. These are all the more remarkable in view of the relatively remote terrain to which they have been brought.

This is the way in which Tu Chung-yüan summ[illegible] changes in Sinkiang:

> From the time of the "Four-Twelve" Affair Sinkiang has changed politically, militarily, and socially. This change has been the result of a great upheaval, and it is only due to his acquaintance with international affairs, politics, and his personal experience in Sin[illegible] that Sheng Tu-pan has been able to cope with it. Th[illegible] have long mistakenly felt that they deserve to govern in [illegible] people over lesser peoples. Has not this mistaken idea, which existed not only during the administrations of Yang Tseng-hsin and Chin Shu-jen but which was derived from the code of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Mien-t'ang, has not this mistaken idea really aimed at the military subjugation of Sinkiang? Such might have passed muster formerly but not today. With the boundaries of Sinkiang and Soviet Russia touching for several thousand Chinese miles and with the Soviet kind of socialism and liberty already having been made available to the lesser peoples of Soviet Russia, how is it possible for a ten per cent Han minority to subjugate successfully in Sinkiang an over eighty per cent Moslem majority? . . .

Shortly after his election as Provisional Border Defense Commander of the province, Sheng issued an Eight Point Proclamation which set the early keynote for his conduct of government. Establishment of Racial Equality and a Guarantee of Religious Freedom were primary and secondary in the proclamation. Its other six points were: Equitable Distribution of Agricultural and Rural Relief; Reform of Government Finance; The Cleaning Up of Government Administration; The Expansion of Education; The Promotion of Self-Government; and The Improvement of the Judiciary.

It is more than coincidental that the Eight Point Proclamation made no mention of ties to Sovietism and that its first two guarantees were

those of Equality and Religious Freedom. It is just the kind of a proclamation which might have been issued in an early, purely Chinese, attempt to conciliate the rebellious Moslems. Nor does it seem by chance that next emphasis was placed on aid to agriculture and the rural areas, for that has been a leading part of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's accomplishments. Reforms in government finance and administration also were particularly applicable in a period following the avaricious rule of Chin Shu-jen. The remaining three points, dealing with education, self-government, and the judiciary, are more abstract; but they too were practicable planks for a Sinkiang political platform.

But the Eight Point Proclamation does not seem to have received the continued stress that has been placed upon another, a complementary, set of principles of the New Sinkiang.

Once, as Tu Chung-yüan puts it, Sheng Shih-ts'ai ". . . had eliminated internal rebellion, unified Sinkiang, and firmly established government authority," he ". . . invoked his Six Great Policies . . ."

The Six Great Policies of the New Sinkiang are: (1) Anti-imperialism; (2) Kinship to Sovietism; (3) Racial Equality; (4) Clean Government; (5) Peace; and (6) Reconstruction. In them the unique character of the New Sinkiang is to be found. As a unit these principles constitute a magnificent charter, a message which may even match that of the Magna Charta of Britain, the Bill of Rights of the United States, and the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter for the effect it has already had and can have in Asia in the battle for Chinese emancipation. For here, in the heart of Central Asia, a colony had cast off her fetters, risen and shouted forth the dogma upon which she was to stand or to fall. Upon it she built a new civilization for herself, and her message is one to which the world well may listen.

IV

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

648 A FRONTIER, it has been written, is by its own nature usually an unsettled region. There rough, unscrupulous men come to seek quick, easy riches; and there the good living of peace, education, responsible government, and material comforts is often either lacking or only ostensibly proffered from the embattled mansions of outlaws or despots. Usually confronting another country, the frontier is the place which feels most suddenly and severely the shocks of changing political and military relationships in the world: the slightest overt military incident on an international frontier time and time again has been the spark to set nations aflame with war. Multiplied a hundred-fold or more is this disquiet and tension when a frontier lies helpless and unprotected at the crossroads of world empire.

Such a frontier has Sinkiang been. Tu Chung-yüan writes:

> Behind the facade of the racial and cultural complex of the province every imperialist force has sought to cause dissension and division. A certain imperialist force, for instance, has increasingly fostered independence for South Sinkiang, and Japanese imperialism has helped the Ch'an Hui [Turban Moslems] promote a Mussulman state. If this matter is not put foremost, if it is not struck a decisive blow, if all the people of the province are not cautioned about it, then all Sinkiang government will share a like fate.

A nineteenth-century outpost for the commerce of China, Russia, Britain, and Japan, Sinkiang has seen her borders patrolled incessantly by the armies of the first three while her steppes and oases have been infiltrated by the counter-agents of probably all four and more. The pulse of life in Sinkiang might be said to have been timed almost literally to beat with the tread of a marching frontier guard. One day it was bruited about that the Russians were plotting to march through Sinkiang to Lhasa and Bombay; the next, that the British coveted Sinkiang as a road to Urga; a third, that Japanese would use Sinkiang as a base to set the Moslems of the Middle East in revolt! Nor has

it only been these. China has had great difficulty in defending this frontier during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet she herself probably began imperialism in Sinkiang some two thousand years ago. And she had to compete even then with the nomads of Siberia, Mongolia, and Turkestan. It is through "Anti-imperialism" that the New Sinkiang has attempted to arm herself against all this. 648

Chinese Imperialism in the Western Regions

The "Anti-imperialism" of the New Sinkiang may well have been, in the first place, a reproach for Chinese imperialist frontier policies of the past. For Sinkiang Province was not always Chinese territory. The area appears to have been inhabited in ancient times by a number of separate independent clans, principalities, and states which Chinese gradually came to know collectively as the *Hsi Yü*, or "Western Regions." By conquest, and often by repression, of the natives of these Western Regions, Chinese were among the first to acquaint them with imperialism. A related, but slightly different, approach to this point is made by Owen Lattimore in his study, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*: 648 175

> The history of the Chinese in Central Asia . . . is a history of imperialism, of conquest. The Chinese could not here expand, adding contiguous region to contiguous region as they did in their advance toward the Yangtze and beyond, but had to subjugate and dominate from afar. They had, moreover, to compete with the imperialism of the steppe, which also attempted to assert its control over the oasis world. The record of the Chinese in Central Asia is therefore by no means continuous; in fact, their effective control has been estimated at only about 425 out of about 2,000 years, divided into a number of periods, of which the present Chinese rule in the province of Sinkiang is the fifth major period.

China seems to have had earliest contact with the Western Regions during the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-220 A.D.). The Hsiung-nu (Hun?) nomads of Mongolia had been raiding the Chinese frontier, and the Chinese Emperor, Han Wu Ti, wanted to outflank them with bases in the Western Regions. He didn't get those bases at first; but through an emissary, Chang Ch'ien, he did initiate Chinese frontier activity

648 175 in Central Asia. By the end of the first century A.D. a Han general Pan Ch'ao had expanded that activity so successfully in a military sense that "more than fifty kingdoms" of the Western Regions had "sent hostages," and countries as far away as Persia were regularly sending "tributary" missions to the Chinese throne.

China did not retain this position permanently. Some three to four hundred years later, Chinese of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties had to play off "western Turks" (apparently a people of the Western Regions) against the "northern Turks" (probably a people then in present-day Mongolia) to regain mastery of Turkestan. In this period, during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty (713-756) Chinese power extended as far as the sites of Kashmir and Gngit (in present-day Northwest India).

But this was the limit to which Chinese westward expansion was then to go, and later it even met with severe reverses. When the Sons of Han did carry their authority back to Turkestan, it was centuries later and then they were mainly henchmen to their own "barbarian" overlords: the Mongols in the thirteenth, and the Manchus in the seventeenth century. What memories must have been left the people of Sinkiang by plundering Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan! And by the Manchus! In 1750 during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung, their armies laid waste the Altai region and annihilated 600,000 inhabitants. A century later they slaughtered numberless Moslems in the "pacification" of such Asiatic revolts as that of Yakub Beg of Kashgar.

Nor, for almost a quarter century after Chinese revolt from Manchu rule in 1911 and 1912, did Sinkiang have an opportunity to dissociate the idea of Chinese rule from that of stern military conquest. The administration of the first Republican governor of the province, Yang Tseng-hsin, aroused so much resentment that he was assassinated on July 7, 1928. Once his firm hand was withdrawn unrest again stirred; and it was thus that the Sinkiang civil war which brought Sheng Shih-ts'ai to power broke out in the 1930's.

Tsarist Imperialism

In the later days of the Manchu Dynasty, meanwhile, a new imperialism had come to Sinkiang. The expanding Russian Empire had not been slow to profit from her proximity to China, and in the Treaty of Kuldja of 1851 she gained her first sizable foothold in the Sinkiang economic door. The treaty, kept secret for a time, was made public in 1861. It gave Russia the right to send agents into the region, permitted Russian commercial dealings with Kuldja (Sui-ting or I-li) and Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng), and foresaw the opening of a Russian consulate at Kuldja. In the Treaty of Peking, November 14, 1860, this beginning was enlarged to permit the opening of another consulate, at Kashgar.

Then came the Yakub Beg revolt of the 1860's and an upset in the Central Asian balance of power. The Turkestan frontier was so "disturbed" that in 1871 Russia occupied points on the Chinese side, promising that her forces would be evacuated as soon as China had restored order. There was doubt at the time as to Russia's true intentions, and all might not have gone so well subsequently had China's army under Tso Tsung-t'ang not been successful in its bitter campaign to "pacify" the Moslem uprising. Russia, unable in 1881 to challenge the victorious Chinese, reluctantly signed new conventions with China. By these the Tsar, in return for a monetary payment, ultimately gave back [illegible] Chinese territory he had occupied. A *modus operandi* was [illegible] by which China, among other matters, recognized the Russian right to open consulates at Kuldja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan, and assented to creation of other Russian consulates at Ha-mi, Tihwa, and Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) should commercial relations warrant.

British Imperialism

Russian ambitions in Chinese Turkestan in the time of the Tsars had, however, additional reactions farther south. It is not too surprising that, once Russian troops had moved across the Sinkiang frontier in 1871, authorities of the British Empire tendered political "recognition" to the "government" which the rebel Yakub Beg had

648 175 then organized at Kashgar. The British felt their "preserve" in nearby India was being "threatened" and as a consequence "countered" Russian action both by recognizing the Beg and by taking a more active interest in "trade" with South Sinkiang.

Sinkiang-Indian trade had been under way for some time, but the British Government became officially committed to its furtherance in 1876. This policy, they found, could not be pursued satisfactorily without dispatch of an armed force to pacify the Northwest Frontier of India. In taking this step, they trespassed on what Chinese feel was and is their ground. Thereupon, say Chinese, when in 1884 a British force marched into "Kanjut" *(K'an-chü-t'i* or *Kan-chu-t'e)*—the site of the Gilgit Agency and Hunza Valley of modern Northwest India—outright English "aggression" against Sinkiang began. Subsequently a British agent and a British consul were established at Kashgar. This South Sinkiang metropolis became a focus for British activity which, under the aegis of the Indian trade agent, the British consul, and native *aqsaqals* (headmen), was carried on mainly as an intra-Mohammedan affair. It became, consequently, subject to a persistent suspicion on the part of Chinese non-Moslems.

Manchu Commercial Efforts

439 That the Russians and British were attempting to dominate Sinkiang trade became apparent to China by the closing years of Manchu rule. In a limited and tardy way the Manchus attempted to strengthen administration in the province, therefore, and to foster new development of intra-Chinese trade. New colonizing blood was poured into the veins of Sinkiang. At the same time went manufacturers and ideas; and from the province came jade, gold, furs, skins, and a number of other items. The avidity with which foreigners in Tientsin and Shanghai sought the furs, skins, and wool especially helped, and by the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese traders were bringing these goods out of Sinkiang in such amounts that she was beginning to experience a new prosperity. But the process of itself could not develop to satisfactory proportions, due to the then current weakness of the

Manchu position in China as a whole, as well as to the physical limitations set by the necessary journey. 439

The Convenience Factor

Traditional routes from China Proper into Sinkiang not only have always been fraught with danger and difficulty, but they have also been excessively long. Negotiation by primitive means of some 1,500 miles of hard travel over desert and mountain areas formerly was required for the journey from Pei-p'ing to Tihwa; there were, in addition, the following distances from Tihwa to selected outlying Sinkiang trade centers near the Russian and Indian frontiers:

Sui-ting (Kuldja)	360 miles
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	375 "
Aqsu	927 "
Kashgar	1,375 "
Khotan	1,644 "

Yet, compare those distances with the mileage along main trade routes by which there was travel from modern communication centers in Russia to key points in Sinkiang. A French writer, M. Castagné, has shown that from:

Andizhan to Kashgar by Irkeshtam through Terek Pass is	427 miles
Pishpek (Frunze) to Kashgar by Narinsk through Chatir Köl is	346 "
Alma-Ata to Sui-ting (Kuldja) by Khorgos is	534 "
Semipalatinsk to Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng) by Sergiopol is	400 "
Zaisan to Sharasume is	160 "
Zaisan to Chuguchak is	160 "

M. Castagné also points out how the Russians were economically favored over even the British when he explains that from Leh, in Northwest India—along a customary British trade route—it is respectively 460, 530, and 619 miles to such key commercial points of South Sinkiang as Karghalik, Khotan, and Keriya. The British routes, besides, went over some of the most difficult mountain passes in the

487 world, some replete with blizzards and terrific heights; at least one over 18,000 feet.

These remarks show, without need of further elaboration, that the main centers of Sinkiang have been relatively much more convenient to centers of Russian Central Asia than to those of British India or, to a much greater extent, those of Eastern China. They also show how Russia's favored geographical position could shortly turn Sinkiang trade in her favor.

The Emergence of Tsarist Leadership

439 For a generation the Tsarist Government had wielded considerable commercial influence in the Kashgar region of South Sinkiang; and the proximity of the Russian Turkestan railways and highways was felt only less by degree in the Altai and T'ien Shan areas of North Sinkiang. According to Gabitov, a Soviet writer, a real shift toward Russia in Sinkiang trade came in the period immediately following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Up to then nearly all the wool of Tihwa and Tarbagatai (T'a Ch'eng) had gone into Tientsin across Su-chou and Lan-chou. But in 1905 the freight prices jumped, and Tientsin imports of Sinkiang wool were diminished. This started a shift which took the goods from Tihwa across the Chinese-Russian border to Semipalatinsk and on to the east coast of Asia via the Trans-Siberian Railway. This export route made good use of the relatively comfortable trek from Tihwa to the Russian border via the Manas River valley. In the early years of the twentieth century this avenue of trade became the most important for Sinkiang. Large and small livestock and raw materials for Russia herself also went this way, but some other Sinkiang products—cotton, silks, and a certain amount of wool from the Khotan, Keriya, and Yarkand areas farther south—entered Russia along the Kashgar-Irkeshtam-Osh road. In return Russia sent Sinkiang finished manufactures, silks, iron (including plated and rimmed iron), barred steel, earthenware, perfumes, and sugar. Henceforth, with the exception of the earliest period of Soviet government in Russia, Sinkiang-Russian economic bonds gradually grew stronger. By 1930 Soviet engineers had completed the Turksib Railway, which reached almost

to the Chinese frontier; thus Russia gained another great advantage over her rivals in the markets of Sinkiang. Total recorded Sinkiang-Soviet trade in 1930 had already jumped to over 32,000,000 rubles, and in 1931 Soviet Russia reportedly obtained new and considerable trade and communications privileges in the Chinese province. When the revolt of Sinkiang Moslems during 1930-1933 led to the emergence of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Soviet Russia extended him such substantial aid that he was able to institute sweeping changes in the territory under his administration.

The Soviet Position: One Chinese View

There are Chinese, such as the writer Chiang Chün-chang, who have intimated that the Soviet record in Sinkiang has been merely a continuation of old Tsarist imperial policy and who hint that Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been merely an instrument in the hands of Soviet Russia. Chiang, whose opinion does not necessarily represent that of most Chinese, appears to feel that Soviet as well as Tsarist Russia has been an "aggressor" in Sinkiang. His argument (in public print, 1937-1939) has been that Soviet Russia began to make great headway in Sinkiang after the assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin and after Chin Shu-jen (by specific agreement in October, 1931) had welcomed the importation of Soviet arms into the province. When Sheng Shih-ts'ai's influence had succeeded that of Chin Shu-jen, Sheng got Soviet help in overcoming provincial opposition, and relates Chiang, "has since then been one of the Soviet brood." "Sheng Shih-ts'ai has engaged Soviet advisers in his army," has not conferred "with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," and has not sent "duplicate copies of treaties for the Executive Yüan to keep on record," Chiang adds. Though information on the extent of the authority which is held by such Soviet advisers as have been in Sinkiang is not clear and is largely based on foreign reports, Chang Chün-chang continues, it is to be feared that Soviet Russia has been sending many Kazakhs across the Soviet border into Sinkiang and has planned to have part of Sinkiang enter Soviet Kazakhstan. At the same time, he says, she has reportedly prepared Sinkiang Moslems to form a "Moslem Soviet under Soviet Russia."

648 These last accusations of Chiang Chün-chang are notably absent from Tu Chung-yüan's writing, and that Tu takes quite a different point of view is clear. But Chiang's statements ought not, on that account, to be eliminated from consideration completely. Their existence emphasizes that, in the recent past at least, certain influential Chinese have been suspicious of Soviet Russian intentions toward Sinkiang just as Chinese used to be suspicious of Tsarist Russia and of other powers. Since "Anti-imperialism" precedes "Kinship to Sovietism" among the Six Great Policies it is not unreasonable to feel, then, that these Policies have from the first at least been linked with a certain amount of reservation in regard to Soviet Russia. No doubt some Chinese would adhere to the following: To the degree that what Chiang Chün-chang calls Soviet "aggression" may come into too sharp conflict in Sinkiang with "Anti-imperialism" as Tu Chung-yüan conceives it, to that same degree, Sinkiang "Kinship to Sovietism" may very well be weakened. In a word, "Anti-imperialism," so far as Sinkiang is concerned, all along has been a warning to Soviet Russia as well as to other powers.

Other "Aggressors"

Yet Sinkiang "Anti-imperialism" seems to have been formulated as a reaction not only to past policies of the Chinese and Russians, but also to former ambitions of the British and others as well. Chiang Chün-chang has been more outspoken than Tu Chung-yüan about this matter. Whereas the latter has hinted mainly that a "certain" imperialist force "has increasingly fostered independence for South Sinkiang," Chiang has bluntly called the English an "aggressive force" aiming to establish an "independent government" "around Kashgar." He has even cited a "Turkish" report that British have "already" spent a considerable sum in the "South Sinkiang Movement," and he has named an A-k'un-pa-yeh-fu' (Akonbaiev?) Trading Company as the supposed center for an English-sponsored Moslem movement in the province. He has even expressed his concern over the religious and other connections between the people of South Sinkiang and the people of Turkey. It is apparently his belief that France had hoped to help

develop an unbroken overland empire from Syria to Indo-China through seizure of Sinkiang, and he also suspects that foreign trade interests—notably German—have been approached in Afghanistan in regard to a Sinkiang movement for Moslem independence. Such Chinese imputations may very well be exaggerated, yet they ought not to be ignored. So far as the principal Axis powers are concerned, by 1939 when war broke out in Europe, all three had openly become active sponsors of Islamic revolutionary activities with direct or indirect effect on Sinkiang Moslems.

Japan—the Foremost Imperialist

Of all these "imperialist" threats to Sinkiang, the foremost in recent years has undoubtedly been that originating in Japan. Chiang Chün-chang has reported not only Japanese sponsorship of a Moslem organization in the Altai region, but even Japanese military support of Ma Chung-ying's revolting forces during the Sinkiang insurrection of the 1930's. Since 1931, when Chinese troops were routed in Manchuria and fled through Siberia to Sinkiang, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has emphasized that the Japanese is the worst form of imperialism. This point of view has since pervaded the entire atmosphere as is strikingly evident now in Sinkiang's co-operation with the rest of China and the United Nations. When Japan attacked Manchuria on September 18, 1931, and began World War II, she set forces in motion which were to be felt not only in Manchuria but on China's whole inland frontier. From Manchuria, if unchecked, Japan might have had easy access to caravan routes which cross Outer and Inner Mongolia and which in normal times enter Sinkiang and Northwest China. Had she been able to master those overland passages she might have broken down the whole inland structure of Chinese Northwest defenses. Sheng Shih-ts'ai knew this, and as a consequence he quickly declared his opposition to Japanese imperialism. In at least this one respect he might well have been thinking along the lines of Marshal Tso Tsung-t'ang who in the nineteenth century said:

> Great weight should be given to Sinkiang as a protection to Mongolia. For as it protects Mongolia, it ensures that the power of the

648 capital and the forearm of the Northwest work in unison. It also ensures that there is no break in the country's topographical defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be at peace. Moreover, then bandits might outflank the whole Kansu, Shensi, and Shansi frontier. In such an emergency those places might be defended, but not victoriously. In such a case, Sinkiang would be a direct north gate to the mountains, and there would not be a day of rest or sleep.

Thus, there was little question in regard to Sinkiang support for the Chinese National Government's resistance to Japan—especially after signature of the Sino-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression in August, 1937. In October, 1938, an All-Sinkiang Congress in Tihwa pointed out that Japanese machinations in Inner Mongolia had also been unsuccessfully aimed at Sinkiang. The Congress pledged not only ten airplanes for the Chinese Air Force, but also that Sinkiang would oppose "Japanese imperialism" and keep open an overland route for Chinese international communications.

The "Anglo-Americans"

Just to keep the record, it is well to know also that the New Sinkiang's open opposition to "imperialism" has not forgotten the Western Hemisphere. After the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, the editorials of the *Sinkiang Daily News* referred not only to the Germans, Italians, and Japanese but also to the "Anglo-Americans" as members respectively of "imperialist" axes. This editorial line, in print before Germany attacked Soviet Russia in June, 1941, and before China formally entered into war against Germany, Italy, and Japan, resembled that followed by the Soviet Russian and Communist press in general.

An "Anti-imperialist Balance"

This, then, is what "Anti-imperialism" has meant to the New Sinkiang. The questions involved have not been simple. One might suggest, however, that at least up to 1942 the New Sinkiang was for the most part trying to promote her own self-interest by "balancing" the "weights" of political affinity to China and economic kinship to Sovietism on an "Anti-imperialist scale." The spread of Axis aggression, since the attack

on Soviet Russia and the bombing of Pearl Harbor, undoubtedly affected this. It made the problems of the Sino-Russian "balance" temporarily less pressing than the question of whether the preponderance of international "weight" was to be finally on the United Nations or the Axis side of the larger, world military, "scale." This may even prove to be the main factor which has facilitated new Chinese, British, and American activity in the province. A unique opportunity seems incidentally to have been offered the United Nations with whom the province is now co-operating. Theirs is now the chance to demonstrate in practice and on the spot whether they, too, are or are not "Anti-imperialistic" in the Sinkiang sense.

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V

KINSHIP TO SOVIETISM

SOME OBSERVERS have mistakenly interpreted Sinkiang adherence to "Anti-imperialism" as evidence that this Chinese province had fallen under Soviet Russian domination. Their view may even have seemed superficially substantiated by the way the New Sinkiang openly admitted her "Kinship to Sovietism." Why did the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai do this?

"The Soviet Russia of today is not the same as the old Russian Tsar," says Tu Chung-yüan, in giving a partial explanation. "She does not have aggressive designs . . ." Chao Lieh, another Chinese writer, echoes this sentiment in an August, 1941, *Kuei-lin Ta Kung Pao* feature article, but gives more stress, first to foreign trade and, second, to Soviet help in Sinkiang reconstruction. He adds, also, that a certain kinship necessarily has been forged between Sinkiang and Soviet Russia due to their contiguous frontiers.

There has, indeed, been "Kinship to Sovietism" in Sinkiang. By some strange quirk in Sinkiang history, originally "aggressive" processes affecting the province have brought in their wake progressive

648 and even "radical" ideas as well as material advances for the populace. These changes came for a time almost in spite of what Chinese from China Proper, and probably others from abroad, could say or do; and they may largely be explained by a gradual drift in Sinkiang, dating from Tsarist days, toward close economic relations with Russia. Yet this evolution has not prevented the merging of the Sinkiang political program with that of Nationalist China.

The Difficulties of Early Soviet-Sinkiang Relations

It has been mentioned that, when Republican Chinese overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1911-1912, Sinkiang administration became the responsibility of Yang Tseng-hsin. In at least one sense the advent of his regime was fortunate. Yang's firm seizure of autocratic powers prevented political disintegration in the province, which, nominally at least, remained Chinese and did not fall into alien hands. Otherwise the old life of Sinkiang might have ended earlier in an even worse internal scramble than that of 1931—possibly Sinkiang might even have become openly a part of the Tsarist Empire. As events turned out, Yang watched the borders of his province closely and maintained cordial but not servile relations with Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, however, created a new situation.

Unrest within Russia had manifested itself in Turkestan as early as the Kirgiz insurrection of 1916, and by the next year the Sinkiang-Russian border was severely disturbed. Gabitov indicates that the first reaction was a swiftly increasing surplus of wool. This piled up on the Russian side of the frontier, because of a lack of transport facilities to send it on to Russian and third-party markets. By 1918 the oversupply had halted much of the Sinkiang trade with Russia, and by 1920 that trade had ceased almost completely. Chinese probably were secretly relieved that revolution had upset the Tsarist tendency toward expansion in the direction of Sinkiang, but Governor Yang at first pursued strictly a policy of watchfulness. He virtually closed the Sinkiang-Russian frontier; Nazaroff, a Russian "white" who tried to escape from Russian Turkestan to Kashgar, has given a clear account of the difficulties encountered by anyone attempting to cross into

Chinese territory. By 1920 the formerly strong Russian colony in Kashgar had dwindled to only twenty-three persons.

So far as relations with the rest of China and with Russia were concerned, Governor Yang's position soon became so powerful that he could afford to dictate. Therefore it is not surprising that the terms of the following agreement which he is said to have concluded with Soviet authorities in 1920 are harsh:

1. Offices for commerce and foreign affairs will be established respectively in Russian Turkestan and in Chinese Turkestan;

2. China will have two of these offices, in the Province of Semirechia and at Verkhneudinsk; and in virtue of the principle of equality and reciprocity, Russia will have two—at I-li and at I-ning;

3. The Russian offices will inform their agents who conduct trade between I-li and Russia that they will be subject to the regulations of the general tax of Sinkiang and to the tariff of the Chinese Maritime Customs;

4. All the imports and exports must go by way of Nikang [? sic]; merchandise which takes any other route will be considered contraband and will be subject to seizure;

5. All commercial litigation between the agents of the two countries will be adjudicated by the local tribunal;

6. The agents of both countries must show their passports in passing the frontier. Questions relative to civil and military (Russian) refugees will be settled amicably.

7. The Russian representatives declare that the general amnesty decreed by the Government at Tashkent for reasons of humanity is inviolable, and that in consequence all Russian civil or military refugees in Chinese territory will be permitted to re-enter their country without fear of molestation. China engages to return them to their homes to take up once again peaceful occupations.

8. Russia will be authorized by the Government at I-li to attach an agent to the Office of Commerce and Foreign Affairs and two or three attachés charged specially with treatment of the questions relative to repatriation of the civil and military refugees; this mission will end as soon as the task is completed. The question of sequestration or confiscation of all private goods appertaining to Chinese will be regulated amicably.

9. The Russian representatives declare that, since they have not the power to treat on questions of this order themselves—until the Government at Tashkent has set up a Commission to study the question—it

648 is best that each claim be made the subject of friendly and direct arrangements between both governments. The Russian representatives nevertheless agree to bring before the Government at Tashkent a measure in accordance with Chinese claims.

The above stipulations, rendered in the Chinese and in the Russian languages, have been approved by the representatives of both parties each of whom is keeping a signed copy.

The most conspicuous points of this document are its local character, the new limitations on the type and extent of Russian representation in Sinkiang, the restriction of trade to one route, and the provisions stipulating return to Russia of refugees in China. Negotiations apparently were conducted between authorities of Sinkiang and Russian Turkestan, not between the Government of China and the Government of Soviet Russia. Instead of the former Tsarist right to seven consular establishments in Sinkiang, by the agreement Soviet authorities are only alloted offices for commerce and foreign affairs at Sui-ting (I-li) and nearby Ning-yüan (I-ning). Only trade via North Sinkiang is apparently provided for, and none via South Sinkiang. Finally the refugee problem, one which the White Russian-Bolshevik differences had been making difficult for Sinkiang authorities, is thrown back on the Soviets. The agreement does, however, open the way to a resumption of trade—of potential benefit to both sides. Moreover, irrespective of the restrictions in the treaty Russian agents appear to have transacted business in Sinkiang shortly afterwards from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak).

648 439 In 1921 Soviet authorities made a good beginning toward recouping the former Tsarist commercial position, only to lose the trust of Chinese tradesmen a year or so later. For instance, the Siberian foreign trade organization, Sibvneshtorg, opened offices at Semipalatinsk and sent an agent to T'a Ch'eng. According to Gabitov, 8,500 head of large cattle and around 169,000 sheep were successfully contracted for. The last payment on the contract was made by December of the same year, only two months after the last delivery of the cattle. This placed Sibvneshtorg on a strong basis in Sinkiang, and even livestock on credit became available to it rapidly. But in 1922 the Semipalatinsk division of Sibvneshtorg went under the control of what was then

called Kirkrai, whose name indicates a "Kirgiz regional" organization. Apparently weaker in resources and interested in local and temporary advantage more than long-range commerce, Kirkrai soon undermined this sound beginning.

In the fall of that same year the T'a Ch'eng representative of the local Soviet foreign trade agency, Kirvneshtorg (presumably a foreign trade subsidiary of Kirkrai) entered into five contracts with Sinkiang Chinese to purchase livestock. The price was one ruble twenty kopeks banked silver a pood, live weight, for both cattle and sheep. The account was carefully detailed and compensation was to be made in a barter-like fashion thus:

40% in manufactured goods (mostly cotton)
25% in silver
18% in iron and iron manufactures
7% in green tea (brick)
7% in various crockery
2% in sewing thread
1% in glass

The cattle were taken from the market and pastured for the winter in accordance with the agreements; but the Kirvneshtorg payments were held up long after the cattle were delivered. In fact several traders from China were not paid for their livestock until June, 1924; and then many of them received payment only because they themselves traveled all the way to Moscow to get it.

"Similar dealings," wrote Gabitov in 1925. ". . . undermined every trust in Kirvneshtorg . . ." There were other Soviet attempts to revive the trade between 1922 and 1924, but they had little success.

Trade Shifts and Advocated Reforms

While Soviet economic relations were thus muddling along in the north, the Soviet Government "was entirely unrepresented" in South Sinkiang. Considerable anti-Soviet political agitation even emanated from there. This, in turn, was accompanied by a striking shift in trade. A considerable amount was diverted from the Kashgar-Osh

439 route into Russian Turkestan to trails connecting Kashgar with India, especially that via Yarkand and Ladakh (Ladok). American, British, German, and Japanese firms busily began opening offices in Sinkiang, and some of these even got as far north as Tarbagatai (T'a Ch'eng). While the main point of origin for the new trade was British India, some commerce came from Tientsin. A British firm, apparently called Agrico, even entered into an arrangement with the Russian organization Sibsel'soius of Novo-Nikolaevsk to send goods in transit through Semipalatinsk and then by Russian railway to Tientsin. These western and Japanese firms had certain very real advantages over Soviet Russia in this period. They could pay without any considerable delay, and they could pay in cash; the Russian traders, on their part, were continually delaying payments, were hampered by the Red "red tape," and often broke their contracts.

Yet even in that early period farseeing Soviet students of Central Asian economics envisaged a day when Russian trade could surpass that of other powers in Sinkiang. Gabitov advocated a number of reforms and innovations which, he concluded, would restore Russian commercial prestige. His well-considered and now historically significant recommendations included the following:

1. The transfer of the local agent of the foreign trade office from Kirkrai to Tashkent. (This change was intended to ensure impartiality as to which area of Russian Turkestan was to be allotted a specific item of Sinkiang business.)

2. More speedy completion of a railway line from Tashkent.

3. Punctual payment of all contracts, in any case for the next one or two years, until Russia had re-established her credit.

4. The production of manufactured goods of every sort so that Russians could compete with the Japanese in the sale of cheap items in Sinkiang.

5. Reduction of cartage rates from the borders.

6. Those dealing in the area to have full knowledge of the local border and of its commercial likes and dislikes, and to maintain friendly relations with the local Chinese population.

"Under the spur of these improvements," Gabitov concluded, "it is

safe to say that Russia will quickly regain her former place here in commercial relations. For, under such circumstances, English and Japanese competition with Russian goods should be exceedingly difficult." 639

A New Diplomatic Gain

Opportunity for Soviet Russia to regain standing in Sinkiang at last came with the opening of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union in May, 1924. Not only did the Soviet Government soon reopen consulates and establish a consulate-general in the province, but commercial relations became greatly improved. 648

The opening of the first Soviet consulate in Sinkiang, that at T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), took place in December, 1924. The red flag was raised in the presence of a number of persons, including the Chinese administrator of the circuit and the Soviet consul. Some months later another Soviet consulate was opened at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua), and a Soviet consulate-general established at Tihwa (Urumchi). By August, 1925, a Soviet consul had also taken up residence at Kashgar. China on her side utilized the new friendly relations to establish a consulate-general at Semipalatinsk, in Kazakhstan, and consulates at Tashkent, Andizhan, Zaisan, and Alma-Ata.

Though these events were a part of the increasing Chinese-Russian cordiality from 1924 to 1926, they were to have special meaning for Sinkiang-Soviet relations. For by August, 1927, bloody conflict had broken out between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists in Central China. This quickly put a strain on the friendship that had for such a short time existed between China and the U.S.S.R. Yet Sinkiang authorities, irrespective of Central China policy, appear to have desired to keep close ties with Russia. How strong those ties had become is suggested in the following commitment assertedly made on December 28, 1927, to the editor of a Semipalatinsk newspaper:

> The dark reaction in Central China has taken on frightful proportions in the unprecedented manifestations against Chinese workers and against the representatives and representations of the friendly republic of the U.S.S.R. This fact is grievous to us, for we are the official representatives of the Chinese Republic. In order to make known precisely

648 the true situation we judge it our duty to explain that the Consulate of Semipalatinsk has nothing in common with Central China and is not able, consequently, to take upon itself the responsibility for events which have occurred recently in Central China. This consulate is dependent upon *Western China* which does not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R.

It is true that we are supposed to be dependent also on the Government of Peking, to the degree where the acts and instructions of the latter will not be directed against the interests of *Western China*. In the opposite case, we do not consider ourselves obliged to remain obedient further to the Government of Peking, particularly in the case where its acts are able to involve a rupture of diplomatic relations between *Western China* and the friendly republic of the U.S.S.R., relations with whom are so dear and are so necessary for us, from the point of view not only of commerce but also of politics. We testify once more that the friendship of the two republics is esteemed and appreciated equally on the two sides; we find an example of this in the fact that from the first days of the recent events in Central China, the local authorities expressed their faith and friendship for us and placed an armed guard near the consulate in order to defend us against provocations of isolated individuals. The indissolubility and solidarity of the friendship between *Western China* and the U.S.S.R. is equally confirmed by the fact that we have in the U.S.S.R. five Chinese consulates from *Western China* . . . and that the U.S.S.R. possesses five consulates in *Western China* . . . in keeping with most friendly and most pacific relations. These mutual relations and the friendship between *Western China* and the U.S.S.R. should be eternal and immortal.

This document was cited in the official Soviet newspaper, *Izvestiia*, on January 8, 1928. It appeared over names which have been identified in translation as those of the Chinese Consul-General at Semipalatinsk, Lu Chan-pin, and the Secretary of the Consulate, Tien Shen-chi.

In 1927 China's Revolution had not yet brought about complete unity, and seats of so-called Chinese national government existed in both Central China and North China (Peking). In that regard, this unique declaration states: first, that Sinkiang ("Western China") assertedly had "nothing in common with Central China" in 1927 and, in case of a conflict of interest, did not even feel obliged "to remain obedient" to the "Government of Peking"; second, that Sinkiang in

1927 did "not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R."; and third, that the Chinese Consulate-General at Semipalatinsk and the "five" other Chinese Consulates in the U.S.S.R. (apparently a reference to those in Russian Turkestan at Semipalatinsk, Tashkent, Andizhan, Zaissan, and Alma-Ata) were in 1927 all "dependent upon" or "from" "Western China." Since this representation was published in *Izvestiia* and seems to have been signed by the Consul-General and the Secretary of the Chinese Consulate-General at Semipalatinsk, it may with good reason be considered official. Those who have criticized Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang for "Kinship to Sovietism," may well be referred to this declaration as a most outstanding bit of evidence that such kinship has been a broad historical tendency and has not been "conceived" merely since 1933. 648

The "Seven-Seven" Affair and Chin Shu-jen

Yet seven months later—on July 7, 1928—Sinkiang Governor Yang Tseng-hsin was assassinated. Sinkiang remembers this date as the "Seven-Seven" Affair and has given it a place in the history of provincial emancipation comparable in importance to that of the later "Four-Twelve" Affair.

Blame for Yang's murder has been placed on Fan Yao-nan, a brilliant young man who was then Sinkiang Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. With many of the details lacking, it is of little moment here to speculate too much on the internal politics involved. But the fact that the crime was committed at a time so proximate (1) to the Semipalatinsk declaration on "Western China" (Sinkiang) foreign policy and (2) to the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations at Nanking, ought not to be ignored. All was not well in 1928 so far as Tihwa-Nationalist attitude toward Soviet Russia was concerned.

Dr. Sven Hedin testifies that Yang's successor, Chin Shu-jen, attempted in the early years of his brief regime (as Yang Tseng-hsin for a time had done before him) to close off outside access to Sinkiang. But a combination of factors, including popular dislike of Chin himself and the incidence of the Moslem revolt of 1930 and 1931, so

648 weakened his position that he in turn also fell back on Soviet Russia for aid.

In October, 1931, when the Tung-kan rebel Ma Chung-ying had successfully captured Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Ha-mi, Chin signed a new agreement with the Soviets. By it he permitted the opening of Soviet trade agencies in Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Sui-ting, and Kashgar and of outlying offices in Aqsu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan. By the same document he also permitted unrestricted movement in Sinkiang for Soviet trade representatives, provided for reduced custom duties on Soviet goods, and initiated new Sinkiang-Soviet telegraph and radio privileges. Sinkiang is supposed to have received in return only (1) a limited right for two-way transit of goods of Chinese origin across Siberia from Sinkiang to Eastern China and back, and (2) an intimation that the Soviet Government would send specialists to train the Chinese of Sinkiang in the fields of electrification, communications, rural economy, and animal husbandry. For signing this treaty without authorization and for not reporting it to Nationalist China's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Chin Shu-jen was later sentenced to imprisonment in Nanking.

The new agreement did not save the situation for Chin, nor did it end Sinkiang civil war. As we know Chin fled from Tihwa and left his one time "underling," Sheng Shih-ts'ai, to pacify the Sinkiang people. Sheng soon found his military difficulties increasing so much that he, too, at last called upon Soviet Russian troops to aid him in suppressing the rebellion. It is known that Soviet Russian personnel and military aid were sent him; more than one "neutral" eye-witness has testified that such actually happened.

Why Soviet Aid to Sheng?

It is not difficult to understand why Soviet Russia should have been interested enough in Sinkiang events to give Sheng Shih-ts'ai substantial help in suppressing provincial revolt. Owen Lattimore was a sound prophet for the time when he wrote for publication in 1930 that ". . . Chinese control of Chinese Turkestan, though maintained with admirable ability, is only maintained as it were from month to

month . . . A struggle for the succession in power . . . would precipitate Russian control, if not formal Russian rule.' 648

Re-establishment of formal Soviet political relations with Sinkiang under Yang Tseng-hsin had given Soviet foreign trade interests a grand new opportunity; and completion of the Turksib Railway, on the Soviet side of the frontier, in 1930 climaxed this. The new railway could bring Moscow's latest products to the doors of Sinkiang in but a few days, and therefore Soviet trade could successfully overcome all competition—including that from the Chinese and British. By 1930 Sinkiang was already falling economically into the hands of her Soviet neighbor; and the Ha-mi insurrection left Chin Shu-jen too weak to resist the trend.

When civil war came, it threw the province not only into military and political, but even into financial, chaos. Sinkiang money was then principally fiat paper currency, with little value once public confidence had been lost; and the civil war indeed destroyed public confidence in it. To a certain extent the evil might have been alleviated by shipment of real goods out of the province and by deposit of the foreign or Nationalist Chinese currency receipts in foreign banks or other banks elsewhere in China. But, since Soviet Russia had gained a near monopoly on Sinkiang trade, outside currency could be obtained for Sinkiang inhabitants practically only by Soviet sufferance. Through her control of Sinkiang trade Soviet Russia had gained a hold on Sinkiang finances as well. 648 652

Nor did Soviet Russia have reason to consider her favored position in Sinkiang lightly. Between 1923/24 and 1930 inclusive, Sinkiang annual exports into the U.S.S.R. had risen from 3,015,000 to 16,033,000 rubles; and annual imports into Sinkiang from the U.S.S.R. had leaped from 418,000 to 16,027,000 rubles. This meant a rise in the total annual trade from 3,433,000 to 32,060,000 rubles. Moreover, up to that date in tonnage as well as in value of visible items of trade, Soviet Russia had continually received more from Sinkiang than she had returned. That situation even continued from 1931 to 1937 inclusive, so far as recorded bulk is concerned, though it altered at times in respect to recorded value. 648 439

It was not merely the rubles that could be realized from what Sin- 648

648 kiang had or would buy—not merely the wool, the cotton, sheep guts, livestock, and horses that came across the border—that made Sinkiang so valuable to the Soviet Union. Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 had upset the whole strategic orientation of Northeast Asia; and a new, dynamic Soviet interest in Sinkiang development was a logical counter. A new aggressive force had thrust herself upon the Asiatic continent and, from the Soviet point of view, had endangered not only the Soviet Maritime Province and Mongolia but the whole Russian strategic position in Northeastern and Central Asia. For Manchuria is but a part, the easternmost sector, of a vast and interrelated Inner Asian living space which includes Mongolia and Turkestan and which quickly reacts in each of its distinct parts to political changes in any other part. Specifically, from Manchuria there is in normal times relatively easy access to the caravan routes which cross into Sinkiang from Outer and Inner Mongolia. Should Japan master or influence those, Russia would be completely outflanked in Asia. Already by 1933 Japanese designs on Jehol and Inner Mongolia had been revealed, and they were thought to have been reflected in the Sinkiang war. Had China herself been able to consolidate Sinkiang strongly in opposition to Japanese intrigues, perhaps Soviet concern would have been less. But the flight of Chin Shu-jen in 1933 left instead a Sinkiang political chaos which Soviet Russia could ignore only at her own peril.

648 439 The specific technique by which Soviet aid was given Sheng Shih-ts'ai has not been adequately revealed. But without an attempt at too complicated an analysis, it can be indicated by a glance at the record of Soviet-Sinkiang commerce since 1923. The steady increase by bulk in total Soviet import-export trade with Sinkiang from 1923/24 continued till 1931 and 1932, when sharp drops were registered. After 1933 on trade again rose. The bulk rise in 1933, practically all of it, represents Sinkiang shipments to Soviet Russia; that in 1934 mostly Soviet shipments to Sinkiang. The trade figures after that show a steady rise by bulk on both sides. By 1936 and 1937 total import-export trade had jumped to over 60,000,000 rubles in value and to over 50,000 tons in bulk—in sharp contrast with the record of around 3,000,000 rubles and 13,000 tons in the year 1923/24.

There may be no positive proof gained, but it is nevertheless worth while to point out: (1) that 1931 and 1932 were the years of the initial great strain of the civil war and years when Soviet-Sinkiang trade might therefore be strongly h[illegible] (2) that in 1933 Sheng Shih-ts'ai together with his Manchurian and Russian aides had already begun to regain control of the trade route from Tihwa to T'a Ch'eng on the Russian border and so might be able to utilize that route once again; (3) that 1934 was the crucial year for the province and that during that year considerable Soviet aid came to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who as a consequence was able to repulse his arch-rival, Ma Chung-ying; and (4) that Sinkiang political "unity" is said to have come in 1936, by which time a new prosperity in Soviet-Sinkiang trade relations had become obvious. The temporal relationship thus shows a rough correlation in the shifts of Sinkiang politics and war to trade in the same period. 648

Exact information on the nature of Soviet aid to Sheng Shih-ts'ai and of Soviet participation in Sinkiang affairs has up to now been quite successfully kept from most public knowledge in the Occident. But, in describing Soviet-Sinkiang relations, Chinese stress Sheng Shih-ts'ai's desire to "revive" Sinkiang through provincial reconstruction. Since his plans required backing in the form of capital and talent, it is said, he turned at first to Soviet Russia.

As a matter of fact, he probably had almost nowhere else to turn in the 1930's; besides he was in debt for Soviet help in suppressing the insurrection. And by 1933 trade with Soviet Russia had grown to be so important that to turn elsewhere might have seemed contrary to the economic interests of his province.

The Soviet Position: A Second Chinese View

Up to this point, the argument fits in with the explanation previously given for Sinkiang's concern over possible Soviet Russian "imperialism" in her region. Yet, whereas Chiang Chün-chang has carried it on from this stage to hint that Soviet Russia as well as Tsarist Russia has been an "aggressor" in Sinkiang, Tu Chung-yüan insists, instead, that "Kinship to Sovietism" has been anything but insidious. Tu admits that in Sinkiang specialists in animal husbandry, doctors in hospitals, phar-

648 macists of the provincial pharmacy, and instructors for the provincial Military Officers Academy and for the provincial Air Force have come from Soviet Russia. But, he inquires, does that mean Sinkiang has gone "Red"? Did not Soviet Russia, at the beginning of her national reconstruction, get assistance "from thousands upon tens of thousands" of "capitalist" experts? Yet wouldn't it be difficult to say Soviet Russia is "White"? According to Tu, there has never been Soviet political control in Sinkiang. If Soviet Russia had "controlled" Sinkiang politically, would she have tolerated the White Russians who still remained there? Have not the Three People's Principles textbooks of Sinkiang been identical with those elsewhere in Nationalist China? Are not the military and administrative authority of Sinkiang still in the hands of China?

"Kinship to Sovietism" and Chinese Nationalism

668 It appears that up to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's accession to power, Sinkiang's concern with the Chinese National Revolution and its *San Min Chu-i* (The "Three People's Principles" of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood) was not too serious. Sinkiang was geographically and economically a great distance from most other Chinese provinces, her leaders were devoted almost exclusively to selfish acquisition of wealth, and the Chinese Republic's then existing national political structure was not mature in Sinkiang. Since 1933, however, the year of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has altered this. As politics have taken on national stature elsewhere in China, Sheng Shih-ts'ai's background and interests have carried Chinese political organization and support of the Three People's Principles in a new way into the far Northwest. Remembering Japan's invasion of his Manchurian homeland in 1931, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has also warmly supported China's resistance to the aggressor; and having seen the needs of his own administrative region, he has particularly devoted himself to its reconstruction. Thus his work has fitted neatly into both the basic revolutionary program of the Three People's Principles and the wartime program of *K'ang-chan Chien-kuo* or "Resistance and Reconstruction." True, Sinkiang's Six Great Policies of Anti-imperialism, Kinship to Sovietism,

Racial Equality, Clean Government, Peace, and Reconstruction are 668
unique. But they are not so strange to the ideals of China that they do not keep within the bounds of Nationalist principles, of Chinese political unity, of successful resistance to Japan, and of freedom from Soviet Russian domination.

This view is further supported by a brief glance at the manner in which Sinkiang's interprovincial and international record has evolved since 1934.

Sinkiang and World Affairs, 1934-1943

It was largely Soviet help which enabled Sheng Shih-ts'ai to gain 648
mastery of Sinkiang, but in 1934 Chinese authorities from Nanking still had been able to attempt negotiation of the civil war and formation of a compromise administration. Since Soviet troops had operated with the White Russian forces already in Sinkiang, it is obvious that their restoration of order had been a "coalition measure" and not an attempt at immediate Soviet annexation. Soviet military aid is, in fact, said to have been withdrawn as soon as order began to appear though "Kinship to Sovietism" remained important in Sinkiang affairs. By 1936 Sheng Shih-ts'ai had established a "unified" government in all Sinkiang.

Outbreak of open Sino-Japanese hostilities in July, 1937, made Sinkiang an obvious region for Chinese-Soviet compromise. The treaty signed by both Governments in August, 1937, guaranteed there would be no Russian aggression against China; and a through overland truck and air route, between eastern China and Soviet Russia, through Sinkiang, was thereby made practicable. Sinkiang's three-year plan of reconstruction was instituted with Soviet advices in the same year. By the fall of 1938, when China had been forced to retreat from Hankow into the west, Sinkiang's new truck highways provided assurance that China would not be internationally isolated in her Northwest. At that time Tihwa even telegraphed a resolution to that effect, pledging that the province would keep open China's international communication lines, would intensify efforts to help fulfill the national Resistance and Reconstruction program, and would work with the rest of China to-

648 ward ultimate victory over Japan. Other Chinese negotiations culminated in signature of a new trade agreement with Soviet Russia on June 16, 1939. By it, though not expressly mentioned in the text, the use of Sinkiang's international communication lines was underwritten.

But Russia's Treaty of Non-aggression with Nazi Germany in August, 1939, introduced a new guardedness into Sino-Russian relations. The march of Soviet armies into Poland, Finland, and the Baltic countries after the opening of European war gave rise for a while to a fear that Russia might at the same time be considering initiation of a "forward" policy against China through Sinkiang. This fear was evidenced in late 1939 by a noticeable falling off of the truck traffic that had already begun to pass between Russia and China along the Sinkiang-Kansu motor road. China concentrated exceptionally heavy numbers of soldiers in the northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'inghai. This was a wartime precautionary measure, but many of the troops were only ostensibly training for the Sino-Japanese war front to the northeast and east. Final ratification of the Sino-Russian trade agreement was, moreover, delayed until early 1940.

Sinkiang, through her policies supporting both Soviet Russia's actions in the west and China's resistance to Japan in the east, however, became more important than before in the role of a kind of Chungking-Moscow "middleman." At this time the *Sinkiang Daily News* was interpreting the policies of both of the benefactors of the province as aspects of a "Eurasian" front for "peace" and "anti-imperialism." It was also following the then current Soviet line of deriding the so-called "imperialist axes" in the world. This attitude neared its high point at the close of 1940 and early in 1941. When signature of the Tripartite German-Italian Japanese Alliance was announced on September 27, 1940, the *Sinkiang Daily News* commented to the effect that the contradictions between the "two imperialist forces" of the German-Japanese-Italian Axis and the "Anglo-Americans" would soon bring an open clash between them while an armed peace would persist on the Eurasian "peace" front.

Yet, as throughout the war, Sheng Shih-ts'ai evidenced continued support of the Chinese Nationalist Government. On December 8, 1940,

he joined other Chinese leaders in condemning the Wang Ching-wei Chinese puppet regime which had recently been recognized by Japan. At the turn of 1941 also, when differences between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang over the New Fourth Army seemed to have approached a breaking point, he reiterated his position. He told a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent (1) that Sinkiang was devoting her whole strength to transport work and reconstruction in order to hasten Chinese victory; and (2) that all parties and cliques in China should continue in their united resistance to Japan. 648

Whether or not this was an attempt to maintain a "balance" between Sinkiang's political affinity to China and her economic kinship to Sovietism, it was soon to be proved insufficient. For Soviet Russia and Japan signed a non-aggression agreement on April 15, 1941; and by an accompanying joint declaration Soviet Russia formally recognized "Manchoukuo" in return for Japanese recognition of the Soviet-sponsored "Republic of Outer Mongolia." The new agreement and declaration were sound business for Soviet Russia, who thus became more free to face the Nazi attack when it came on June 22, 1941. Somewhat differently they offered Japan more freedom for activities in Southeast Asia and Pearl Harbor, both of which she attacked on December 7, 1941.

But the easing of Soviet-Japanese tension over Manchuria and Outer Mongolia did not erase the basic contradictions on which the Asiatic policies of the two countries had been based. For the inner Asian flank of Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia was left formally unaccounted for. In these zones either power might possibly attack the interests of China (and less directly the interests of each other) without violation of any public agreement. This, in turn, made Sinkiang more desperately concerned than ever with the strength of Chinese defenses on her east, in West Suiyüan and Ningsia (Inner Mongolia), not to mention the provinces of Shensi, Shansi, and Kansu. The Soviet-Japanese accord postponed any final decision in the area, but at the same time it made possible the intensification of Japanese intrigues on the less protected Sinkiang frontier farther inland.

This, with other factors, has now drawn Sinkiang closer than ever

648 to the fold of Nationalist China and has even helped effect a significant shift—perhaps temporarily—away from Soviet Russia. Sinkiang's anxiety concerning the recently exposed areas on her eastern borders was matched in 1942 by Nationalist Chinese interest in wartime development of precisely the same region. Such interest, instigated by the Japanese threat to Southwest China from Burma and Western Yünnan and possibly backed by ample monetary credit from the United States, has brought a new and stirring Nationalist activity in all Northwest China including Sinkiang. At present, therefore, there appears to be (1) the closest expression to date of Sinkiang-Nationalist co-operation in internal Chinese affairs; and (2) at least a temporary substitution of Nationalist Chinese influence in the Sinkiang area for that of Soviet Russia. It may still be too early to say conclusively whether this change has or has not been accomplished without serious international differences. Press dispatches of October and November, 1943, in connection with Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang suggest the shift has been carried out "without unpleasant incidents of any kind," "peacefully, with the minimum of possible friction." Yet more recent (though scanty) dispatches (issued under Ulan Bator and Chungking datelines) state that both at the close of last year as well as in March of this year, small armed clashes took place on the Sinkiang-Mongolian frontier. During the incidents in question, it is alleged, Soviet as well as Chinese airplanes went into action when a question arose as to Chinese treatment of Kazakh nomads in the Altai area. These incidents do not, however, necessarily warrant hasty assumption that a change in Sinkiang policy has come which will be permanent; neither need they prove that the whole structure of "Kinship to Sovietism" in the New Sinkiang is in the process of destruction. The unfolding pattern is, instead, another clear demonstration that "Kinship to Sovietism" has not meant Soviet Russian political domination over Sinkiang, which has on the contrary retained and strengthened her political ties with the Chinese National Government.

[p. 76]

Uighur

VI

RACIAL EQUALITY

THOUGH ESTIMATES of the Sinkiang population have run from as low as one to as high as six million, since the present Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power the local people speak of their population as "four million persons." The great majority of these "four million" appear to be a combination of so-called Turkic-Tatar and "Alpine" racial stocks. The remainder are divided between a "ruling" group of so-called "Han" Chinese, a group of "Tung-kan" or Moslem Chinese, and groups of other minorities which include Manchus, Mongols, Kirgiz, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Russians. 162

So far as Occidentals are concerned, "Racial Equality" in Sinkiang might, in general, mean justice and equal opportunity for and between these little known ethnic groups. So far as Sinkiang herself is concerned, however, it would seem to mean mainly a military, political, economic, and social readjustment between a minority of "Han" Chinese overlords and a majority of Chinese subject peoples. The "Han" overlords of Sinkiang, it turns out, are the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has normally been acquainted; under their rule in times past the natives of Sinkiang were not given their full measure of freedom and equality. The fact that old-style Chinese rule has been in recent years confronted with the neighboring system of Soviet Russian cultural autonomy, has in the main forced the need for change. 563

The Moslem Wei-wu-erh

Most of the Turkic-"Alpine" ethnic groups in the province speak a relatively pure Eastern Turki tongue and believe in Mohammedanism. This majority, whom Chinese from farther east have given a name which may have a rather derogatory meaning—*Ch'an-t'ou* (Chanto or "Turban Head")—are to be found almost everywhere and yet each local group has in a way been able to retain or to develop some claim to distinctiveness. Thus there is a tendency to call the people of Kashgar "Kashgarliq;" those of Turfan, "Turfanliq," those of Korla (K'u-erh-

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—175 815 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

586 If the husband and wife do not prove
to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the prop-
587 erty of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

588 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from [illegible] the bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

589 The Wu-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a sash. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Manta*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready
to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is
another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet mo-
tion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only
in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

**Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about**

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long 167 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. Theirs was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices, and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce. It was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Trans-Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang Occidental, commerce.

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang. 167

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion. 101 563

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a resolute way. 563 167

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia. [162] 563

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long vari-colored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka to a rare imported brandy. [291] [273]

563 Many of the Tung-kans have traditionally settled in Ha-mi, Kara-
167 shahr, Sui-ting and Tihwa. It was Moslems from Ha-mi, near the Kansu border, who summoned the Tung-kan leader Ma Chung-ying from Kansu to lead the revolt of the early 1930's (see pp. 40-5). As a consequence of the civil war Tung-kans are now scattered almost throughout South Sinkiang. In 1935 when they gave up Kashgar they were assigned their own "domain" at Khotan, which they had previously fortified and made the focus for their abortive Mohammedan state. Some of them may even still be under arms. Recent news concerning the Tung-kan armies of Central Asia has not always been freely available, but reports have said they have been strongest in the outlying towns of Southern Sinkiang—Posgam, Karghalik, Guma, Khotan, Chira, Keriya, Cherchen, and Charklik. The 1942 appointment of Ma Pu-ch'ing, famous Tung-kan leader of Shensi and Kansu, as Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, is of interest in this connection. For the attitude, belligerent or otherwise, of the Chinese Tung-kans of neighboring provinces carries great weight among their kinsmen in Sinkiang.

Manchus and Manchurians

Manchus came to greatest prominence in Sinkiang during the expansionist periods of the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty of China. K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) sent thousands of Manchu "Bannermen" to fortify the Turkestan frontier. Thus Sinkiang was garrisoned at one and the same time against Imperialist Russian aggression and against uprisings of the Tung-kans.

These Manchus at one time were scattered throughout the larger cities of Sinkiang but today they appear to have been mostly assimilated into Han Chinese ways of living. Two of the most notable exceptions have been the Sibo and Solon peoples in the Sui-ting and the T'a Ch'eng areas. The Sibos *(Hsi-po)* and the Solons *(So-lun)*, though from Manchuria, actually are of Tungusic origin, only indirectly of Manchu stock and distinct from the other Bannermen who for the most part made up the Manchu military organizations sent into Sinkiang. Most of the Bannermen gradually lost their identity because they

563 to a rare imported brandy. The rough, unkempt Kalmuck Mongols of the Tekes Valley of North Sinkiang are especially devil-may-care fellows; but they have, at times, got amazingly rich from their countless horses and sheep.

175 A vast sweep of nomad devastation, which won them the throne of China and carried their warfare as far west as the Danube, brought the Mongols to Chinese Turkestan. What is now both Chinese and Russian Turkestan, once those areas were subjugated, came under Jagatai, second son of Genghis Khan, and he and his successors remained in power for almost two centuries. But in 1368 the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China was overthrown by the House of Ming and soon afterwards Turkestan also seceded from Mongol rule. Thus temporarily the Mongol star seemed to have set, and differences between the peoples of Mongolia proper and those in the Altai area (the Western Mongols) set in.

563 One of the subordinate leagues of the Western Mongols, the Ölöts (Eleuths), soon came into military prominence in Turkestan under a [103] Khan by the name of Galdan. Galdan's nephew, Rabdan, gave the name of his branch of the Ölöts—the Jön Gar (Jungars, sometimes written Dzungars, Zungars)—to the kingdom when he succeeded to the Mongol possessions. The name has since stuck in geographies as Jungaria (Dzungaria or Zungaria), and it has reference to the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai, i.e., North Sinkiang. These same Ölöts took advantage of political differences to the south of them and came to dominate South Sinkiang, Ch'inghai, and Tibet for a brief historical period; this epoch has even been viewed by one Chinese historian as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions. Yet the fount of Ölöt power, for the Ölöts as for others of the Western Mongols, was Jungaria and the steppes, not the oases of South Sinkiang, where Uighur (present Wei-wu-erh) civilization appears to have persisted. For Mongol life has been the phenomenon of nomadism, and life in South Sinkiang has been that of the isolated, petty agriculture of the oasis. The power of the nomad is his mobility, and he requires extensive pasturage for his cattle; yet the life of oasis agriculture is essentially fixed and in South Sinkiang it seems to have continued with

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demon- 563
strated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang.

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 342
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
73 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pastoral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor.* Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

79 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

of the Russian cavalry), have called one type of this Turkestan nomad 101
the Kara-Kazakh and another the Kirgiz-Kazakh. C. P. Skrine, a British authority, even describes the Kara-Kazakh as a branch of the Kirgiz. Yet Owen Lattimore emphatically states that the Kirgiz and Kazakh are not the same, that the Kara-Kazakh is actually purely and simply Kazakh and calls himself that, while the Kirgiz-Kazakh is purely and simply Kirgiz and looks down upon the Kazakh as inferior. The Kirei, an outstanding people of former Turkestan history whom Douglas Carruthers has identified as Kirgiz but who, Mr. Lattimore indicates, are Kazakh, are said to have been probably the "purest Turks of all . . ."

Some Other Peoples of Sinkiang

There are still other ethnic groups in Sinkiang, including a large 563
section of White Russian refugees who fled from their native land in the early years of the Soviet Republic, a considerable number of Soviet Russians, and other foreigners. The Tajiks or Sariquolis, found in a "few secluded mountain regions" of the Pamirs and especially in the Sariquol area, are said to be a nearly pure specimen of the so-called *homo alpinus* and do not speak Turki. Other types include two groups of South Sinkiang known as the Habdals and Dulanis, a colony of Turki stock known as Taranchis who are settled in the I-li Valley, and the Uzbeks who appear to be mostly migrants from adjacent Uzbekistan.

The "Fourteen" Races of Sinkiang

The authorities of the New Sinkiang in recent years have tried to 101
popularize the idea that there are "fourteen racial types" among all 563
these people of the province. These the Chinese name as *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-ch'i, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun,* and *Kuei-hua.* The inclusion of such a primarily political and geographical term as Han and religious category as Hui (both already briefly discussed) would tend to eliminate this as any "scientifically" worked out ethnic list. The same comment applies to the *T'a-t'a-erh* (Tatar), the *Ko-erh-k'o-*

101 *tzu,* or Khalkha (both related to the Mongols), the *Hsi-po* (Sibo) and
563 *So-lun* (Solon). The other types mentioned might be identified in their order as Manchu, Mongol, Uighur, Kazakh, Tajik, Taranchi, Uzbek, and White Russians. It is worth while to notice, however, that in the list of the fourteen racial types the name Tung-kan is not mentioned except as it is "swallowed" up in the general categories of Han or Hui. This may be (though it probably is not) due to the equating of the name Tung-kan with the name Hui or (more likely since Wei-wu-erh also are identified as among the category of Hui) to a looseness of racial classification. Yet might not the omission actually be a way of evading mention of a pressing problem and an actual negative indication that all is not yet completely well so far as Sheng and those particular Chinese Moslems are concerned?

Though there has been a certain looseness of expression throughout the fourteen-fold list, so far as Chinese usage is concerned no real error has been made. *Min-tsu,* the Chinese term translated here as "race," literally means a "clan of people," "a tribe," even "a nation." As "clans" or ethnic types the fourteen groups mentioned here certainly deserve to be distinguished, though they may not all represent "races." In fact the naming of them is especially valuable as indicative of the kinds of "people" that are locally prominent now among the Sinkiang "peoples" themselves.

Policy: Old and New

563 It was the resentment of most of the people in this tremendous racial mixture over the former treatment accorded them, which confronted the administrative authorities of the New Sinkiang almost from the first. "Formerly," Tu Chung-yüan writes, "the people were permitted to read only Han books . . . and even if they read those they were not permitted to hold office, but could serve only as half-slave translators. As a result, none of the races wanted to do such work. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But . . . just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading."

Since Sheng Tu-pan began to stress "Racial Equality," Tu says, change in the traditional policy has come:

. . . each race and every educational institution has received help from the government; and, though reading of Han books is required, each race can also read its own literature. Since this has happened readers have multiplied like the spread of mist. Government positions have since been opened to all the educated, and the self-respect of each race has been restored . . . 563

The unfortunate omission of detailed information relating to the place or lack of place of the Tung-kans under this policy, leads one to feel that the Tung-kan question may not even yet have been solved in Sinkiang, and in this respect the policy of "Racial Equality" as practiced in the province may possibly be vulnerable to criticism. Yet, otherwise, the policy seems to have been intended for all racial types in Sinkiang and has become more and more widely effective. During the autumn of 1938, for instance, the "fourteen" ethnic groups of the province met as a body at the All-Sinkiang Conference in Tihwa. Even more long-run evidence which Tu Chung-yüan gives of progress toward solution of the racial questions in Sinkiang is to be found in the broader base of education. Not only is "Racial Equality" practiced in the schools but the cultural contributions of each racial group in the province have been particularly emphasized through organization of what Sinkiang calls Cultural Progress Societies. Both of these developments are described in more detail in the chapter on "Reconstruction."

"Racial Equality" has been, withal, a praiseworthy experiment and it could have great promise for this province. It has affirmed in a land where race and mixture of race have for centuries brought sharp contrasts and rich interchange as well as bitter conflict, that henceforth in Sinkiang there was not to be discrimination against either minority or majority because of lineage. It has promised that each clan may develop its own cultural heritage to the fullest, and that no one clan or combination of clans shall impose its or their way of life forcibly upon any other clan. It has posited for all groups of men, any one group of men, and any one man, equal bestowal of both benefits and duties of society. Surely in such a concept, among the others of the Six Great Policies, could not the peoples of Sinkiang and of all the United Nations well find an intimate community of interests?

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All

VII

CLEAN GOVERNMENT

642 SINKIANG as a Chinese province has existed for less than three-quarters of a century, and even during that period it has been not so much a province as a Chinese outpost and dependency. The changes in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power have brought a new administrative pattern, one which has been summed up in the Six Great Policies as "Clean Government." This new political structure came partially as the result of close ties to Sovietism; but it has never meant surrender of Sinkiang autonomy to Soviet Russia. "Clean Government" has been, instead, an effort to improve upon old Chinese institutions and upon the treatment formerly allotted to the Sinkiang natives.

Han Relations with Ancient Sinkiang (Western Regions)

175 642 The degree and type of influence which China has exerted in Sinkiang has in a sense varied with the good or bad fortune of effective Chinese control over that dependency. For the purposes of this study the Han (B.C. 206-220 A.D.), T'ang (618-907), Ta Ch'ing or Manchu (1644-1912), and Republican (1912-present) epochs have been selected as periods which modern Chinese themselves view as outstanding for effective Chinese influence in Sinkiang. Though there has been considerable difference in particulars, up to the inception of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration there ran through them all a like—though in many ways maturing—thread of colonial policy.

In Han times when Chinese first began to assert their colonial influence in Central Asia they sent gift-bearing, sometimes militarily escorted, diplomatic missions to the numerous petty states of the Western Regions. Once they had opened cordial relations in this manner, they followed with intermarriage between Chinese and members of a particular ruling family or principality of the outlying area. Then came exchange of hostages between the Han and the outlying state. When the Han had thus become established in the Western Regions, they entered more seriously into local politics and began where possible

to enthrone puppet or at least "loyal" princes. Political manipulation was followed, or accompanied, by military demonstration where it was needed and where it was possible. The policy of letting "barbarians rule barbarians" early became a cardinal feature of Han-Turkestan relations and, in many ways, it has remained so. This was important in an area so distant as the Western Regions, and in ancient days was practiced to the extent of utilizing one colonial principality in military compaigns against another and to the extreme of "permitting" native personnel to administer localities—though this often seems to have been "allowed" in cases where it could not have been prevented. In instances of severe difficulties whole populations were shifted to distant areas or, where deemed necessary, depopulated by the sword. 175 642

The pinnacle of Han administrative achievement on this frontier was the creation of the office of the *Tu-tu*. His job, Chinese history states, was to "watch" a particular outpost. He was, it is evident, an all-around colonial executive and the ancient Chinese counterpart of the Occidental Military Governor of a dependency in the pre-Pearl Harbor epoch.

T'ang Improvements

Where T'ang Chinese considerably improved upon the Han was in their attempt to convert much of the Western Regions into the administrative units used in China Proper—the *chou* and *hsien* (department and county). This meant application of customary Chinese law to the Central Asian frontier, but it did not mean abolition of the office of the Tu-tu. He still administered outlying areas. His duties, however, became in some cases more closely allied with the regional and local government machinery of China Proper than previously. By the new arrangement, also, executive machinery in the Western Regions became exceedingly complicated and broad. At one time this machinery was centered in the Tu-tu prefecture *(Tu-tu Fu)* at An-hsi (in present-day Kansu), with power said to extend from Khotan to Persia, and the following units under its direction: sixteen "states," eighty departments, one hundred eleven counties, and one hundred twenty-six military departments *(chün-fu,* also called *chi-mi chou* or "restrained" departments). [631]

Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) policy

175 The situation that faced the Ch'ing Dynasty was, however, consid-
642 erably different. By the Ta Ch'ing period the Khitans and the Mongols —in particular the Ölöt Mongols—had accustomed the North Road of the Western Regions to a system of widely effective overlordship. Moslem influence, on the other hand, had consolidated itself in the south. Chinese, therefore, spoke of "Four Ölöt Leagues" on the North Road and of a "Moslem League" on the South Road. These regional distinctions were complicated further by the fact that the Ölöts were exceptionally ambitious and had been expanding from the Altai southeastwards across Turfan and Kokonor as far as Lhasa.

In tackling this problem the Ch'ing first attacked Ölöt power on the southern flank, in Tibet; after ousting the Ölöt party from power there, they devastated the Road North of the Heavenly Mountains *(T'ien-shan-pei-lu)* and wiped out that Mongol stronghold. They then turned to subjugation of the weaker Moslem League in the south.

To ensure that order could be maintained, more than twenty thousand Manchu soldiers were imported into the Western Regions and stationed at I-li (Sui-ting), Yangi Hissar, and Kashgar. I-li became the central military headquarters, and a complicated new system of control was set up. It included at least a hundred special emissaries for handling tribute relations, military affairs, and rationing of food, besides a special office for Moslem affairs. All in all, the early Ch'ing emphasized military, more than political, activities in the Western Regions. The innumerable ramparts and petty military stations *(ch'eng-pao)* constructed are concrete evidence to that effect. Not only had the Ch'ing rulers resented Mongol strength in the Western Regions; they had begun to view with alarm the rise of Islam in Chinese Central Asia and to sense danger from Europe.

Tso Tsung-t'ang, who was drawn out to the Western Regions by Moslem rebellions of the late nineteenth century, made many new administrative changes there. It was he who stressed the importance of, first, Urumchi (Tihwa) and Aqsu and, second, I-li (Sui-ting) and T'a Ch'eng for control and defense of the area. He also suggested

irrigation projects, more extensive colonization, and a land survey. 175
But most important, Tso recommended that the Western Regions 642
be consolidated into one province, *Hsin-chiang* ("The New Dominion") or Sinkiang. By this he at last crystallized the Sinkiang frontier, on the one hand for China and on the other hand against the empires of the modern Occident. Actually the regional lines—that is to say, China's more rigid northwest national boundary and the framework for the province of Sinkiang—cut across the natural grain of traditional Central Asian life and jarred the nomad, the farmer, and the merchant there. The strategem, with local squabbles within Europe indirectly assisting, did help to counter the threats of imperialism, primarily that of Tsarist Russia.

But for at least three reasons Tso Tsung-t'ang's recommendations did not suffice. First, his major emphasis was upon the old-style Ch'ing military control which could not stand up in the face of the weapons Europe was even then beginning to fabricate. Second, his constructive measures do not seem to have been far-reaching enough in scope or in execution or to have provided suitable means of binding Sinkiang to China Proper through economic ties. Finally, the ebb of Ch'ing power which brought Republican revolt and the fall of the Dynasty in China by 1912 was bound to be felt keenly on the far-flung Sinkiang frontier.

Under the Early Republic

Tu Chung-yüan speaks of administration in Sinkiang during the 661
early years of the Chinese Republic in this manner:

> . . . The Yang [Tseng-hsin]-Chin [Shu-jen] period was lengthy and greedy. The politician did not believe in working but only in officiating; even when he was officiating he aimed only at making money. This arose from the fact that Yang and Chin were basically that type. In general if a person were to come to Sinkiang from the interior it was not asked whether he had qualifications or not, whether he was talented or not. All that was necessary instead was that he be of an "experienced" temperament or perhaps that he had served in an office of a military governor or of a provincial government for eight to ten years so that it could be seen he had been reared in the atmosphere of slavery. . . . Or, again, if he were appointed, say as a county magis-

661 trate or as a tax collector, it was only desired that he collect eighty to one hundred thousand dollars in a year's work. Can one ask that a man's talents be developed in this type of government atmosphere? Since the culture of other peoples of Sinkiang had been submerged so much, the Han official became like a god, and if a magistrate were appointed for a county in South Sinkiang he need not have been especially greedy to receive fifty to sixty thousand from the Moslems on one visit. Therefore all people coming to Sinkiang from the interior had such hopes. But now it is not possible!

The "Clean Government" of the New Sinkiang

In the face of provincial discontent over the old Sinkiang administrative system, Sheng Shih-ts'ai set about in 1933 to institute reforms. It would have been surprising indeed if prevalent and all too customary Chinese foibles—of "squeeze," "rotten gentry," and excessive taxes, for instance—had been completely eradicated under his policy of "Clean Government." Since almost no first-hand data, such as reports from any long-time Occidental resident in the province, are available it may be some time before what may or may not have been accomplished along these lines can be fully known. But so far as Tu Chung-yüan is concerned, the changes have already been praiseworthy. Former abuses concerning salaries, "gifts," and taxes by office-holders in the province have been checked, he says, by a provincial commission which is required to enter accounts in regard to all public moneys in the records of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's own office. Sheng himself has set a leading example in governmental unselfishness, according to Tu, by accepting a monthly salary of less than $100 Chinese for his work. Mrs. Sheng, an administrator of a girls' middle school, is held before the reader's eyes as a model also because she gets a monthly salary of only about $10 Chinese. Such examples, Tu points out, are in sharp contrast with the practices of past administrators.

643 In regard to the type of administration in the New Sinkiang, this much can be also said. The province is governed under a "committee" system similar to that in other provinces of China. Members of a provincial committee are appointed by the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government, which also ratifies the appointment of one

individual from among their number to the office of Concurrent Provincial Chairman. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was appointed to that post in 1940, and he has given it more and more of his attention since the decease of the former Provincial Chairman, Liu Wen-lung. Actually, so far as power is concerned, Sheng Shih-ts'ai seems to have dominated Sinkiang since 1933 through his military strength; the effective participation of other members in the provincial committee seems to have largely been subject to his approval, and in many respects the ratification of his and their appointments by national authorities has been mostly a matter of form. 643

Statements as to the administrative organization of Sinkiang areas do not always jibe. But Tu Chung-yüan writes, and other authorities seem to substantiate, that there are nine principal administrative regions in the province: Tihwa Ch'ü (including the capital of the same name), I-li Ch'ü, T'a Ch'eng Ch'ü, Ha-mi Ch'ü, A Shan Ch'ü, Yen-ch'i Ch'ü, K'o-shih Ch'ü, and Khotan Ch'ü. According to Tu there are administrative officers over these, each of which includes a number of counties. There are, he states, seventy-two counties in all Sinkiang. 631

It is hard to tell how effectively this *Ch'ü* and *Hsien* (Region and County) system has been working in Sinkiang. In the past such governmental forms have worked better in the oasis settlements than in the outlying pastures, but have on the whole been subordinated to varying local tribal customs when the two systems came into practical conflict. Where relations between provincial officials and non-Chinese-speaking races have become too complicated, native headmen speaking Chinese have in the past served as "middlemen." 642

So far as the national allegiance of Sinkiang is concerned, let any doubts be immediately dispelled. The name of the province indicates that it is a part of the territory subject to the laws of the Chinese National Government and the officials and people of both Sinkiang and the Chinese Republic as a whole operate accordingly. Both as Commander-in-Chief of Border Defense and as Provincial Chairman in Sinkiang Sheng Shih-ts'ai is formally an appointee of the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government. The fact that he is allotted and accepts such national titles is significant evidence that neither he

642 nor the National Government wants Sinkiang and her officialdom to be other than Chinese in name.

648 The Chinese National Government may not, it is true, always have been able to do what it liked in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai achieved power. It appears, from Chinese testimony, that Sheng has in the past negotiated with foreign powers without conforming to customary national procedure, and that his administration has often excluded Chinese of other provinces from Sinkiang territory and has found ways at times to circumvent—if not necessarily to disobey—National Government regulations.

This situation gave a certain credence to distasteful accusations in regard to Soviet Russian influence in the province. After China and Soviet Russia signed their Non-aggression Agreement in 1937 Tokyo quarters fanned rumors that China had been forced to give up Sinkiang as a concession to Soviet Russia. Since then—and especially at the turn of 1939 and 1940 when Russia was advancing her armies into Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—like sources often hinted at the "invasion" of Sinkiang by Soviet troops.

I have no first-hand evidence by which I can prove that such reports are false, but I believe in their falsity. I saw many Soviet Russian "volunteer" troops in Lan-chou, Kansu (adjacent to Sinkiang Province), when I was in China in 1939 and 1940, and there could have been more such troops in Sinkiang. But in late 1939, on the other hand, I also visited Sining, Ch'inghai, which is west of Lan-chou and between Kansu and Sinkiang, and I did not see Soviet Russian troops there. After weighing available evidence, I do not believe that Soviet Russian troops have been in "occupation" of Sinkiang or have been "controlling" it during the years since Sheng Shih-ts'ai summoned their aid to put down Sinkiang rebellion. I do not even believe that they were "occupying" it before the widely publicized reports of October, 1943, came forth proclaiming the "withdrawal" of Soviet Russia from Sinkiang. It is admitted that there have been many Soviet advisers in Sinkiang in a number of capacities, civilian and military, in that period; and among them there may have been Soviet "volunteer" soldiers and

aviation pilots. But there is not justification for saying that such "volunteers" and advisers ever made Sinkiang a Soviet dependency. 648

Indeed the evidence seems to demonstrate that, far from being a Soviet Russian "puppet," Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been one of the most far-sighted, enlightened, and independent military leaders of modern China. The Chinese colonial record in Sinkiang was not very praiseworthy up to Sheng's appearance on the scene. He was able to assay the needs of the situation and the resources at his command; he was also competent enough to make constructive use of opportunities offered him. The Six Great Policies and especially the program of Sinkiang reconstruction which Sheng Shih-ts'ai fashioned out of the rough clay of the Moslem revolt of the 1930's indicate that he has had at heart the interests of both Sinkiang and China. That he has been able to turn these interests into a positive program which did not completely sacrifice China's title to the province but which brought to Sinkiang instead much of the best qualities of both China and of neighboring Soviet Russia is truly an amazing achievement, too long unappreciated by the outside world.

It was inevitable that Sheng Shih-ts'ai's New Sinkiang should have been influenced by Soviet Russian ideas, personnel, and materials. Developments in neighboring Soviet areas had so drawn the attention and admiration of Sinkiang people by 1933 that a feeble Chinese version of an outmoded military or economic imperialism not only might have fallen flat but might have flung the province—politically as well as economically—into Soviet Russia's perhaps embarrassed lap.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai is no puppet and the New Sinkiang is no political 642
dependency of Soviet Russia. Sinkiang instead has incorporated Chinese ideas of loose political authority with the Soviet creed of cultural and economic autonomy. From the two has come a unique Chinese frontier political economy. From them also the basically non-Han Chinese people of Sinkiang have gained new opportunities of livelihood, and by the combination much of the old bitterness between Han and non-Han has been removed.

VIII

PEACE

579 BEFORE SHENG SHIH-TS'AI had brought the New Dominion into being, civil war had stamped mercilessly through Chinese Central Asia. The Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, who was in this region a decade ago, has written of the "marauders" in Sinkiang Province at that time who "stole" and "looted everywhere" and of the "utterly terrified" civilians. Nor were those circumstances without previous parallel in Sinkiang. Probably nowhere else in the world has there been such a locale for historical turmoil. Along her North Road especially, there have been for millenniums almost unending waves of conquest, brigandage, rapine, and fire. From the days of the Hsiung-nu in Han Dynasty times to those of Ma Chung-ying between 1931 and 1934, the sight of the armed horseman sweeping fiercely across desert trails to slash at his foe must time and time again have inspired a terrible fear in the souls of the populace. Turk, Tibetan, Arab, and Kirei, Khitan, Mongol, and Manchu, each "barbarian" in his turn has slashed a path of blood and destruction across the steppes in order to establish his own rule of force over Central Asia.

Little wonder that for centuries the Men of Han and Tang could see no peace in Turkestan but an armed one. Where law was mainly one of might, the vigor of a Pan Ch'ao and the steady arm of a Kao Hsien-chih might have seemed for China a justifiable military means with which to subjugate the restless borderland. The ruins of Bishbalik stand for the glories of peace and culture which the native Uighurs once maintained in Sinkiang; and yet Bishbalik, too, is forever a monument to the prowess of Uighur warriors who themselves once staunchly stopped the flow of wantonness in Asia. Kara-Khitai has been immortalized as a medieval Khitan kingdom of North Sinkiang, yet it was founded in the Altai mountains by the battling of an exile band from Northeast China. Even the Ölöt Mongols—who under Galdan and Rabdan established what one Chinese historian has viewed as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions—even their accomplish-

ments came at the cost of bristling armor and ruthless suppression. 579
The Manchus in their turn dominated the Western Regions by force; for they were compelled first to drive the Ölöts back from Tibet and Eastern Sinkiang and then to lay waste the North. When Sinkiang Moslems of the nineteenth century revolted, the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang suppressed the uprising by some of the bloodiest campaigns in history.

If not the military struggles of these earlier days, then at least the desperate civil wars of the 1930's, described earlier in this volume, have been enough to make the slogan of "Peace" welcome to the Sinkiang masses. "Peace," Tu Chung-yüan says, has been to Sinkiang what Lenin's "Bread and Peace" was to Soviet Russia. It was maintenance of "Peace," probably as much as anything else that enabled a new and promising day to dawn for Sinkiang.

IX

RECONSTRUCTION

PERHAPS ONE of the most convincing actual proofs that "Peace" was 185
brought at last to Sinkiang is revealed in what her new administration has accomplished. Sheng Shih-ts'ai's record of "Reconstruction" may not be one of unlimited attainment, but it is certainly one of creditable progress.

Chinese say that Sheng did not succeed in establishing a "unified" Sinkiang government for three years. Numerous taxation and currency stabilization problems remained unsolved, and there was still not complete political cohesion. In 1937, however, he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction under Soviet Russian guidance, and by 1941 the second such plan was well under way. Two institutions, a Foreign Trade Company and a Local Resources Company, have transacted most of the Sinkiang business, and, on a profit-for-the-

185 province basis, have dealt with and for a network of local cooperatives. All provincial banking is said to have been monopolized by a Sinkiang Commercial Bank. Together with a Reconstruction Commission, these organizations have been at the core of the new provincial economy. What the administration of the New Sinkiang has been able to do on the basis of this arrangement—in terms of admittedly incomplete and in many cases generalized or proximate data—is indicated below.

Education

871 Tu Chung-yüan, himself one-time Chancellor of Education in the New Sinkiang, suggests that, second to political equality, the border has long wanted educational equality as the means to gain true autonomy for the racial groups of Sinkiang. The New Sinkiang accordingly made expansion of education fundamental to her reconstruction program. That is the basis upon which the number of students in the province reportedly leaped from less than 3,000 before 1933 to well over 150,000 by 1936. By August of that year around 2,300 educational institutions are said to have been established in Sinkiang. These included one college of law and political science, several middle ~~school~~, probably over two hundred primary schools, around one hundred so-called people's schools, and from one to two thousand private schools. There is good reason to believe that by 1943 there was an even greater number of educated persons and educational institutions.

873 There has also been, apparently distinct from the above-named institutions, a new and special kind of emphasis on education of cultural minorities and majorities. This has largely been effected through what are called Cultural Progress Societies. In 1936 these existed for the Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, Hui, Meng-ku, T'a-t'a-erh, Kuei-hua, and Han. Figures on the next page suggest the extent to which the work of the first three mentioned societies has been carried.

871 Students, no matter whether in attendance at the University, at a middle school, or at a primary school, are aided by the provincial government. In the case of the University, the Normal School, and the "First Middle School," students have even been given "pocket money."

873

SOME WORK OF THE CULTURAL PROGRESS SOCIETIES OF SINKIANG (1936)

Society	*Wei-wu-erh*	*Ha-sa-k'o*	*Hui*	*Totals*
Central Office	1	1	1	3
Regional Branches	8	5	3	16
County Branches	41	8	14	63
Village Branches	23	?	?	23+?
Total Educational Institutions	1,980	207	37	2,224
Total Students	129,649	10,194	2,700	142,543

Currency and Finance

For currency stabilization and a practicable operating budget, Sinkiang Province has persistently required outside financial help. Not only was this true in the old days of the Chinese Empire but it was particularly true in the period just before and during Sheng Shih-ts'ai's rise to power. In the 1934-1941 period Sheng met the situation mainly by internal reforms and aid from Soviet Russia. But he has not yet got the problem licked. 652

For decades after the province was established, Sinkiang operated on a substratum of financial subsidy. The first annual grant came from the Manchu government and amounted to 600,000 taels. This was gradually increased until in 1905 it had risen to 2,980,000 taels. With the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the old subsidies—one year excepted—were discontinued. Various measures were taken in an attempt to cope with the new situation, but the principal method used for many years thereafter was issuance of provincial notes. These notes in turn began to bring on Sinkiang inflation. By 1934 that inflation had become seriously disturbing to the provincial economy.

Sinkiang has had a wide variety of mediums of exchange. Formerly, in addition to paper notes, these included silver coins, stamped silver "shoes," irregular bullion, and at times tea or even sheep. Paper provincial notes were first circulated in 1899, and were backed by a Tihwa cash reserve. Later "oil cloth notes" *(yu-pu piao)* were also issued by provincial bureaus at Sui-ting and Kashgar. These had a 436

436 sixty per cent note and a forty per cent bullion backing. Yang Tseng-
hsin, military governor immediately after abdication of the Manchus,
652 even permitted additional notes to be issued to make up for discon-
436 tinuance of the imperial subsidy. It was, however, during the governor-
ship of Chin Shu-jen and the years of the Moslem revolt that the gradual devaluation in Sinkiang currency became most alarming. In the period, 1912-1929, three Sinkiang dollars (taels or *liang*) at the lowest would exchange for one dollar of Chinese Nationalist currency (*yüan*). Yet by 1934 the Sinkiang note issue had grown so excessive—it is said to have amounted to more than 1,200,000,000 taels—that one Chinese Nationalist dollar at times would buy more than 4,000 Sinkiang dollars. How well Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration met this serious predicament is suggested by the report that a Sinkiang Province dollar by 1942 had become worth six Chinese Nationalist dollars—although, to be sure, the Chinese Nationalist dollar had by then itself lost value through severe inflation.

Many Chinese writers attribute the change in the provincial monetary situation to Sheng's numerous reforms. Among such reforms, the 1939 reorganization of the Sinkiang Provincial Bank into a commercial
[453] bank with an expanded field of operations is especially notable. This new Sinkiang Commercial Bank began to issue new notes, took steps to improve and to unify Sinkiang currency, and undertook to withdraw old notes from circulation. It has been remarkably successful in carrying out this program, and the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration does deserve praise in this connection. But it would be a mistake not to realize that the greater exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar is in part due to at least two other major factors: (1) Sinkiang's protected geographical position at the rear of the Chinese War of Resistance; and (2) Soviet Russian credits. Chao Lieh, a Chinese authority on Sinkiang to whom I have already referred, gives these credits particular emphasis. By 1941, he writes, Sinkiang is said to have borrowed a total of 15,000,000 rubles from Soviet Russia. Though this money went for many purposes, such as purchase of machinery and trucks, one of its most important functions was to serve as backing for Sinkiang currency. It is doubtful if Sheng could have come near stabilization of his province's monetary unit in the years 1933-1941 without such credits.

An indication of confidence in Sinkiang finance is seen in the report that over $5,444,000 Chinese were subscribed in the province for her 1941 Reconstruction Bond Issue. Yet this does not necessarily mean that she is financially solvent. Quite the opposite is suggested by Chinese comment of November, 1942, that the Sinkiang budget of that year showed a considerable deficit and that the achievement of a budget balance is still considered one of the most serious current problems before the provincial government. 652

Agriculture and Irrigation

Because of their basic importance to the life of the province, agricultural and irrigation developments deserve special scrutiny. There are indications that the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration has given the problem considerable attention, but the available information is not satisfactory. Under these circumstances it might first be well to consider the following base figures given by Chiang Chün-chang for 1918 cultivated acreage in Sinkiang: 241

CULTIVATED ACREAGE IN SINKIANG, 1918

Crop	*Acreage*
Wheat	480,782
Corn	340,486
Rice	52,790
Melons and other fruit	46,737
Cotton	40,025
Sesamum	33,815
Kaoliang	32,325
Beans	23,040

These figures can hardly serve as a definitive 1918 total of cultivated land for the province; some of the crops may, for instance, have been rotated on one and the same acreage. They do suggest, however, that in 1918 there was a total Sinkiang cultivated area in round figures somewhere between a minimum of 500,000 and a maximum of 1,000,000 acres. If Chiang's figures may be considered typical, they also show that cultivation of wheat and corn has by far overshadowed that of other agricultural products, and that the province does have a history

241 of a considerably varied cultivation. Samuel Chao, an authority on Northwest China, says, in fact, that her natural riches have made Sinkiang the third largest agricultural producing center of that broad region.

241 312 In the absence of figures showing increase in cultivated acreage under Sheng's administration, statements as to the improvement of native irrigation facilities are useful—for most of Sinkiang's agricultural development has for centuries been dependent on widespread use of just such irrigation. Under Sheng's first three-year plan twenty-two new irrigation conduits were opened and forty-two old ones repaired. Nine river-deepening projects, two artificial basins for watering of cattle, and the repair and deepening of the locally famous thirty-five mile Hui-yüan irrigation conduit were some of the other tasks undertaken in the same period. By 1940 it was estimated that there were 944 main irrigation canals and 2,335 branch canals in the province. One Chinese writer enthusiastically claims that the cultivable land reclaimed as a result of the improvements mentioned amounts to approximately seventy thousand acres. A more recent survey, available in November, 1942, states that more than 3,000 miles of water conduits and wells have been added to, or repaired in, the provincial irrigation system, making available more than 150,000 acres of cultivable land. While these figures leave an uncertainty about the exact amount of land that actually is under cultivation today in Sinkiang, they do point to considerable emphasis on the problem of land reclamation. The work, moreover, undoubtedly has raised the 1918 base minimum of some 500,000 acres of cultivated land considerably in the direction of —if not beyond—the possible 1918 maximum of roughly 1,000,000 acres.

241 Ha-mi, Tihwa, Sui-lai (Manas), and Sui-ting in the north and Turfan, Aqsu, Kashgar, and Khotan in the south have all been famous in one way or another for their agricultural or related produce. Tu Chung-yüan claims that agricultural products of Sinkiang are "far superior to those of the interior in body, beauty, ripeness, and size." He then continues, "If one were to plant a Ha-mi melon seed elsewhere in China, the first year's crop would bring a change in the sweetness and beauty of the fruit. By the second year the melons would be un-

recognizable so far as quality and taste are concerned." Turfan grapes 241
are exported in dried raisin form to other parts of China; I tried them repeatedly in Kansu Province, and can testify to their delightful taste. The Sinkiang rice, too, is notable for the size and meatiness of its kernel. Chinese from Hunan are said to have first brought rice cultivation to Sinkiang, toward the end of the nineteenth century when they began cultivating the crop along the banks of the Urumchi River. Aqsu, Manas, Wu-su, Sui-ting, and San-tao Pa at present are all rice-growing localities.

South Sinkiang is the principal cotton-growing region, and the crop 248
of Turfan, with an annual yield recently estimated optimistically at some 4,000,000 *chin* (catties), is the best. Flourishing cotton fields abound also at So-ch'e, Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u), Shan-shan, Su-lo, and Korla. In the past Sinkiang cotton was practically all of local origin, but in recent years American cotton seed, imported from Soviet Russia, has begun to predominate. The estimate of one Moslem merchant (as reported in late 1942) put the annual provincial crop of Sinkiang-type cotton between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 catties.

Around a million catties of raw silk reportedly is produced each year 231
from Khotan, Yarkand (So-ch'e), and Su-lo acreage, and a considerable increase is expected; for the provincial Reconstruction Commission has been importing improved silkworm eggs and extending sericulture plots.

Animal Husbandry

When Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Shen Hung-lieh, visited Sinkiang in 1942, he and Ch'en Chi-jung, a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent, inspected a number of cattle ranches near the Urumchi River. Ch'en on that occasion was told that the technique developed on the Sinkiang ranches in the past five years of cattle breeding could be compared favorably with that of any nation in the world. This achievement, in combination with some of the world's best pasture land, has made animal husbandry vie with agriculture as one of the foremost occupations of the New Sinkiang. Samuel Chao estimates that it is engaged in by one-fourth of the Sinkiang people, and elsewhere it is pointed out that in this field Sinkiang leads all other

231 provinces of China. "The ox of I-li, the sheep of the Altai Mountains, and the horse of the Pa-li-k'un region, all have widespread fame," states the *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*. Mr. Chao judges the number of domesticated animals in Sinkiang to be as follows:

AN ESTIMATE OF AVAILABLE LIVESTOCK IN SINKIANG

Livestock	*Amount*
Sheep	12,000,000
Horses	2,000,000
Goats	1,300,000
Cattle	1,000,000
Camels	500,000

"Animal husbandry," writes Mr. Chao, "is concentrated in the northern part of the province where the steppes along the I-li River and the Altai Range provide feeding ground. The Altai prairie is Sinkiang's leading sheep raising district, Suiting [I-li] is famous for cattle, and, with Chenhsi [Chen-hsi or Barkol] and Yenchi [Yen-ch'i or Karashahr], also well known for its horses."

237 He estimates Sinkiang's annual output of animal products, skins, and furs to be:

AN ESTIMATE OF SINKIANG'S ANNUAL OUTPUT OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS INCLUDING SKINS AND FURS

Product	*Amount*
Wool	30,000,000 Catties
Camel's hair	2,500,000 "
Horse hair	1,200,000 "
Sheep skins	1,500,000 Pieces
Ermine skins (exports)	100,000 "
Ox hides	60,000 "
Fox skins (exports)	48,600 "
Horse hides	40,000 "
Wolf skins (exports)	11,000 "
Sable skins (exports)	5,000 "

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MAP OF SINKIANG MINERAL RESOURCES
KEY
Petroleum
Iron
Coal
Copper
Gold
SOVIET RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
INDIA
TIBET
CH'INGHAI
KANSU
SINKIANG
T'A CH'ENG (Chuguchak)
ZAISAN
HA-PA-HO
PU-ERH-CHING
CH'ENG-HUA (Sharasume)
KOBDO
PU-LUN-T'O-HAI
HO-SHIH-T'O-LO-HAI
CHI-MU-NAI
SUI-TING (I-li)
I-NING (Ning-yüan)
CHING-HO
WU-SU
CH'ANG-CHI
CHU-K'ANG
PU-ERH-HEN
SUI-LAI (Manas)
TIHWA (Urumchi)
FU-YÜAN
KU CH'ENG-TZU (Ch'i-t'ai)
MU-LEI-HO
CH'I-CHIO-CHING
BARKOL (Chen-hsi)
KASHGAR
YANGI HISSAR
WEN-HSÜ
AQSU
PAI CH'ENG
KUCHA
PA-CHU (Maralbashi)
SO-CH'E
KARGHALIK (Yeh Ch'eng)
KORLA
TOQSUN
TURFAN
KARASHAHR (Yen-ch'i)
SHAN-SHAN
HA-MI (Qomul)
HUANG-LU-KANG
CHUAN-CH'ENG-TZU
HSING-HSING HSIA
TA-CH'ÜAN
PAI-TUN-TZU
KERIYA (Yü-t'ien)
CH'IEH-MO (Cherchen)
ERH-CH'IANG (Charklik)
TUN-HUANG
WU-ERH-T'ENG
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943

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232 The administration of the New Sinkiang has taken significant steps to assist the peasants in the solving of their agricultural and animal husbandry problems. Field stations have been set up in every county with, among other services, eight veterinary hospitals and one veterinary school. There are province-wide facilities by which farmers may rent farm machinery otherwise unavailable. Experimental irrigation stations, forestry offices, and weather bureaus have all been established under Sheng's administration. These are epoch-making innovations for this once relatively isolated "desert" area.

Mineral Resources

135 Chinese reports have long testified to the rich mineral potential of Sinkiang Province, but the Occident has only recently attempted systematic study of that testimony. Now it is learned that numerous oil fields have been put into operation in Sinkiang. "Prosperous," though primitive, iron foundries have existed since the time of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), and now the Sinkiang iron veins are being rapidly opened. Excellent coal is found near Tihwa, Kashgar, and Yangi Hissar. The gold fields of the Altai Mountains are among the richest in Asia; and good-quality copper ore is being extracted from a number of deposits. Almost virgin mineral riches lie in the soil of Sinkiang, and serious attempts have recently been made to bring them into full utility.

Petroleum. A so-called "Ferghana Series" of oil-bearing strata runs into Kashgaria from Russian Turkestan and extends along the foot of the T'ien Shan past Aqsu to Kucha (K'u-ch'e). What may be an extension of this same series reappears again in the region of the Sinkiang North Road. The extent to which this series now is being utilized is indicated by the next table which names some of the fields of the province.

315 Samuel Chao gives a figure of 85,000 catties as the annual production of Sinkiang mineral oil. But in the past there has only been fractional utilization of the provincial oil potential; there has not, moreover, been sufficient public information on the more recent developments, which have no doubt shot the figure considerably higher.

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PETROLEUM FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Unnamed	4 mi. long & 2 mi. wide; daily yield, 100 catties for 1 well
Kucha	K'o-la-ya-lun	Over 100 catties daily
Manas (Sui-lai)	Lake An-chi Hai	Largest field in Western China; quality oil comparable to Baku product
	Ch'ia-tzu Wan	4 gushers; output, 20-30 catties daily
	Shih-yü Yen	Output, about 50 catties daily
	T'ung-ku Po	9 wells; output, over 200 catties daily
	Po-lo-t'ung-ko	Operations suspended; former yield, 70 catties daily
So-ch'e	Shang-wo-p'u	70-80 catties daily
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	Black Oil Mt.	9 oil springs; possibly a tar; daily yield of greatest spring, 200 catties
Tihwa	Ssu-pen Kou	7 oil fields in Tihwa, 3 abandoned; Ssu-pen Kou & Su-ta-chang, outstanding
	Su-ta-chang	See above
Wen-hsü	T'a-na-k'o	"Hundreds" of catties "regularly"
	Ma-li-li-k'o Shan	
Wu-su	Tu-tzu Shan	4 fields in Wu-su; 32 oil springs, 15 operating at Tu-tzu Shan

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Iron. Sinkiang iron is distributed both in the north and south. The vein which runs through T'a Ch'eng is really the largest in the province, though that of Khara Balgasun Mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to Chinese. Prime difficulties with iron mining in Sinkiang have been its seasonal or market fluctuations and, as with so

316 many other resources of the province, the failure to apply scientific mining and production processes. Progress has, nevertheless, been made in uncovering many important deposits. Some of them are named below:

IRON DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Aqsu	K'o-kan-ch'ia	2 deposits | Not highest quality
	T'ieh-pen-erh-k'o-la-pa-la-k'o	2 deposits
Ch'ang-chi	Meng-k'o-t'u Ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi Kou	7 furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (I-li)	So-erh-ko Ling	
Pai Ch'eng	Ming-pu-la-k'o Mt.	
	T'a-erh-ch'i Mt.	Mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	Ya-se-la-min Mt.	
	Neng-li-ha-t'a Mt.	
	K'o-shih-k'o-k'o-pa-shih Mt.	
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	K'o-la-t'a-fu-pan to Ch'i-erh Shan	Vein, 130 miles long; largest in province
T'a-pan Ch'eng	Unnamed	
Yangi Hissar	I-ko-jih-ya-yen Mt.	
	A-ha-mai-ti Mt.	

Coal. Samuel Chao asserts that Sinkiang has an annual coal production of about 100,000 tons, while 6,000,000 tons has been the old conservative estimate for what may be a much greater Sinkiang coal reserve. The latter is scattered mainly along the Altai, T'ien Shan, and K'un-lun Ranges. A table of Sinkiang coal deposits which have recently come into prominence is given on the following page.

Gold. Gold resources, too, have long made Sinkiang famous among Chinese; and there is reason. The Altai ("Gold") Mountain deposits of North Sinkiang have proved their value, and other deposits have been found, particularly in the foothills of South Sinkiang. The work

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COAL DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Barkol (Chen-hsi)	San-t'ang Hu - Hsiao Liu Kou Kuan-t'an-yao	Bituminous
Ch'ang-chi	Ch'a-han-wu-su T'ou-t'un Ho	
Fou-k'ang	Big Yellow Mt. Little Yellow Mt.	Coal only 10 ft. underground
Fu-yüan	Unnamed	
Ha-mi (Qomul)	San-tao Mts.	Strata over 35 mi. long with coal sometimes 20-30 ft. underground
Sui-ting (I-li)	Hui-yüan	"Coal caves"; "sizeable output"
Karashahr (Yen-ch'i)	Ha-man Kou	Useful for iron smelting
Kashgar (Su-fu)	K'an-chi-kang	2,000-3,000 ton annual yield; smelts iron
Kucha	Su-pa-yi	"Fine" coal
Pai Ch'eng	K'o-p'ing T'i-li-ko Shan T'a-la-k'o Ya-hsiang-pa	
Shan-shan	Ko-ko-ya Mt.	"Extensive" deposits; 5 mines now in operation
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	K'u-k'o-ts'ang Mt.	Anthracite; in Tarbagatai Range
Tihwa	Shui-mo Kou T'ou-t'un Ch'ang Ts'ang-huang Kou	S. Chao says Tihwa coal is "best" in province
Turfan	Unnamed	East & West of city; 300-400 workers seasonally
Yangi Hissar	Sa-pa-t'i-k'o	Useful for iron smelting

of excavation in the Altai has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 thousands of miners were said to be operating in the district, though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia.

316 Interesting is the claim that a two and a half pound gold nugget once was mined from the Altai Hou Kou field. The richest of the South Sinkiang gold deposits are in the vicinity of Cherchen and Keriya. Local villagers have contracted for extraction of ore from these deposits, and each year over 3,500 taels are said to be paid for the mining privileges. These are the best known gold fields of the New Sinkiang:

GOLD FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
A Shan (Altai)	Tung Kou	
	Hsi Kou	
	Ch'ien Kou	
	Hou Kou	
	Chung Kou	
	Ha-hsiung Kou	
	Pan-tang Kou	2½ lb. nugget mined; "Highest" qual.
Barkol (Chen-hsi)	Hsiao Liu Kou	
Cherchen (Ch'ieh-mo)	Unnamed	
Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu)	Unnamed	
Sui-ting (I-li)	Ch'iao-li-k'o R.	
Keriya (Yü-t'ien)	A-ha-t'a-k'o Shan	
	Ch'ia-pa Shan	
	Tsao-li-ya-k'o	
	Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung (?Sui-ting or I-li?)	Unnamed	
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	Ha-t'u Shan	Placer. Between T'a-erh-ta-mu-t'u and Su-erh-t'u Rivers
Tihwa	Unnamed	

[454] According to rumor, gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden away; many of these are individually of unimportant amount, but the sum total is supposed to be large, and some of the caches are said to be "several thousands of taels." One can understand, therefore, why the Sinkiang gold reserve and annual production have been enthusiastically estimated at 31,300,000

and 50,000 ounces respectively. With all due allowance for exaggeration, there seems little question that if the gold latent in this province can be brought forth into the public markets many of China's, let alone Sinkiang's, financial worries will be eradicated. 316

Copper and other minerals. There are also considerable finds of copper, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrate, and common salt in Sinkiang. Of these the 40 per cent pure copper ore that has been extracted from one of two great mines near Kashgar, and the copper deposits at K'ang-shan, Pai Ch'eng, Kucha, Tihwa, I-ning, and Sui-ting are notable. These are some of the recently publicized workings of the province:

COPPER DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Sui-ting (I-li)	Wu-ts'ung-tao Shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-t'u Shan	
K'ang-shan	Unnamed	
Karashahr	K'u-erh-tai Shan	
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Wu-lan-wu-su R.	20% pure ore
	Su-hun Shan	40% pure ore
Kucha	New Copper Works	
	Old Copper Works	
	Su-pa-shih Copper Works	
Pai Ch'eng	Ho-se-erh Copper Works	
	K'o-t'a Copper Works	
	Kung Po Copper Works	
	Upper Copper Works	
	Lower Copper Works	
T'a-pan Ch'eng	San-chio Shan	
Tihwa	Chai-o-pao	

Industry

Though possibly microscopic in American eyes, the "industries" of Sinkiang deserve, and have been receiving, encouragement. The province has long been known for her handicraft talents in rug-making and silk-weaving, and recently primitive establishments of older days like those for wool-washing and leather-tanning have been improved 471

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

Aviation

One of the most significant recent innovations has been the establishment of regular aviation transport to and through Sinkiang. A Eurasia Aviation Corporation line between Shanghai and T'a Ch'eng, opened in 1933, was the first step; but its use was necessarily curtailed by the outbreak of war in 1937. Not until October, 1939, did Eurasia, through the medium of the newly formed Sino-Soviet Aviation Company, open a new service. It ran from Chungking to Hami, whence, through the cooperation of Sinkiang authorities and the Soviet People's Aviation Company, it was continued via Tihwa, I-ning, and Alma-Ata (the latter over the border, in Soviet Kazakhstan) to Moscow. The trip from Chungking across Sinkiang to Alma-Ata totals about 2,784 miles and has become extremely important in United Nations mail and transport services. 509

Road Transportation

Most significant advances in the New Sinkiang have been those in the field of road transportation. The old caravan routes between China and Russia that run through Sinkiang have been readapted to modern truck travel. The only truck highway in Sinkiang before 1933 is said to have run only a short distance from the provincial capital, and there were then only some twenty military trucks in the whole area. But Ch'en Chi-jung has reported that by 1938 the following truck roads had been completed and put into use in North Sinkiang: 491 494

TRUCK ROADS IN NORTH SINKIANG, 1938

Main Roads	*Branch Lines*	*Termini*	*Distance Covered*
Ti-I		Tihwa and I-li (Sui-ting)	450 miles
Ti-Hsing		" " Hsing-hsing Hsia	470 "
Ti-T'a		" " T'a Ch'eng	430 "
	Ti-Tu	" " Turfan	
	Tu-Ch'i	Turfan and Ch'i-chio-ching	1,150 "
	T'a-Ch'eng	T'a Ch'eng and Ch'eng-hua	
Total Mileage ..			2,500 "

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491
494 Repairs and reconstruction were in addition undertaken over more than 1,875 miles of what is called "dry line" between Tihwa and Khotan (running via Karashahr, Kucha, Aqsu, and Kashgar). A transport control office of the provincial government, which had over 400 trucks of its own in 1938, has maintained control and repair stations on every line and by that date well over the equivalent of $500,000 U.S. currency had been expended on such work. By 1941 it was reported that there were altogether 3,000 trucks engaged in Sinkiang transport work.

Truck transport that has connected Tihwa with Soviet Russia and with other parts of China ran principally from T'a Ch'eng (on the Russian border) through Tihwa to Hsing-hsing Hsia (on the border of Chinese Kansu Province). There has also been important South Sinkiang contact with Soviet Russia from Kashgar to Andizhan via the Terek Pass. On the Chinese side the Sinkiang road system mainly links up with routes that have been under the direction of the Chinese Northwest Highway Administration via the 800-mile Kansu-Sinkiang motor road, which runs from Hsing-hsing Hsia (Baboon Pass) to Lan-chou. The Northwest Highway Administration has had a force—of 1,500 trucks as well as 5,000 drivers and supplementary workers—which maintains lines ultimately connecting up with Chungking. The main Kansu line, a modernization of the old Imperial Caravan Road which used to bear traffic in camels and carts from Sinkiang to Pei-p'ing, represents plans and work extending over the years from 1935 to the present.

Traditionally less well developed and less practicable for truck transport are the caravan trails which lead from Sinkiang (in the south) to Ch'inghai and (in the north) to Mongolia. These have been regularly used for limited local commerce—particularly the stretch from Keriya via Cherchen to Wu-erh-t'eng in Western Ch'inghai—and have great truckage and rail possibilities for the future.

Some Recent Developments

206 A milestone in Sinkiang modernization was the opening of through telephone connections between Tihwa and Chungking. *Ta Kung Pao* correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung used the line when he was in Tihwa on

October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak 206
on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India 205
had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

The wartime fight against inflation and against serious jarring of 435
living conditions has met with considerable success. It is claimed that Price Control Commissions set up "everywhere" have made the Sinkiang price level the lowest in China. Yet wages, correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung has found, are high. Ch'en, walking by a 1942 Sinkiang road construction project about six miles outside of Tihwa, came across laborers who were receiving $12 Chinese a day. He indicates that skilled workers of the province were currently receiving even more.

Serious wage lags in the case of subordinate government salaried 465
employees have been one of China's serious problems in the inflationary years of her Resistance and Reconstruction. This may have been proving difficult for Sinkiang also since many of her government workers, for instance, still receive little more than $200 Chinese a month. But Sinkiang authorities have been meeting the situation for such workers with reductions of social and public expenses, with compensation in the way of reduced prices on commodities, and with small monthly subsidies in such staples as rice, flour, salt, sugar, matches, and oil.

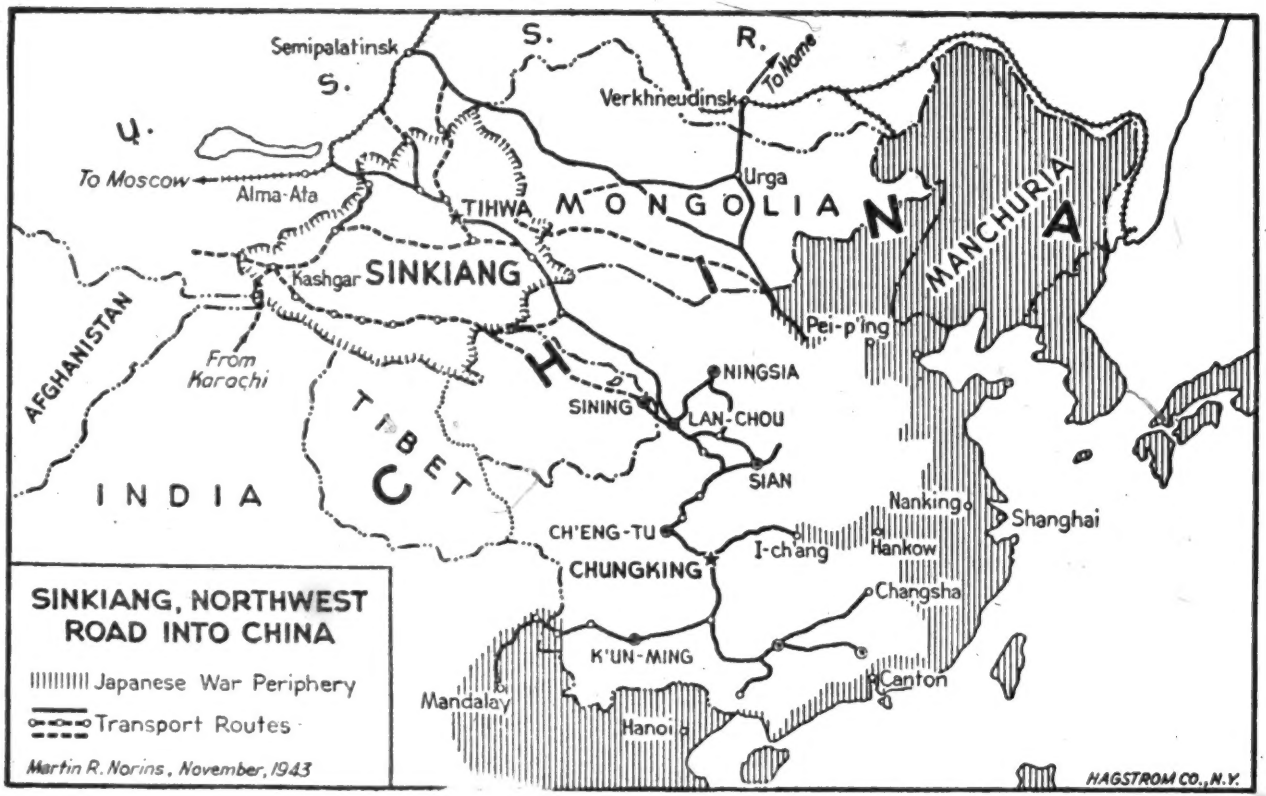
Reports in October, 1943, of Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, 185
have been coupled with increasingly illuminating accounts of new Chinese migration to the province. This can promise a whole new vista of reconstruction developments in the province, and such developments deserve to be watched with keen interest. One of the most immediately noticeable effects has been the announcement on November 10, 1943, of an "ambitious plan" for the modernization of the Sinkiang capital. "During the past three months," the report states, "thousands

185 of soldiers and workers have been working day and night on part of the public works scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. This includes the building of four asphalt roads of over 1000 meters, several macadamized roads of 1500 meters and the modernization of buildings. . . . Over 1,000 old and dilapidated houses are to be torn down and rebuilt, and some 1,800 new houses put up in the new civic center."

735 The Sinkiang representative on China's National Political Council, Sheng Shih-chi, pointed out during the fall of 1942 that there are no beggars in Sinkiang; I heard the same thing from Chinese Moslems when I was in Kansu Province in 1940. At that time one Moslem, a Lan-chou vendor of Sinkiang raisins and Soviet lump sugar, made pointed examples of one of the city's numerous ragged and grimy child indigents and of a nearby beggar cripple, both whining with hands outstretched. "*Tsai Hsin-chiang mei-yu-liao*" ("That doesn't happen in Sinkiang"), he commented with a shake of the head. Tales that filtered through to Lan-chou in 1939 and 1940 painted Sinkiang in a favorable [464] light indeed. The shortage of labor, the abundance of land and resources, the crying reconstruction needs, and the progressive point of view of the administration in Sinkiang all tend to corroborate Sheng Shih-chi's assertion.

175 Sinkiang's transformation in the past decade may not appear miraculous in terms of superficial material measurements. The task of domestic reconstruction is not nearly complete; and at least partial credit for what has been accomplished is due to outside aid. Yet, with all this, unswerving and successful application of her Six Great Policies has put the New Sinkiang and the interfusion of frontier races inhabiting the region among the major phenomena of this age. In the years between 1937 and 1943 the province cast aside five centuries of decadence and began to play a unique and vigorous part in modern living. Now, in the midst of a magnificently intermingled old and new—the Sinkiang newspaper hawked in a native bazaar, the phone call to Chungking from a picturesque yamen, an airplane flight over the old Silk Road —the Sinkiang people have shown their eagerness to join in the fashioning of a better world life.

487


SINKIANG, NORTHWEST ROAD INTO CHINA
Japanese War Periphery
Transport Routes
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
Semipalatinsk
S.
S.
R.
To Home
Verkhneudinsk
U.
To Moscow
Alma-Ata
Urga
TIHWA
MONGOLIA
N
A
MANCHURIA
Kashgar
SINKIANG
I
Pei-p'ing
AFGHANISTAN
From Karachi
H
NINGSIA
SINING
LAN-CHOU
TIBET
C
SIAN
INDIA
Nanking
Shanghai
CH'ENG-TU
I-ch'ang
Hankow
CHUNGKING
Changsha
K'UN-MING
Canton
Mandalay
Hanoi

[p. 123]

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 A11 Sinkiang A11

X

WAR REOPENS SINKIANG

648 SHENG SHIH-TS'AI'S TECHNIQUE, which favored guidance and help from Soviet Russia, had at first required as strict and selective control as possible over all other contact with Sinkiang from the outside. This in the main kept knowledge of what was happening in Sinkiang from the rest of China as well as from the rest of the world. The province, for most purposes, became autonomous and isolated, and with Soviet help Sheng Shih-ts'ai kept it so.

648 468 Open warfare between China and Japan in 1937, however, made it necessary for Sheng to allow a limited relaxation of his policy. He permitted Soviet military supplies to come into Eastern China and allowed Chinese wool, skins, tea, and bristles to get out in repayment to Soviet Russia over tightly controlled truck highways running through his province. By 1939 the outbreak of European war also made it advisable and possible to open Chinese-Russian air communications via Sinkiang. But a large measure of the provincial seclusion was strictly maintained. A rigid watch was kept over what strangers went in and out of the province, and strict penalties were invoked by government authorities on trespass of transit privileges.

648 Now, however, the policy of extreme Sinkiang seclusion has at last been discarded. By the spring of 1942, Japanese pressure on Yünnan Province had forced Chinese attention to the Northwest, and especially to Sinkiang. Soviet Russia, in contrast, was less able to provide the personnel and resources that had been earlier available. Since there is doubt that Sinkiang can longer count on Soviet Russia's direct help, she has turned for assistance to the Chinese National Government and to other United Nations powers.

Nationalist China has already acted dynamically to replace the aid which Soviet Russia gave to Tihwa for almost a decade. In so doing she has initiated a sweeping program of reconstruction in the Chinese Northwest, has emphasized new ties with India and the Middle East, and has shown new co-operation with the United States and the United

Kingdom. This can presage heavy shipment of United Nations goods to China and the Chinese war fronts at last by a revitalized "back door" to Asia. 648

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself was dramatically responsible for starting Sinkiang back into world prominence. In February, 1942, two months after Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he flew to India and conferred there with British officialdom. His epochal journey took him on February 13 to the Northwest Frontier of India, where he and British companions inspected part of an old Northwest India-Sinkiang transport route. He took the occasion, moreover, to address mountain tribesmen who guard its strategic passes and still pay token tribute to Chinese suzerainty. Almost simultaneously General Chu Shao-liang, military governor of key areas in the Chinese Northwest and a trusted friend of the Generalissimo, traveled to the Sinkiang capital to engage in conversations with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Shortly thereafter the Chinese National Government appointed a British-educated Chinese, Chaucer H. Wu (Wu Chai-hsiang) to the post of Sinkiang Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. The Chungking appointment signalized, first, that control of Sinkiang foreign relations had, probably for the first time since 1927, returned openly to Nationalist authorities in China; second, that predominant Soviet ascendancy in Sinkiang foreign relations might be on the way out.

Chinese announced in July of 1942 that six hundred economic and engineering experts had gathered at Lan-chou, capital of Kansu Province, in connection with proposed development projects for the Chinese Northwest, and that Moslem General Ma Pu-ch'ing had been appointed Pacification Commissioner of the hitherto neglected Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, through which it is feasible to lay out one or more routes from South Sinkiang into Kansu. Lan-chou is a key terminus on the Sinkiang-Kansu motor road of Northwest China, and General Ma has long been famous among Chinese for his successful road construction work in Shensi and Kansu provinces. These reports might, therefore, even at that early date have sufficiently hinted at Nationalist China's intentions. Visits subsequently made to Sinkiang by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs

648 Wong Wen-hao undoubtedly were occasions which helped Chungking and Tihwa to seal their new bargain. On September 16, 1942, it was announced that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself had just returned to Chungking after a month's inspection of the Chinese Northwest, and the next day came word that $10,000,000 CNC was being allocated annually for reconstruction projects in the latter region.

167 In the fall of 1943, after almost a month of conferences between Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, a great pilgrimage toward Chinese Central Asia began. By October 23, fifteen hundred Chinese settlers, refugees from the famine area of Honan, had arrived at Tihwa to engage in land reclamation, over four thousand more had reached the town of Ch'i-t'ai and many additional thousands were expected to migrate to such Sinkiang cities as Tihwa and Kashgar. It was reported that the Sinkiang provincial government was to make a loan of $5,000 Chinese currency available to the settlers, and each family was to receive over fifteen acres of land. "Provisions, seeds, cows, farmhouses and all necessary farm implements," together with an outright subsidy of $2,500 CNC for "each family" were also to be theirs. Is it any wonder that the hard-pushed Chinese peasant, weak from the barest of sustenance, has straightened up with new hope at the promise of land, tools, and capital in Sinkiang!

"Sinkiang today," a Chinese writer has stated, "is like California before 1849 and Altai is like Alaska before 1867." Not only can the land be made to produce more food, but the mineral wealth is relatively untouched. It has been said that wars make nations, and it may well be that the Chinese in days to come will feel positively indebted for the restlessness of necessity which Japan's aggression has aroused in the melting pot of Asia. For thousands of picked men out of the fifty millions who fled from Eastern China to Szechwan and Yünnan in 1938 and 1939, once more have picked up possessions and have poured across the mountains and plains—this time north and westward into Sinkiang. Over the gravel-mud roads of Shensi and Kansu, across the turbid Yellow River, west of the River, and then through the Jade Gate to Central Asia they went, taking their bedding, their baskets, treasured family heirlooms, needed household utensils, their wives and

sons and hopes. The man on foot, the riksha, the rubber-tired cart, a camel of the Gobi, a General Motors or a Russian Ziss truck—all these have been China's "covered wagon." The throng of people has been jolly, too; jammed in with youth, and gasoline drums, and the *ch'i-lai* of the Chinese marching song. Behind this push into China's vast Northwest has been largely a determination to build a land hard with metal and tough with industrial sinew. But there has been also the lure of adventure, good living, age-old lore, and rich cultural promise. 167

Into the land of the Wei-wu-erh to which Sheng Shih-ts'ai has brought his Six Great Policies and the understanding and justifiable pride among races that they have taught, the Chinese today once again has come. This time he has come not merely as in antiquity but also as a producer—a farmer, a laborer, a technician, a leader united with the leaders of many other races. As a Chinese he has been among the first to perceive that superlative amounts of ideas, energy, men, and machinery are needed in a hurry in Sinkiang and that part of all this may come from any one or more of a number of neighboring areas—India, Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan, Siberia, and Mongolia—as well as from China proper. Ultimately the matériel and technical initiative for much of it, he knows, must flow from the United States and Britain, as in the past decade much has come from Soviet Russia. Pioneers of American and English, as well as of Asiatic, background may be expected to hear this call of the Chinese Far West. Through them, and others, Sinkiang promises to be transformed into a grand new frontier area of progress.

That there has been serious American interest in these Sinkiang developments was revealed on April 19, 1943, with the temporary appointment of Mr. Oliver Edmund Clubb as United States Consul to Tihwa. Mr. Clubb's assignment, the later arrival in the Sinkiang capital of a British colleague, and reports from usually reliable sources in October, 1943, that "Russians" have been "leaving Sinkiang Province in large numbers" and "dismantling and removing Russian-built plants," that the roads of the province have been "dotted" with "cars hauling out Russian equipment" and that a "Russian garrison" was leaving "by truck, in small units"—these suggest that Chinese aid and influence 648

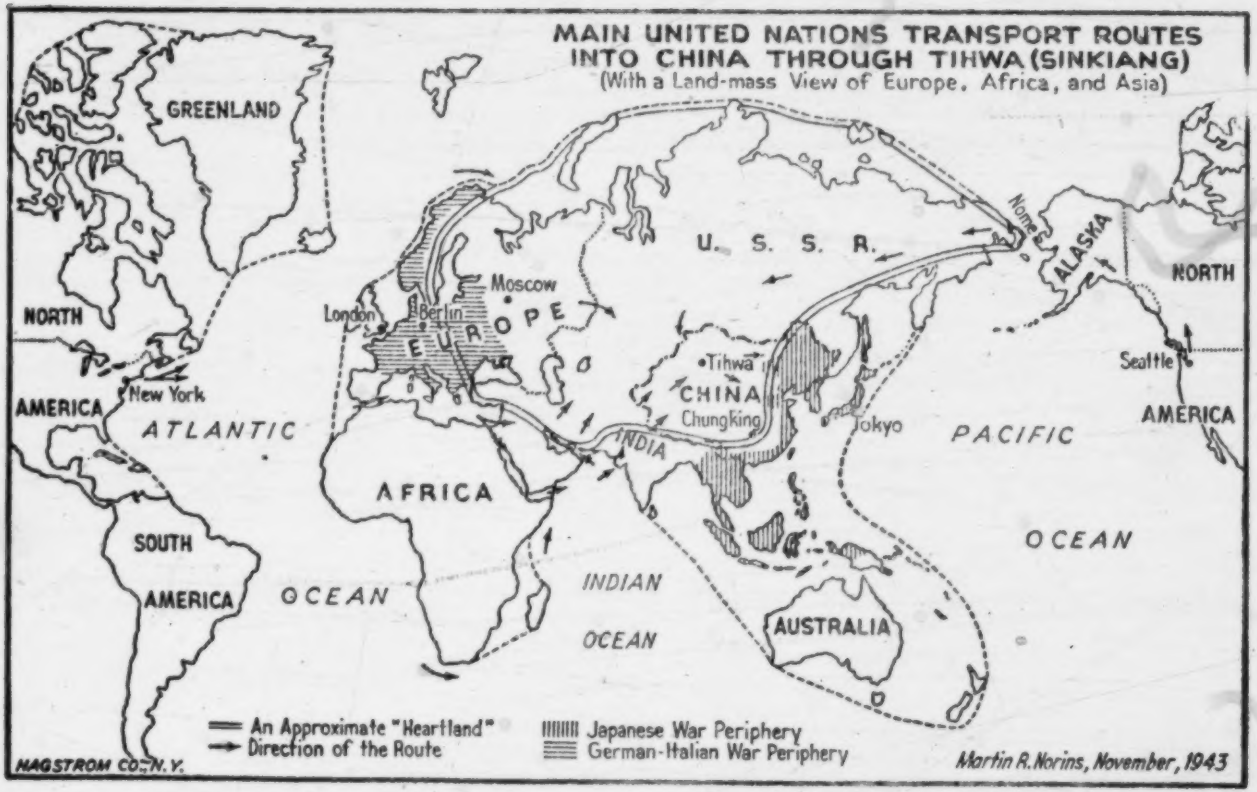
648 in the province may already be replacing that which the Soviets have apparently decided not to continue. Should such a change in Sinkiang affairs be in the process of accomplishment with friendly understanding on the part of the four great powers of China, Soviet Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, it might prove to be an important diplomatic achievement in Sino-Russian relations.

XI

GATEWAY TO ASIA

IT IS WELL, indeed, for the United Nations that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and General Sheng Shih-ts'ai have been able to arrange the reopening of Sinkiang. For Japan's blockade of China extends in an arc from the northernmost tip of Manchuria southward around the coast and up into Burma and western Yünnan Province. Except for the northern tip of Burma, the remaining land gaps, the terrain not yet caught in the Japanese blockade pincers, are on the Chinese inland frontier of Tibet, Sinkiang, and Mongolia.

The physical difficulties of sending matériel into China across upper Burma are not at all insurmountable, and this is now being demonstrated by the Assam-China air transport service, which is now the main source of foreign supply and carrying more than the Burma Road used to. Construction of the Ledo Road, too, indicates the belief that land supply can be pushed along mountain trails of Indian Assam and over the Burma-Yünnan ranges—some of the lofuest in the world. But traffic run across this terrain meets exceptional difficulties. It passes on the edges of bristling war fronts, confronts danger from Japanese guns, can carry only a limited volume of goods, and must defy day-to-day uncertainty. When a successful military campaign reopens the Burma Road, it may again become one of China's "lifelines." But too much should not be immediately hoped for from even that direction in view of adjacent Japanese armies and of the uncertainties of the sup-


MAIN UNITED NATIONS TRANSPORT ROUTES
INTO CHINA THROUGH TIHWA (SINKIANG)
(With a Land-mass View of Europe, Africa, and Asia)
GREENLAND
NORTH
AMERICA
New York
ATLANTIC
SOUTH
AMERICA
OCEAN
AFRICA
INDIAN
OCEAN
London
Berlin
Moscow
EUROPE
U. S. S. R.
Nome
ALASKA
NORTH
AMERICA
Seattle
Tihwa
CHINA
Chungking
INDIA
Tokyo
PACIFIC
OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
An Approximate "Heartland"
Direction of the Route
Japanese War Periphery
German-Italian War Periphery
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943

[p. 129]

000

000 ply problem. Until a large part of Southeast Asia is cleared of danger from Japan, reopening of the Burma Road probably not only is not imminent but even loses a great deal of its value. It is well to look elsewhere at present for the route along which large-scale supply to China may be maintained.

The Siberia-Outer Mongolia-Ningsia Route

The shortest and most direct potential route through [illegible] United Nations zones from North America to China is that via Canada, Alaska, and Siberia to Chinese Ningsia. Some 6,500 miles long, it extends from Seattle to Alaska, then across the narrow Bering Strait, and along the Trans-Siberian Railway as far as Verkhneudinsk (Ulan Ude). At Verkhneudinsk, in Siberia, it branches southward through Ulan Bator, capital of the "Mongolian People's Republic," to Ningsia. The Ulan Bator (Urga) to Ningsia part of this route, according to available information, before Pearl Harbor was still little more than a desert camel trail. It has been, besides, vulnerable at the Ningsia end, since 1937, to an ever-threatening Japanese push through Suiyüan Province.

The Sinkiang Routes

487 Remaining routes now geographically practicable enter China through Sinkiang. One such, an extension of the above-mentioned Siberian route, runs along or on the Trans-Siberian Railway beyond Verkhneudinsk and, utilizing the Turksib Railway, reaches Alma-Ata, in Soviet Kazakhstan. From there it crosses back eastward into Sinkiang via Sui-ting or T'a Ch'eng, and passes on the modern Sinkiang-Kansu motor road toward Chungking and the Chinese war fronts. This route, probably under 9,000 miles in all, deserves primary attention. It utilizes already existing modern transport facilities and, with the exception of possible political obstacles, might become a very useful supplementary avenue for United Nations supplies into the China area.

American goods can also obtain entrance into Sinkiang from the Middle East and India. Delivery requires a long ocean journey—one which runs from the eastern coast of the United States to the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea. But once the long maritime part of the trip

is complete, shipments into China are quite feasible. Two routes have gained special public attention, one through Persia (Iran) and the other through India. The first begins at the Persian Gulf port of Bushire, in Iran, and runs by road and rail to Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea. Once the Caspian is crossed by boat, the goods can be loaded on freight cars and carried by rail from Krasnovodsk to Alma-Ata, but a short distance by good highway from Sinkiang. The other route starts at Karachi, Indian port on the Arabian Sea, and runs by rail to Peshawar, then by road from Peshawar to Kabul in Afghanistan and north through Termez to Samarkand in Soviet Uzbekistan. From Samarkand the goods, again, can be shipped by rail to Alma-Ata and then by highway into Sinkiang. 487

Further major possibilities for United Nations transport into Sinkiang include the well-tested pack trails into Kashgaria (South Sinkiang) from Kashmir (Northwest India) and from Afghanistan. One of the most desirable of these routes, that passing through Kashmir, utilizes the cities of Karachi and Srinagar and covers some 4,500 miles of India-China terrain. Crossing 18,000-foot passes, these trails are not yet feasible for motorized transport, though they have long been used for caravan trade. There is, however, no serious physical obstacle (other than possibly the altitude limits of airplane flight) to air transport from Srinagar, for instance, (or from Kabul), over the Karakorum Mountains (or Pamirs) to Kashgaria. From Kashgaria there is already available roadbed for motor travel on the old Sinkiang South Road to Tihwa or to other parts of Sinkiang, and from there into China Proper.

With the Nazis now boxed up in Europe and with the Mediterranean open, sea shipments to the Middle East now need not (though they still can) take the long haul by way of the Cape of Good Hope; they are able, instead, to go directly—say, New York-Port Said and then across Syria and Iraq to Iran. But up to only recently adequate preparations for passage of goods to China through Iran and Soviet Russia may not have been completed. An Associated Press dispatch from Chungking dated July 5, 1943, cited Chinese Minister of Communications Tseng Yang-fu as declaring that "at last" arrangements had been concluded for use of this supply line. Yet Tseng even then 000

000 qualified his statement by saying that "heavy military supplies cannot be brought in." There is reason to believe that shipments into Sinkiang via Iran and Russian Turkestan still may not be unrestricted. Since peculiar political problems have existed in regard to China's diplomatic position *vis-á-vis* Afghanistan, it may also still be politically inconvenient to send goods to China through that country. Yet air transport into Sinkiang from Northwest India in any case ought to be practicable under current conditions, as a supplement to the Assam-Yünnan route now being used.

Indian and Siberian Routes to Sinkiang

Passage (by air or by land) through Northwest India has both political and physical difficulties but those difficulties are not insurmountable. American use of the routes appears to be subject to the political approval of the British, Indian, and local governments concerned. But in this case political obstacles ought not to be too serious, for India (as part of the British Empire) is allied with the United States in war against Japan as well as against the European part of the Axis.

The chief Indian seaport for entry of goods bound for Sinkiang via the Northwest Frontier Province is Karachi, in peacetime a city of some 260,000 persons, a port on the Arabian Sea, and a station on the Indian Northwest Railway. It is a total distance of 1,133 miles, by railway and then road, from Karachi to the Kashmir metropolis of Srinagar farther north. Railway shipped, Sinkiang-bound goods would probably need to be unloaded from trains at Jammu and transshipped by truck on the motor road which leads sixty miles beyond Srinagar to the town of Baltal. Beyond that point a land traveler would probably pack in.

Nowadays the airplane may well help nullify mountain hazards of Northwest India, and replace old Karakorum trade routes for war and post-war purposes. Air transport from Srinagar to Kashgar, roughly 375 miles as a plane might fly, would present a difficult task, but one for which veteran American airmen are now in all probability sufficiently trained. In comparison with the now regularly negotiated Upper Burma (Assam-China) ferry farther east, Srinagar-Kashgar

flights might even seem simple. A force of 100 American transport planes of even the current Douglas C-47 type with a capacity of two tons (crew and equipment already accounted for) ought to be able to deliver some 9,000 tons of air cargo a month between the Indian and Sinkiang termini. With the newer type transports (some reported capable of carrying seven tons each) or with increased planes of the first indicated type, the tonnage potential of this route would be correspondingly raised. 000

There would be serious but not insuperable problems of personnel, fuel, and food. Probably 1,400 men would be required—including plane and ground crews—to deliver those 9,000 tons. Quarters, suitable new and enlarged hangars, administrative establishments, barracks, and storage facilities would probably have to be erected, particularly on the China side. Fuel would be a problem, but Iranian and Iraq oil would be obtainable. Aviation gasoline would, however, probably have to be ferried into Kashgar in order that return trips to Srinagar might be practicable. Part of the food for such a force of this small size would be obtainable in the Kashgar area.

Enthusiasm over United Nations possession of such an Indian "back door" to Sinkiang is warranted, for it can be of substantial importance. But one should not be blinded to its limitations. The American road to Chungking via the Atlantic Ocean, India and Sinkiang is still terrifically long, even now that it is possible to cut out the intermediate ocean trek around Africa and go through the Mediterranean. And on the lap into South Sinkiang from India, the lofty, jagged, mountainous terrain is a great hardship to man and his carrier—whether it be foot, horse, motor car, railway, or plane. Last, these maritime and mountain hazards place limitations on the tonnage that may be transported within a given time. Such a journey requires a tremendous expenditure of human energy, time, and materials, and much of this can and should be saved. Transit into Sinkiang through India and the Middle East can be helpful to the United Nations. It is a welcome change in the war outlook that it is daily becoming more practicable. But there might be much more value in a supply route to Sinkiang through Alaska and Soviet Asia.

000 Since the Siberian route passes through Soviet Russian territory before actual access to Sinkiang is gained, however, its use by Americans for United Nations war purposes poses an extremely delicate problem in international relations. The Soviet Union, though allied with the United States and others of the United Nations against the European Axis, is at "peace" with Japan. So long as that Russo-Japanese "peace" is maintained, Russia may not feel free, or be able, to permit sizable shipments of American war materials to pass through her Siberian terrain. For that reason use of the Siberian-Turkestan-Sinkiang Route may, perhaps, not be realized.

United Nations Opportunity

Supply routes from India and Iran would provide more than half the groundwork for effective use of Sinkiang in the Chinese war theater; but "half" is written advisedly, for unequivocal United Nations strategy would have a supply line extend from Seattle through Alaska, Eurasia, and Africa to eastern North America. This would mean untrammeled intercommunications all the way, in both directions, for all the United Nations. Well protected, it could be a continuous United Nations highway passing through the core of the Sino-Russian Rear and there meeting central crossroads which traverse Soviet Asia and Chinese Sinkiang—a global, north-south transport way to United Nations mastery of what Mackinder called the "World-Island" and its "Heartland." This could be one of the answers to the supply problem which meets and then utilizes Axis west-east geopolitics. American entree to the Sino-Russian Rear through India, the Middle East, and Siberia, offers rare opportunity to the United Nations today.

XII

A FRONTIER FOR THE WAR AND AFTER

If one premises that Han Chinese in large numbers by the thousands will continue to migrate westward into Turkestan and that Sinkiang will take her rightful place in the new China, what might some of the characteristic wartime and post-war developments in the province be?

Readjustments will naturally be called for, but the 1933-1943 program of the New Sinkiang has already provided an introduction to the modern, machine-type economy and to some of the equipment and products associated with it, and has given the native population the opportunity to work on a cooperative basis with both Han Chinese and other outsiders. The new problem, then, need not require the breaking of ground; it can be, instead, largely one of amplifying the cooperation, good-will, and training built up in the past decade through the program of the Six Great Policies. Sympathetic appreciation of this point of view by incoming Han Chinese settlers, as well as by non-Chinese, may prove especially valuable. Since Han Chinese probably will settle permanently in Sinkiang, the relations between them and the native inhabitants will be of special significance. Third party nationals will probably stay in the province only as long as they are needed to help perform the groundwork of a particular United Nations project or see that it gets well under way; yet the way in which they are able to get along among themselves and with the local population in Sinkiang can be a practicable test for—and guide to future—international cooperation of a broader scope.

Large-scale wartime activities in Sinkiang Province may, nevertheless, involve many other "ticklish" and complicated questions. The importation of considerable capital equipment and technical personnel will be the number one problem. Nor will the shipment of a particular item from, perhaps, the United States to a stipulated city in Sinkiang be solely a matter of selecting the most advantageous route or routes. Since Sinkiang is surrounded on all four sides by land, on two sides of which there is foreign terrain, and since China is under blockade, permission

000 must be obtained to send the item across non-Chinese and non-American territory. Once it arrives in Sinkiang, it must be transported within the province or through it and into China Proper. All this involves adequate personnel and facilities. Then the problems of installation and of operation will have to be solved. When the traffic mounts, as it must to be effective, the questions of personnel, equipment, fuel, and food will become correspondingly more pressing.

Transport into China Proper

As already explained the truck roads, say, from T'a Ch'eng in the north or from Kashgar in the south to Tihwa and, further, across the Sinkiang-Kansu border to Lan-chou and then to Chungking, already have seen use. From the latter two points the highway network, though rough, is extensive. In addition, Sinkiang transport facilities from Kashgar through South Sinkiang are extendable to and across Ch'inghai while those from Tihwa in North Sinkiang have practicable caravan links with Mongolia. By means of these basic traffic arteries eventually even the furthest of the Chinese war fronts may be reached. The problem of oil supply is admittedly far from simple but—with adequate backing from appropriate United Nations quarters—it can be solved.

A Sinkiang Development Commission

Whatever the international transport base for matériel and capital equipment to enter China via Sinkiang, United Nations administrative machinery will be needed to handle the development and utilization of Sinkiang communications. Such a mechanism could conceivably be at least a four power commission, with the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States represented. But should the Siberia route not be used and should the Soviet government possibly continue its "peaceful" relationship with Japan, it might be embarrassed by formal involvement in such a commission. Consequently membership might need to include only three national interests directly —the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Other interested United Nations powers (such as the Soviet Union) might be invited to send non-voting auditors to the commission meet-

ings or might merely be apprised informally of commission activities. 000

On the other hand, China (and through her, Sinkiang) might with no little cause contend that Sinkiang development is solely a Chinese concern, and that membership in the commission should be solely at Chinese invitation and on Chinese sufferance; in that case it would be vital that the other United Nations make known their positions to the Chinese Government in advance in order to ensure that outside aid in the development of Sinkiang would be used with the interests of the other United Nations as firmly considered, for the duration of the war, as the interests of China herself. Such a stand on the part of China, far from being a cause for abandoning the commission scheme, ought to be considered sympathetically as but one more possible means of its inception. For, once administrative machinery were established and a flow of materials well under way, economic and military developments on a vast scale would be opened up. The effect upon the war and upon the future development of Sinkiang and all China would be immeasurable. Not only would such a move be timely and far-sighted, but it might well be a valuable contribution toward postwar peace and stability in Central Asia.

Wartime Development Needs

If China and/or the United Nations as a whole act on these premises and give sizable attention to development of Sinkiang, this development will doubtless take two forms: one to expedite victory, the other to further permanent construction in Sinkiang and China.

The primary wartime needs of Sinkiang are further improvement of her truck road facilities, airplane landing fields, petroleum potential, communications, agricultural and animal husbandry, and her cultural sympathies with the United Nations cause. As far as the Sinkiang road system is concerned, most good can be done by improvement and care of existing facilities and by development of the South Sinkiang-Ch'inghai and the North Sinkiang-Mongolia routes. There is not yet need for finished, American-style paved roads; what is needed is maintenance and repair of gravel roads along which military trucking and heavy tanks can move. Second in priority is the improvement and/or estab-

lishment of adequate airfields, hangars, barracks, and storage facilities to facilitate airplane transport between such outlying cities as T'a Ch'eng (in the north) and Kashgar (in the south) (1) to other points in the province and (2) to neighboring Chinese areas. For some time it will probably be necessary to import airplane fuels, but intensified extraction and more modern cracking of Sinkiang mineral oil promise to provide an expanding source of gasoline and oil for both automobile and airplane transport. The skeleton of radio and wireless communications already exists in the province, but this will require extension and modernization. With the influx of new foreign and Chinese technical and military personnel there will be an added drain on existing food resources, which will call for a broadened irrigation, farm, and animal husbandry improvement program. Last, it would be well for information services of the other United Nations together with China to take more active measures to acquaint the people of Sinkiang with all favorable phases of the United Nations war effort.

Both wartime and post-war Sinkiang will benefit by these innovations, and the ground will be laid for long-range international development of the province.

Long Range Development of Sinkiang

Early pioneering in proposals for such long-range international development of Sinkiang as might be considered here was undertaken by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the "father" of modern China. According to the preface of his book *The International Development of China,* he wanted:

> . . . the vast resources of China . . . developed internationally . . . for the good of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular. . . . Thus the root of war will be forever exterminated so far as China is concerned.

Strikingly enough, the construction of a Northwestern Railway System to end in Sinkiang and the colonization of that province and Mongolia were among Dr. Sun's foremost proposals. The Northwestern Railway System as he foresaw it, was to start at a port on the Northeast China Coast and to pass westwards via Dolon Nor some 1,600 miles to

Tihwa, in Sinkiang. It was to have a number of branch lines, among 000
them a veritable Sinkiang network. He suggested that the state should launch colonization in Sinkiang by buying up land and then in turn leasing it to colonists "on perpetual terms"; he further proposed that the state furnish the colonists with initial capital, implements, and houses at cost for cash or on the installment plan. Some ten million people, Dr. Sun anticipated, could be settled in Mongolia and Sinkiang within ten years by these methods. It appears that the Chinese Nationalist Government has already started in 1943 to carry out part of Dr. Sun's colonization proposals.

Dr. Sun's far-sighted emphasis upon railway construction to link Sinkiang more effectively with the Chinese interior and to link together outlying settlements within Sinkiang was long considered visionary. It is not practicable even now to carry out his scheme in its entirety for the war needs of 1944. Emphasis on Sinkiang truck roads and airports is for the time being more practicable than emphasis on railways; for the war, a stepped-up colonization by Chinese seems less pressing than the passage of vital war materials and Occidental technical and military help to interior China. Yet both programs place positive emphasis on the type of modernization Sinkiang now needs. Today extraction of Sinkiang minerals, expanded food production, scientific animal husbandry, furtherance of education, and widespread modernization of various kinds, all deserve a prominent place in any plan for practicable wartime use of the area. True, the difficulties to be confronted are not few. Mineral resources, for example, are in the main unsurveyed. Sizable expansion in food production, too, will probably depend on attempts at extensive land reclamation which, in turn, faces restrictions due to the limitations of available water supply. But serious as these and other problems are, they are not so serious that they cannot be solved.

In the post-war world the opening of Sinkiang communications—road, air, river, and railway (both provincial and extra-provincial) as well as wireless, radio, newspaper, and motion picture—promise a tremendous and needed outlet for Western as well as Eastern energies. The expansion of irrigation together with the resultant extension of agricultural production; the modernization and broadening of pro-

000 vincial "industry"; the development of almost untouched mineral resources; the transfer of Chinese colonists from crowded coastal and interior cities to the relatively open northwestern frontier; the revitalization of the indigenous culture through improved educational methods; and the influx of modern ideas and implements of all kinds—all these can turn this now so little appreciated Central Asian region into a throbbing, pulsing artery of a new Eurasia. There is need to supplement the guide-points already laid down by such as Dr. Sun Yat-sen and to draw up an even more specific prospectus for the post-war world. No matter how or when such a prospectus may evolve, the modernization of the New Sinkiang is predestined and will help to bring to complete fruition the New China. For best fulfillment of both wartime and post-war needs, such modernization requires foreign goods and technical personnel. But the development, notwithstanding, cannot much longer be restrained. Part of the inevitable drive toward modernization of the Sino-Russian Rear, the development of the New Sinkiang should have a noteworthy influence on the course of Chinese and Asiatic affairs.

APPENDIX

A Selection of Paraphrases from the Book

Sheng Shih-ts'ai yü Hsin Hsin-chiang

1. The Racial Question of Sinkiang

The races of Sinkiang are very mixed, as past academic investigation has disclosed. What stock there was in the province originally is not clear, but since the introduction of the policies of Sheng Tu-pan, fourteen racial types have been recognized. They are: *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-chi, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun,* and *Kuei-hua.*

There are no accurate statistics in regard to the total population of the province. South Sinkiang adjoins India and the customs of its people are more or less like those of the inhabitants there. Therefore, since there is free intercourse east and west between both places, they get a sort of dual national classification. On their entering India they are called Chinese, but if they enter China they are called Indians! As it happens, some of these nomads have been taking advantage of the situation and carry on business in both places.

But when inhabitants of Sinkiang talk about this question, in general they say there are fourteen races and four million people. It would be useful to get an idea of the differing types which make up those four million. They say that the *Wei-wu-erh* people (or *Ch'an Hui*) are most numerous, comprising about eighty per cent of the total; of the remainder about ten per cent are *Han* and ten per cent other races.

The *Han* who have come to Sinkiang are divided into four groups: (1) One group includes the criminal exiles of the type which, they say, were sent to Yünnan and Sinkiang before the Tso Tsung-t'ang era. (2) Hunanese comprise the second group. These came as military or political workers during the Tso Tsung-t'ang period and became Sinkiang farmers or officials. (Not a few Yünnanese came in the time of Yang Tseng-hsin, and not an inconsiderable number of Kansu men came when Chin Shu-jen got political control. This brings us up to the present day, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai governs. During his control not a few men from Northeast China have been added, for that is the way of modern Chinese politics.) (3) When there were merchant transactions or when annual salaries were paid, all exchange from Ch'ing Dynasty currency to Sinkiang currency went through the hands of Shansi money brokers. The latter obtained command of Sinkiang economics for a while, though by now their control has les-

000 sened. When Tso Tsung-t'ang was subjugating Sinkiang, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men organized a merchant corps. Whenever a great army was sent out, they furnished the army with its military supplies, and they in turn possessed great military authority. Afterwards there came a time in which not only Pei-p'ing and Tientsin peoples traded with Sinkiang, but in which Hunan and Hupeh men even came there to deal in tea bricks. All these are included in the third group. (4) Agriculturists of Kansu and Shensi, farmers who were poor and bitter, are reported to have fled as refugees to Sinkiang. These refugees are a fourth *Han* type. But there have not been very many of these; escape from their bitter livelihood has not been easy for the farming people of Kansu and Shensi. It is said that official have decreed joint responsibility, and that one cannot of his own free will cross the boundary. For if one family escapes, then ten other families are held responsible.

The *Man* [Manchu] people began coming to Sinkiang at the beginning of Ch'ing times, and a great group migrated there during the reign of Ch'ien Lung. After Ch'ien Lung had pacified Sinkiang, I-li was selected as the administrative center and officers were established there to command the Manchu soldiers stationed throughout the province. At the time the expressions Old *Man* Fort, New *Man* Fort, *Hsi-po* Fort, and *So-lun* Fort were in use. (*Hsi-po* and *So-lun* are tribal language characters also referring to the Manchu people.) In the time of the Ch'ing Dynasty, when the Manchus took over governmental power in China and became imperious and wealthy, the orders they "sent down" brought enmity among many races.

The Mongol people originally were to be found along the Road North of the Heavenly Mountains. In the beginning of the Ch'ing times they were named *Chun-ko-erh Pu* [Jungars] and their soldiers were of four kinds: (1) *E-lu-t'e Pu*, which herded cattle in the neighborhood of Urumchi; (2) *Chun-ko-erh Pu*, which herded cattle in the I-li area; (3) *Tu-erh-po-t'e Pu*, which herded cattle along the banks of the E-erh-ch'i-ssu River; and (4) *Tu-erh-hu-t'e Pu*, which herded in the neighborhood of Tarbagatai.

Now many of the Mongol people dwell in the Altai of North Sinkiang. Mongols herd cattle as their livelihood and, because they haven't any other homes, travel from oasis to oasis. In the winter they dwell on the south slope of those mountains and, to escape the cold weather take to what they call winter nests [*tung-wo*]; in the summer they dwell on the high plateaus in order to get cool and take to what they call summer nests [*hsia-wo*]. They believe in Buddhism and consider milk and lamb great delicacies, although they also eat other food made of flour.

The *Hui* [Moslems] are divided into two types, the *Han Hui* [Chinese

Han Moslems] and the *Ch'an Hui* [Turban Moslems] or *Wei-wu-erh.* 000
The *Ch'an Hui* or *Wei-wu-erh* [Uighurs] were called *Ch'an Hui* from the white turbans they wear. But after Sheng Tu-pan gained government control, they became known as the *Wei-wu-erh* people. Originally the *Ch'an Hui's* own name was *Wei-wu-erh.* Sheng Tu-pan, in line with his aim to attain real racial peace, saw that the two characters *wei* and *wu* had a very exalted meaning for the people themselves, and so he reverted to use of that name. As for the *Han Hui* they are Moslems who have emigrated from Kansu or Shensi. These Mohammedan people are, in speech and customs, for the most part like the *Han* Chinese. But they believe in Mohammedanism, are forbidden to eat pork, and are forbidden to smoke opium or to drink intoxicants. A great part dwell in such places as Yen-ch'i and Ha-mi, and not a few dwell in I-li, Tihwa, and Ch'i-t'ai along the North Road.

The *Wei-wu-erh* are the original settlers of Sinkiang. They are in all of South and in many places of North Sinkiang. More specifically they are in four groups: Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. The Ha-mi group includes those of Turfan and Shan-shan counties. These places originally were strong forts of the Mongols. The people all believed in Buddhism but afterwards, as Mohammedanism replaced the Mongol faith, they were converted to Mohammedanism. This place always was characterized by warfare, but the people were not always powerful. The Kucha group includes the three hsien of Yen-ch'i, Kucha, and Aqsu. The people of these places are peaceful, and besides engaging in agriculture, have handicraft trades. The Kashgar group includes all the counties of K'o-shih Ch'ü. This is the principal center of the *Ch'an Hui,* who are Mohammedan merchants and farmers. The people of this group and of that at Khotan are very patient and so are excellent at handicraft work. In Tihwa one can see many famous and precious types of rugs from these two places. The deep eyes and high noses of the *Wei-wu-erh* are similar to those of the Turks. It would, in fact, not be far wrong if these two were classified as types of one race, for the areas in which they dwell are not far from each other.

The girls' eyelashes are sharp and distinct and are inclined upwards slightly in order to attract men. The men and women mature early, and a girl is eligible for marriage before she is fifteen. The marriage ceremony is closed to outsiders and is very meaningful. The girl goes out of doors veiled. Otherwise if the *A-hung* (the ruling priest) happens to come along, he can interfere. In Southern Sinkiang this is enforced very much but in Tihwa there is more leniency. Girls in the home avoid a stranger, for they dare not be seen. The males have more than one wife and, according to the faith, they are allowed four. Betrothal is pledged by the father and

000 mother, after which the *A-hung* is invited to perform a ceremony. At the time she is wed, the new bride covers her head with a veil, there is piping and drumming, and she is taken on a donkey to the husband's household. Then the *A-hung* completes the ritual. If the husband and wife are not compatible, they are free to divorce. In case the husband separates from his wife, the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if the wife separates from her husband, she does not get to take the household goods. A son is the property of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry. The general idea at such a time is that "the broken mirror has become round again."

According to the system of funerals, if a man dies the corpse is wrapped in a white cloth, is carried into a cave, and the *A-hung* is called on to perform a ceremony. At this time members of the family wear a white cap and sash for forty to a hundred days in the home. The head of the corpse is not shaved, Chinese clothes are not worn, and the body is buried in a grave—in a ceremony not unlike that of Chinese. It is because there are very many *Wei-wu-erh* people in Sinkiang that these particulars concerning their marriage and funeral ceremonies are cited.

The *Ha-sa-k'o* [Kazakh] people, classified racially between the *Hui* and the *Meng* [Mongol], are also nomadic and so their life habits are wont to be like the Mongols. But many also respect the Mohammedan faith, and their marriage and burial ceremonies are in general similar to those of the Moslems. It is reported that the *Ha-sa-k'o* originally were a united tribal group. During the reigns of T'ung Chih and Kuang Hsü of the Ch'ing times, however, China and Russia twice demarcated their national boundaries. As a result one branch was said to have been put under Russian and another under Chinese sovereignty.

This people excels at horsemanship, and children five and six years old have been known for their riding ability. There are none at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by *Ha-sa-k'o* soldiers in Soviet motion pictures. The *Ha-sa-k'o* people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter season comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?

The *T'a-t'a-erh* [Tatars] people are originally from the *T'a-t'a* stock of the Mongols. They migrated to the border woods among the Lamas, then they absorbed some Moslem culture. Later, when they had moved to the Russian border, they mixed with the white people. Some of their offspring are even white in color. Over one half of this race are merchants while others are engaged in animal husbandry. Few have very well-to-do-homes. 000

There are, besides, the *T'a-chi-k'o* [Tajiks], *T'a-lan-chi* [Taranchi], *K'o-erh-k'o-tzu* [Khalkha], *Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o* [Uzbeks], and many smaller racial divisions which cannot be given much discussion here. As for the so-called *Kuei-hua* people, their speech indicates they are related to the White Russians. During the Great Soviet Revolution a few capitalists could not stand the bitterness of the times and escaped to Sinkiang and China. Therefore they have been called *Kuei-hua* [naturalized] people. Recently, as Soviet Russia has become a strong nation and as the livelihood of the Soviet people has improved, the *Kuei-hua* have gradually been attracted once again to the culture of their homeland.

2. *The Importance of Sinkiang in Chinese National Defense*

On the occasion of the Moslem rebellion during the Ch'ing Dynasty, Tso Tsung-t'ang epitomized Sinkiang's importance as follows: "Great weight should be given to Sinkiang as a protection for Mongolia. For as it protects Mongolia, it ensures that the power of the capital and the forearm of the Northwest work in unison. It also ensures that there is no break in the country's topographical defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be at peace. Moreover, then bandits might outflank the whole Kansu, Shensi, and Shansi frontier. In such an emergency those places might be defended, but not victoriously. In such a case, Sinkiang would be a direct north gate to the mountains, and there would not be a day of rest or sleep."

If Sinkiang is protected, the savages won't dare to graze their horses in the southeast (as was proved in the Han times, when Chang Ch'ien was sent into the Western Regions, and in T'ang times, when Kuo Tzu-i was sent to pacify the Moslems [Uighurs?]). If Sinkiang is lost, the savages can spread far into the interior (as was proved when the Sung Dynasty was forced to migrate to the south and when the Ming Dynasty was not able to protect the province). But the present is by no means the same as the past. The so-called savages of today are not people of a mere tribe; they do not stop with merely bows and arrows. They have airplanes and cannon, scientific learning of the most advanced type, gold, strategists, and even secret traitors in their employ. The position of Sinkiang in the national defense of today is as different from that of the Han, T'ang, Sung, and Ming

000 times, as heaven is different from earth. Enemies do not stop with merely attempting to disturb relations between Sinkiang and the interior. We have learned that several years ago the enemy established espionage agents in Ch'inghai and Ningsia with instructions to see that unrest in Sinkiang did not stop. Recently the enemy attempted to send Tientsin traitors overland to Sinkiang with $3,000,000 Chinese money in sabotage funds. The enemy knew that Sino-Soviet cooperation is at the core of the Chinese resistance and that if China and Russia want to further their mutual unity they must protect Sinkiang; but the enemy also knew that if there is disturbance in Sinkiang and if Sino-Russian relations are harmed there, then the Chinese resistance will show a great change. So money was spent in an attempt to buy off merchants and officials in Tihwa and even a Vice-Chairman of Sinkiang Province. But the plot was smashed.

3. The Eight Point Proclamation and the Six Great Policies

As soon as Sheng Tu-pan began his rule, on the one hand he ordered his soldiers to pacify the rebellion and on the other he issued an Eight Point Proclamation. The eight points of this proclamation as originally issued are as follows: (1) Establishment of Racial Equality; (2) Guarantee of Religious Freedom; (3) Equitable Distribution of Agricultural and Rural Relief; (4) Reform of Government Finance; (5) The Cleaning Up of Government Administration; (6) The Expansion of Education; (7) The Promotion of Self-Government; (8) The Improvement of the Judiciary.

But the Eight Point Proclamation served only as a guide to the type of government toward which the Sinkiang revolution was to lead. If the principles of the Eight Point Proclamation were to be carried out for long, they needed a new guarantee. Therefore, once he had eliminated internal rebellion, unified Sinkiang, and firmly established government authority, Sheng Tu-pan invoked his Six Great Policies. What were they? They were: (1) Anti-imperialism; (2) Kinship to Sovietism; (3) Racial Equality; (4) Clean Government; (5) Peace; and (6) Reconstruction. By means of the Six Great Policies the Eight Point Proclamation could be guaranteed. With the Eight Point Proclamation a beginning could be made along the political road of the Six Great Policies. The Eight Point Proclamation and the Six Great Policies dovetailed.

Number 1. If we want to know about Sinkiang we first want to talk about Anti-imperialism. Behind the facade of the racial and cultural complex of the province every imperialist force has sought to cause dissension and division. A certain imperialist force, for instance, has increasingly fostered independence for South Sinkiang, and Japanese imperialism has helped the *Ch'an Hui* promote a Mussulman state. If this matter is not put

foremost, if it is not struck a decisive blow, if all the people of the province are not cautioned about it, then all Sinkiang government will share a like fate. 000

Number 2. If we want to know about Sinkiang we want to talk also about Kinship to Sovietism. The Soviet Russia of today is not the same as the old Russian Tsar, and she does not have aggressive designs. This lack of aggressive intent is not merely a kind of slogan; it has its base in economics. In the past aggression has come from the imperialist king first and second from the capitalist. These two phenomena are impossible in Soviet Russia. If the system of man destroying man has been eliminated what reason can there be for aggression? The testament of Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us that in order to get the world to unite for peace it is necessary for the people to join in the common struggle. The kind of state which he indicated would be required is clear to all.

Number 3. The border speaks of Racial Equality very much. In what manner is Racial Equality to come? First, a political equality is wanted; second, educational equality. Formerly the people were permitted to read only *Han* books and not the works of their own races; and even if they did study the *Han* books they were not permitted to hold office, but could only serve as half-slave translators. Therefore none of the races wanted to read the *Han* books. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But (since a wealthy *Ch'an Hui* could not be forced to do it) just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading. Now it is not the same. Since Sheng Tu-pan issued his Eight Point Proclamation each race and every educational institution has received help from the government; and, though reading of Han books is required, each race can also read its own literature. Since this has happened readers have multiplied like the spread of mist. Government positions have since been opened to all the educated, and the self-respect of each race has been restored.

Number 4. Why should one have to mention Clean Government? The Yang-Chin period was lengthy and greedy. The politician did not believe in working but only in officiating; even when he was officiating he aimed only at making money. This arose from the fact that Yang and Chin were basically that type. In general if a person were to come to Sinkiang from the interior it was not asked whether he had qualifications or not, whether he was talented or not. All that was necessary instead was that he be of an "experienced" temperament or perhaps that he had served in an office of a military governor or of a provincial government for eight to ten years so that it could be seen he had been reared in the atmosphere of slavery. . . . Or, again, if he were appointed, say as a county magistrate or as a tax

000 collector, it was only desired that he collect eighty to one hundred thousand dollars in a year's work. Can one ask that a man's talents be developed in this type of government atmosphere? Since the culture of other peoples of Sinkiang had been submerged so much, the *Han* official became like a god, and if a magistrate were appointed for a county in South Sinkiang he need not have been especially greedy to receive fifty to sixty thousand from the Moslems on one visit. Therefore all people coming to Sinkiang from the interior had such hopes. But now it is not possible! Since the administration of Sheng Tu-pan was instituted there is a provincial accounting commission that operates everywhere. If a sum of money goes through a public office not the smallest bit of it may be used before it is entered on the accounts of the office of the Tu-pan and is checked. Sheng himself gets a monthly salary of 200,000 taels in Sinkiang paper currency. This does not amount to over 100 dollars of Nationalist currency. (Due to the past years of war confusion in Sinkiang metal currency has been difficult to get.) Mrs. Sheng, who administers a girls' middle school, gets a salary of not more than 10 dollars each month. With this spirit of honesty and self-control they truly set an example. Can one not see that they are not troubled with all the difficulties of the former Yang-Chin times, that there is no distrust of Sheng Tu-pan's persistence or of his ability to endure hardship?

Number 5. Now consider Peace. How is Peace included among the Six Great Policies? Peace is that which is the opposite of war. Because of the bitter internal struggle in Sinkiang in recent years, and because the people have experienced great difficulties and bitterness as a result of the recent civil wars in the province, the word "peace" is like an anguished cry from the masses. In putting out this slogan the government has expressed the feelings of the people. Since ancient times the people have wanted administrators who know the people's mind. If you give a man water to drink when he wants food or if you give him food when he wants water, you will never reach his heart. When Imperialist Russia entered war, the common people were displeased. But Lenin, when he offered the slogan of "Bread and Peace," was able to start thousands upon thousands and myriads on myriads of people along the revolutionary road. It is that type of slogan.

Number 6. In discussing the question of Reconstruction we must recall that in the more than twenty years of the Yang-Chin administrations . . . there was not a penny's reconstruction for the masses of Sinkiang. Yet, when Sheng Tu-pan had administered the province for less than four years, I visited the Tihwa hospital and pharmacy and saw the ill all treated alike . . . by physicians and nurses, many of whom have come from Soviet Russia. It is reported that this is the practice in every executive dis-

trict and is not restricted to Tihwa alone. Attendance at the Boys and Girls Middle School, the Normal School, and the Sinkiang Academy is paid for by the government, and this is something other provinces do not have. Attendance at some primary schools is also provided for. Again, the changes for the better in the types of sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens under the guidance of Soviet advisers have been very good. All races have been welcomed. Such things as improvement of the streets, the relief of rural agriculture, the establishment of electric light plants, are not these all real proof that this slogan has been able to feel the pulse of the people?

All the reconstruction of Sinkiang has been according to plan. A Reconstruction Commission, composed of all the highest officials, decided to undertake the work in three year periods and requested Soviet advisers to come and to help.

4. Relations with Soviet Russia

With the military movements in Sinkiang in recent years, its people have not had a healthy life, and the monetary system there has been upset. Even now the equilibrium of the province has not been completely recovered. How then can one say that there has been any reconstruction in Sinkiang?

This point cannot be discussed unless one speaks of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. After Sheng Tu-pan had become well established politically, he was anxious for reconstruction for he knew that by it he could resurrect Sinkiang; that if there were reconstruction, he could protect all the races. But reconstruction requires man-power and financial backing and cannot be accomplished by an empty cry. Where was the way out of this difficulty? He began diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, and then thought of a method. As a result he asked that much of the technique and talent which had brought about the five-year plans in Soviet Russia be sent to assist Sinkiang in its three-year plan of reconstruction.

According to Sheng Tu-pan himself, every person in any of the number of Sinkiang households who was asked about the matter requested education for his kin . . . For instance, such measures and weights as a foot, an inch, an ounce, a catty, all are used in China; but they have different names in Sinkiang. Education up to Sheng's time had been mainly a question of what could be done in the home alone, and most people could not do business with people from outside of their own community . . . These were only temporary expedients, anyway; moreover, the government could only control them at the beginning and could not actually watch what was being done. Moreover, any progress that way would be slow. How, under such circumstances, could reconstruction be completed? From where could

000 the money for it come? Sheng Tu-pan borrowed 5,000,000 rubles from Soviet Russia, it is reported, with an interest rate of only four per cent and no strings attached.

Having written this much, I wish to mention that I know that the people of the nation have had many rumors in regard to Sinkiang. There has been talk that Sinkiang has gone Red; or it has been said that, although Sinkiang may not be Red, the great military and administrative power of the province is in the hands of Soviet Russia. I never seriously believed this talk. Yet, before I had come to Sinkiang and had seen Sheng Tu-pan, I had no way to dispel it. But this much I have seen with my own eyes! Reconstruction in Sinkiang is only being aided by Soviet resources and talent, and there is no political side to it. As for the so-called great military and administrative power of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang, etc., etc., and as for the words of fear expressed in regard to Soviet specialists and educational officials, one must believe what I have seen. Soviet people are the specialists in animal husbandry, the doctors in the hospitals, the pharmacists in the provincial pharmacy, and the educators in the Military Officers Academy and in the Air Force. All the specialists of the three-year plan are Soviet people. But is this enough to show that the military and administrative authority of Sinkiang are not in the hands of China?

If Sinkiang has already become a Soviet Russian puppet state, why then are several tens of thousands of White Russian soldiers there? It is a fact that even many of the truck drivers of Sheng Tu-pan's office are White Russians. Can Soviet Russia tolerate this? Did not Soviet Russia, at the beginning of her national reconstruction, request assistance from thousands upon tens of thousands of capitalist experts? Yet, wouldn't it be difficult to say Soviet Russia is White?

According to what I have seen of Sinkiang, all the primary schools are reading the Three People's Principles textbooks. Moreover, these texts are not special texts, and one book bought is like all others bought. In Sinkiang not only is the *Han* language used for printing, but there are also translations into several other languages. In every public office and every school of the province homage is paid to the blue heaven and white sun of the Chinese national flag and to the honorable picture of the Tsung-li [Sun Yat-sen]. It is a pity that the Tsung-li passed away a generation too early. If he could have come to Sinkiang today, he certainly would smile and say: "Ah! One can see my honorable descendants in Sinkiang have talent and righteousness." This is not only my view. Before I went to Sinkiang, Mr. Ch'en Li-fu [Chinese Minister of Education] also was there and saw these things. I believe that he also received the same impression.

If we are to classify a country as either an "enemy country" or a

"friendly country" we must take the broad view in passing judgment, not just a narrow view or one man's view. Japan, for example, is our enemy. Yet are there not also many good friends dwelling in Japan? Can they stop their capitalism from its ravages? Can they stop their midget army from its barbarism? Yet, on the other hand, what kind of a country is Soviet Russia? From the beginning there has been no oppression in Soviet Russia, nor do they have people there who oppress other people. Can one get aggression from this? OOO

GLOSSARIES

Some Chinese terms, place names, and proper names from the text have been collated in the following glossaries. These are arranged with brief explanatory notes and, often, with helpful cross references to other spellings for a particular transliteration or translation. The general system of transliteration for the Chinese is a modified form of that found in Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (one volume, second edition, revised and enlarged, Shanghai, 1912). The modification follows for the most part the system suggested by Peter A. Boodberg and Woodbridge Bingham in the work by Robert J. Kerner, *Northeastern Asia, A Selected Bibliography* . . . (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1939), I, p. xiii. Hyphenated forms are used for compound terms and in the case of proper names are capitalized only on the first syllable (i.e., Sui-ting; An-chiu-an-ch'ia; Su-pa-yi; T'a-la-k'o). In translation and spelling of Chinese words, however, common geographical names (Nanking for Nan-ching, Tihwa for Ti-hua) and personal names current in English literature (Chiang Kai-shek for Chiang Chieh-shih) have been employed. It is additionally to be noted that the circumflex over the "e" and the short mark over the "u" (found in Giles) are eliminated for typographical reasons. In certain cases, moreover, where a place name includes (usually as the last word or words of the name) an especially common generic term, the romanization for that term is set off from the rest of the place name, its respective first letter capitalized, and the hyphen before it omitted (Pai Ch'eng; not Pai-ch'eng, Paich'eng, Paicheng, or Pai-Ch'eng). In some cases it has, on the other hand, been found advisable to link all the component romanizations for a place name with hyphens even if such common generic terms are included (T'ien-shan-nan-lu; not T'ien Shan Nan-lu or T'ien-shan-nan Lu). Names of Chinese provinces follow the *China Postal Atlas* (Inspectorate General of

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All

000 Customs, Nanking, 1936) with the exception of the names Tsinghai, Chahar, and Sikang, which are herein spelled respectively Ch'inghai, Ch'ahar, and Sik'ang. A brief chronology of some Chinese dates has also been included to assist the lay reader. Pagination is as follows:

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A SELECTED LIST OF TERMS

A-hung: a priest of the Wei-wu-erh people
Agrico: a British firm doing business in Sinkiang during the 1920's
Aqsaqal: a native headman of South Sinkiang
"Bannermen": Manchu soldiers, some of whom were sent to fortify and then settled down in Sinkiang
Bato Setkhiltu League: a branch of the Mongols found in Sinkiang
Catty: a Chinese pound weighing approximately 1 and 1/3 pounds avoirdupois; a chin
Central News: the official news agency in Nationalist China
Ch'ang: a workshop
Ch'ahar Mongols: a branch of the Mongols found in Sinkiang
Ch'an Hui ("Turban Moslems"): a Chinese name for the Wei-wu-erh people of Sinkiang
Ch'an-t'ou ("Turban Heads"): a Chinese name for the Wei-wu-erh people of Sinkiang
Chen: a trading town
Ch'eng: a city
Ch'eng-pao: a petty military station or rampart used in Sinkiang defenses
Chi-mi chou: a "restrained" Department; another name for chün fu
Chien-kuo ("Reconstruction"): a basic element in the wartime program of China
Ch'ien: before
Ch'ien Ti Tsung Chih-hui: Commander in Chief at the Front
Ch'ien-fang (the "Front"): the "War front"
Chin: a Chinese pound; a catty
Ching Setkhiltu League: a branch of the Mongols found in Sinkiang

Chou (a Department): a political division 000
Chun-ko-erh Pu (the Jön Gar): a branch of the Mongols found in Sinkiang
Ch'ü (a Region): a political division
Chün (a Prefecture): a political division
Chün fu: a Military-political division
"Clean Government": one of the Six Great Policies
"Comfort": a Chinese technique for frontier pacification
Commander in Chief at the Front (Ch'ien Ti Tsung Chih-hui): a high military title peculiar to Sinkiang
Cultural Progress Society (Wen-hua-tzu-chin Hui): an educational institution of Sinkiang Province
Dulanis: a people found in Sinkiang
E-lu-t'e Pu (the Eleuths or Ölöts): Western Mongols; found in Sinkiang
Eight Point Proclamation: the early theoretical keynote to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's rule
Elder Brother Society (Ko-lao Hui): a Chinese secret organization
Eleuths: see Ölöt Mongols
"Four-Twelve" Affair: the Sinkiang uprising of April 12, 1933
Fourteen racial types: the fourteen racial types assertedly recognized by the people of Sinkiang as dwelling in the province
Habdals: a people found in Sinkiang
Hai: an expanse of water
Han: in general recognized as a so-called "superior" clan of people dwelling in interior China as opposed to the so-called "barbarian" peoples dwelling on or beyond the Chinese frontiers; the name of a Chinese dynasty
Han Hui: Han Moslems
Ha-sa-k'o (the Kasakhs): a people of Sinkiang
Hoshots: a type of Mongol found in Sinkiang
Hou: behind
Hou-fang (the "Rear"): the "War rear"
Hsi: west
Hsi-po (Sibos): a Tungusic people from Manchuria who in modern times have also been living in Sinkiang
Hsia: down; a pass; summer
Hsia-wo: "summer nest" of the Altai Mongols
Hsiao: small; little
Hsiao P'ai Chang: a Second Lieutenant
Hsien: a county
Hsin: new
Hsiung-nu: a nomadic dweller of Mongolia and Siberia; identified by some as the ancient "Hun"

000 Hui: Moslems; a meeting; a society
Hunanese: Chinese from the province of Hunan; some were brought into Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang
Hung: red
Jōn Gar: Jungars
Jungars (Jōn Gar; Dzungars; Zungars): a branch of the Mongols who dwell in Sinkiang
Kan Hui: "Mohammedans of Kansu"
K'ang-chan Chien-kuo ("Resistance and Reconstruction"): the basic program of wartime China
K'ang-chü (Sogdiana): an ancient state of the Chinese Western Regions
Kara-Kasakh: a people found in Sinkiang
Kara-Khitai: a Khitan kingdom set up in the area of Sinkiang about the twelfth century
Kazakhs: nomadic Moslems dwelling in North Sinkiang
Khalkha: so-called Northern Mongols, some of whom dwell in Sinkiang
Khitan: a people whose prince once established the kingdom of Kara-Khitai
"Kinship to Sovietism": one of the Six Great Policies of Sheng Shih-ts'ai
Kirei: said to have been the "purest Turks of all . . ."
Kirgiz: a people known to live in the Pamirs and the T'ien Shan; the legendary Prester John is said to have ruled them in the Middle Ages
Kirgiz-Kazakh: a little-known nomad of Turkestan
Kirkrai: a Soviet institution which gained control of Semipalatinsk trade in 1922
Kirvneshtorg: a Soviet foreign trade agency on the Kirgizia frontier
Ko-erh-k'o-tzu: Khalkha
Ko-lao Hui: Elder Brother Society
Kou: a ditch
Ku: ancient
Kuei-hua: naturalized White Russians dwelling in Sinkiang
Kung: workshop
Kuomintang: the Chinese Nationalist Party, the pre-eminent political organization of modern China
Lao: old
Liang: a tael or Sinkiang dollar
Ling: a mountain range
Lin-shih Pien-fang Tu-pan: Provisional Border Defense Commander, a high military post in Sinkiang held by Sheng Shih-ts'ai
Man: Manchurians, representatives of whom dwell in Sinkiang

Manichaeists: those who believe in the doctrines of Manes and who stress the conflict of Light and Darkness

Meng (Meng-ku): the Mongols

Min-tsu ("race"): a clan of people; a tribe; a nation

Mukden Incident of 1931: the incident of September 18, 1931, when Japanese forces "protecting" the South Manchuria Railway attacked a Chinese garrison near Mukden and mastered the city; this may be termed at least one of the opening incidents, if not the opening incident, of World War II

Nan: south

Nestorian Christianity: the dogma of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century

New Fourth Army: Chinese Communist troops famed as late as 1941 for semi-autonomy in the Anhwei-Kiangsu region of China

Northeast Resist Japan Army from Manchuria: an army from Northeast China, refugee troops of which have played an important role in the New Sinkiang

Northwest Epidemic Prevention Bureau, Chinese: an institution noted as a medical and veterinary pioneer in Northwest China

Northwest Highway Administration, Chinese: the transportation agency which maintains highway control in Northwest China from Szechwan through Kansu

Ölöt Mongols: the so-called Western Mongols who once ruled Turkestan

Orianggai Mongols: a people found in Sinkiang but who mainly dwell in the small nearby territory of Tanu Tuva

Panthay: a Moslem of Yünnan Province in China

"Peace": one of the Six Great Policies of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

Pei: north

Provisional Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang: Lin-shih Pien-fang Tu-pan of Sinkiang

Pu: a league

Pu-lo: a barbarian horde

"Racial Equality": one of the Six Great Policies

Resistance and Reconstruction: K'ang-chan Chien-kuo

San: three

San Min Chu-i: the Three People's Principles—Nationalism, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood—the theoretical foundation of the Chinese National Revolution

Shan: mountain; range

Shang: up

000 Shih: a municipality
Sibsel'soius: a Russian trade organization at Novo-Nikolaevsk in the 1920's
Sibo: Hsi-po
Sinkiang Daily News: the official newspaper of the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration
Sino-Soviet Aviation Company: a Chinese and Russian aviation combine to facilitate Chungking-Moscow air travel
Six Great Policies: these, with the Eight Point Proclamation, have been the theoretical basis of the New Sinkiang
Solon: So-lun
So-lun: Solon
Ta: great; big
Ta Hsia Kuo: Bactria: an ancient state of the Chinese Western Regions
Ta Kung Pao: a semi-independent and authoritative Chinese newspaper
Ta Tu-tu Fu: a political division; important in T'ang times
Ta Yüan: an ancient state of the Chinese Western Regions
Tael: a Sinkiang dollar; a liang
T'a-chi-k'o: the Tajiks
Tajiks: a people dwelling in the Pamirs bordering Sinkiang
T'a-lan-ch'i: the Taranchi
Taranchi: a little-known people of Sinkiang
Tatars (T'a-t'a-erh): a people of mixed Mongol and white blood, now found in Sinkiang and other parts of Central Asia
T'a-t'a-erh: Tatars
T'ai-p'ing Rebellion: a religiously inspired Chinese uprising of the nineteenth century
Three People's Principles: San Min Chu-i
Three-year Plan of Reconstruction: modeled in great measure on the Soviet Five-year Plans, this was instituted in 1937 with Soviet help by Sheng Shih-ts'ai's Sinkiang administration
Torgot Mongols: a type of Mongols found in Sinkiang
Tsung-li: reverent Chinese reference to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "Father" of the Chinese Republic
Tu-tu: a Chinese colonial military governor
T'u-chüeh: a people, possibly of Turkish stock, once inhabiting the Chinese Western Regions
Tu-erh-hu-t'e Pu: a type of Mongol dwelling in Sinkiang
Tu-erh-po-t'e Pu: a type of Mongol dwelling in Sinkiang
Tung: east; winter
Tung-hu: a people of the ancient Chinese frontier

Tung-kan (Chinese Moslems): predominantly of Shensi and Kansu but also to be found in Sinkiang; to be distinguished from the Wei-wu-erh Moslems 000

Tung-wo: "Winter nest" of the Altai Mongols

Tungusic: of or related to the Tungus peoples of Siberia and Manchuria

"Turban Heads": Ch'an-t'ou; a Chinese name for the Wei-wu-erh

Turki: the language, especially Eastern Turki, spoken by the majority of Sinkiang natives

Turkic-Tatar: of or related to the Turks and Tatars

Turks: an Asiatic people who speak Turki or Turkic languages and who dwell predominantly in an area ranging between the Adriatic and the Okhotsk seas

Uighur: a Turkic people powerful in Mongolia and Sinkiang between the third century B.C. and the twelfth century A.D.; possibly the "original" Turks and the "original" dwellers of Sinkiang

Unen Susuktu League: a branch of the Mongols found in Sinkiang

Ural-Altaic: a family of languages with a range from Turki and Mongol to Finno-Ugrian

Uzbek: a people predominantly found in Sinkiang and Russian Turkestan; Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o

Wei-wu-erh: possibly the original inhabitants of Sinkiang and about an 80 per cent majority of the modern population of the province; the Ch'an Hui; Ch'an-t'ou; and possibly the Uighurs

Wen-hua-tzu-chin Hui: Cultural Progress Societies

Wu-sun: an ancient state of the Chinese Western Regions

Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o: the Uzbeks

Ying: an encampment; a fort; a battalion

Ying Chang: a battalion commander

Yu-pu piao: oilcloth notes; a kind of Sinkiang currency

Yüan: a dollar of the Chinese Nationalist Government

Yüeh-chih, Ta: an ancient state of the Chinese Western Regions

Yünnanese: people of the Chinese province of Yünnan

Zungars: the Jungars

Ch'ang-chi: a principal city of North Sinkiang; longitude 87° 30′, latitude 44° 5′ 000
Ch'e-lu Kou: site of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Chen-hsi: Barkol
Ch'eng-tu: capital of the province of Szechwan
Ch'eng-hua (Sharasume): a principal city of North Sinkiang; longitude 88°, latitude 47° 58′
Cherchen (Ch'ieh-mo): a principal city of Southeast Sinkiang; longitude 86°, latitude 38°
Ch'i-chio-ching: a city on the Sinkiang North Road; longitude 91° 58′, latitude 43° 56′
Ch'i-erh Shan: one of the termini for a some 130 mile iron vein in the vicinity of T'a Ch'eng
Ch'i-t'ai: Kitai; Ku Ch'eng-tzu; a city in North Sinkiang; longitude 89° 50′, latitude 44° 3′
Ch'ia-pa Shan: site of a gold mine in the Keriya area
Ch'ia-tzu Wan: site of an oil deposit in the Sui-lai (Manas) region
Ch'iao-li-k'o River: location of a gold mine near Sui-ting
Ch'ieh-mo: Cherchen
Ch'ien Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
Chinese Turkestan: Sinkiang; perhaps more precisely, South Sinkiang
Ching-ho: a town in North Sinkiang; longitude 83° 20′, latitude 44° 40′
Ch'inghai: Kokonor, a province of the Chinese Far West
Chuguchak: T'a Ch'eng; Tarbagatai
Chung Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
Chungking: the wartime capital of Nationalist China
Ch'ü-chiang: Shao-kuan; Shaokwan; Shao-chou; Shuichow; a prominent city in Kwangtung Province still held by Nationalist China
Clear Rock Gorge: not far from T'a Ch'eng
Dolon Nor: a prominent city of Inner Mongolia; longitude 116° 30′, latitude 42° 10′
Dzungaria: Jungaria
E-erh-ch'i-ssu River: a river of North Sinkiang
Feng-t'ien: Mukden
Fou-k'ang: a town in North Sinkiang; longitude 88° 5′, latitude 44° 10′
Fu-yüan: a town in North Sinkiang; longitude 88° 30′, latitude 44°
Ha-erh-han-t'u Shan: site of copper deposits near I-ning
Ha-hsiung Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
Ha-man Kou: a coal mine near Karashahr
Ha-mi (Qomul): a prominent city of Eastern Sinkiang; longitude 93° 50′, latitude 42° 40′

A SELECTED LIST OF PLACE NAMES

000 With estimates of longitude and latitude based on Ting, V. K., Wong, Wen-hao, and Tseng, Shih-ying, *Chung-kuo Fen Sheng Hsin T'u* (Shen Pao, Shanghai, 1936)

A Shan: the Altai Mountains of North Sinkiang; A Shan Ch'ü; Altaiskii okrug

A Shan Ch'ü: the A Shan Region of Sinkiang; Altaiskii okrug; one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang

A-erh-t'ai: the Altai Mountains

A-ha-mai-ti Mountain: site of an iron vein near Yangi Hissar

A-ha-ma-k'o Shan: site of a gold mine in the Keriya area

A-k'o-su: Aqsu

Altai, the: a mountain range in North Sinkiang

An-chi Hai, Lake: about 86 miles from Manas and site of a large oil field

An-chiu-an-chia: one of the termini for a copper deposit northwest of Kashgar

An-hsi: a principal city of Northwest Kansu; longitude 96°, latitude 40° 30′

Anhwei: a province in Eastern China

Aqsu: A-k'o-su: a principal city of Sinkiang; longitude 80°, latitude 41°

Aqsu Ch'ü: the Aqsu Region of Sinkiang; the Aksuiskii okrug; one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang

Baboon Pass: Hsing-hsing Hsia

Bai: Pai Ch'eng

Barkol (Chen-hsi): a principal city of North Sinkiang; longitude 93°, latitude 43° 30′

Big Yellow Mountain: site of a coal mine near Fou-k'ang

Bishbalik: an ancient Uighur capital near, or in, present-day Tihwa

Black Oil Mountain: near T'a Ch'eng; site of nine "oil springs"

Bogdo-ola: a mountain region near Turfan

Borotala Valley: between Tihwa and I-ning

Burma Road: the rail and road communications line from Rangoon through Lashio and K'unming to Chungking

Canton: a prominent city of Kwangtung Province

Ch'a Kung: site of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng

Ch'a-han-a-t'eng: site of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng

Ch'a-han-wu-su: site of a coal mine in Ch'ang-chi county

Ch'ahar: a province in Northeast China

Chai-o-pao: site of six copper deposits east of Tihwa

000 Ha-mi Ch'ü: the Ha-mi Region; Komul'skii okrug (Khami); one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang
Ha-t'u Shan: near the site of a major Sinkiang gold deposit which is to be found between the T'a-erh-ta-mu-t'u and the Su-erh-t'u rivers
Han-k'ou: Hankow
Hankow (Han-k'ou): a prominent city in Central China
Heavenly Mountains: the T'ien Shan
Heilungkiang: a province of Northeast China; part of Manchuria
Ho-se-erh T'ung Ch'ang: site of a copper works in the Pai Ch'eng area
Ho-t'ien: Khotan
Hou Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
Hsi Hsin Yüeh Kung: site of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Hsi Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
Hsi Yü: the Western Regions; the ancient Chinese name for an area that included the territory in which modern Sinkiang is found
Hsi-k'ang: Sik'ang
Hsi-ning: Sining
Hsia T'ung Ch'ang: a copper works in the Yen-ti Kou area of Pai Ch'eng
Hsiao Lan-chou Wan: a gold mine site near T'a Ch'eng
Hsiao Liu Kou: a bituminous coal deposit near Barkol
Hsin-chiang: a transliteration of the Chinese name for Sinkiang
Hsin T'ung Ch'ang: a copper works in the mountains of Kucha
Hsing-hsing Hsia: a prominent border terminal point on the Sinkiang-Kansu highway
Hui-yüan: a city in the I-li Ch'ü of Sinkiang
Hunan: a province of Central China
Hung Miao-ssu: the Red Temple; another Chinese name for Tihwa
Hupeh: a province of Central China
I-ho: one of three Sinkiang counties formed from the old Moslem principality of Qomul
I-ko-jih-ya-yen Mountain: near Yangi Hissar and site of an iron vein
I-li: Sui-ting; Kuldja; a chief city in North Sinkiang; longitude 81°, latitude 44° 5′
I-li Ch'ü: the I-li Region; Iliskii okrug (Ili); one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang
I-ning: Ning-yüan; a city of North Sinkiang; longitude 81° 30′, latitude 43° 57′
Inner Mongolia: roughly the provinces of Ch'ahar, Suiyüan, and Ningsia in the Chinese Northwest
I-wu: one of three Sinkiang counties formed from the old Moslem principality of Qomul

Jehol: a province of Northeast China

Jungaria: Dzungaria or Zungaria; named for the Mongol Jön Gars; the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai Mountains, i.e., North Sinkiang

K'a-la-pa-erh-ka-hsün Mountain: Kara Balgasun Mountain

K'ai-yüan: in Liaoning, Manchuria; birthplace of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

Kan-chu-t'e: an old principality claimed by China; the site of the present Gilgit Agency and Hunza Valley of modern Northwest India

"Kanjut": Kan-chu-t'e

Kansu: a province in Northwest China

K'an-chi-kang: a coal mine in the vicinity of Kashgar

K'an-chü-t'i: Kan-chu-t'e

K'ang-shan: site of a Sinkiang copper deposit

Kara Balgasun Mountain: near Turfan; site of an iron vein

Kara Shar: Karashahr

Karashahr: Kara Shar; Yen-ch'i; Yenki; a city of Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 87°, latitude 42°

Karghalik: Yeh Ch'eng; a city of Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 77° 40′, latitude 38°

Kashgar: Su-fu; in Southwest Sinkiang; the largest oasis of Chinese Turkestan; longitude 76°, latitude 39° 45′

Kashgaria: a general term, possibly approximating the present K'o-shih Ch'ü

Keriya (Yü-t'ien): a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 81° 50′, latitude 37°

Khotan (Ho-t'ien): a prominent oasis of Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 79° 59′, latitude 37° 4′

Khotan Ch'ü (the Khotan Region; Khotanskii okrug; Khetian): one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang

Kiangsu: a coastal province of Eastern China

Kirin: a province of Northeast China; part of Manchuria

Kitai: Ch'i-t'ai; Ku Ch'eng-tzu

K'o-pu-to: Kobdo

Kobdo: a chief city of a Mongolian region of the same name

Kokonor: Ch'inghai

Ko-ko-ya Mountain: a coal site in Shan-shan county

Korla (K'u-erh-lo; Kurla): a city in South Sinkiang; longitude 86° 57′, latitude 41° 50′

K'o-kan-ch'ia: a coal and iron site north of Aqsu

K'o-la-t'a-fu-pan: one of the termini of a some 130-mile iron vein in the vicinity of T'a Ch'eng

OOO K'o-la-ya-lun field: an oil field north of Kucha
K'o-p'ing: site of a coal mine near Pai Ch'eng
K'o-shih: Kashgar; Su-fu
K'o-shih Ch'ü (K'o-shih Region): possibly approximating Kashgaria; Kashgarskii okrug (Kashi); the region of Southwesternmost Sinkiang; one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang
K'o-shih-k'o-k'o-pa-shih Shan: site of an iron deposit northeast of Pai Ch'eng
K'o-t'a T'ung Ch'ang: a copper works in the Pai Ch'eng area
Ku Ch'eng-tzu: Ch'i-t'ai
Kuan-t'an-yao: site of a bituminous coal mine of the Barkol area
Kucha (K'u-ch'e): a city of South Sinkiang
Kuei-sui: a prominent city in the Chinese province of Suiyüan
Kuldja: Sui-ting; I-li
Kung Po T'ung Ch'ang: a copper deposit in the Pai Ch'eng area
Kurla: Korla
K'u-ch'e: Kucha
K'u-erh-lo: Korla
K'u-erh-tai Shan: site of a thin copper vein near Karashahr
K'u-k'o-ts'ang Mountain: anthracite coal is found here in the Tarbagatai Range near T'a Ch'eng
K'unlun Mountains: a range dividing Sinkiang and Tibet
K'unming: capital of Yünnan Province in Southwest China
Kwangtung: a province in South China
La-sa: Lhasa
Ladakh (Ladok): a British outpost for Northwest India-South Sinkiang trade
Ladok: Ladakh
Lan-chou: capital of the province of Kansu in Northwest China
Lao Nan Kung: site of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Lao Tung Kung: site of another gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Lao T'ung Ch'ang: a copper mine in the mountains of Kucha
Lhasa (La-sa): chief city of Tibet
Liaoning: a province in Northeast China; part of Manchuria
Little Yellow Mountain: location of a coal mine near Fou-k'ang
Ma-la-shui: location of a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Ma-li-li-k'o Shan: site of an oil field south of Wen-hsü
Manas (Sui-lai): a city in North Sinkiang; longitude 86° 50′, latitude 44° 15′
"Manchoukuo": the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria

Manchuria: the Chinese Three Eastern Provinces—Heilungkiang, Kirin, and Liaoning 000

Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u): a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 78° 20′, latitude 39° 50′

Meng-k'o-t'u Ling: site of an iron vein in Ch'ang-chi county

Middle Kingdom: China

Ming-pu-la-k'o Shan: location of an iron deposit northeast of Pai Ch'eng

Mongolia: the Meng-ku Ti-fang of North China; the land of the Mongols; roughly comprising Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, and Tanu Tuva

Mukden (Shen-yang; Feng-t'ien): a chief city of Liaoning Province in Northeast China

Nanking: former capital of the Chinese National Government; now held by the Japanese and administered ostensibly by the puppet government of Wang Ching-wei

Neng-li-ha-t'a Shan: location of an iron deposit northeast of Pai Ch'eng

"New Dominion, The": Hsin-chiang; Sinkiang

Ningsia: a province in Northwest China

Ning-yüan: I-ning

Outer Mongolia: roughly that part of Mongolia which is now administered as the "Outer Mongolian People's Republic" and which has historically been the home of the Khalkha Mongols

"Outer Mongolian People's Republic": the present Russian sponsored soviet state in Outer Mongolia

Pa-ch'u: Maralbashi

Pai Ch'eng; Bai: a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 81° 58′, latitude 41° 50′

Pan-tang Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains

Pei-p'ing: Peking

Peking (Pei-p'ing): a city of Hopei Province; a former capital of China

Po-lo-t'ung-ko: a Manas oil field

Pu-erh-ching: a city in North Sinkiang; longitude 87°, latitude 47° 40′

Qara Shahr: Karashahr

Qomul: Ha-mi

Sa-pa-t'i-k'o: a coal mine in the mountains north of Yangi Hissar

San-chio Shan: site of rich Sinkiang copper findings northeast of Ta-pan Ch'eng

San-t'ang Hu: site of a bituminous coal mine in the Barkol area

San-tao Mountains: location of coal mines near Ha-mi

San-tao Pa: a region in North Sinkiang near Tihwa

Sariquol: in Southwest Sinkiang; home of the Tajiks

Shan-shan: in South Sinkiang; longitude 90° 30′, latitude 43°

000 Shang T'ung Ch'ang: a Pai Ch'eng copper deposit
Shang-wo-p'u Oil Shaft: an oil site southwest of So-ch'e
Shansi: a province in North China
Shao-chou: Ch'ü-chiang
Shao-kuan: Ch'ü-chiang
Shaokwan: Ch'ü-chiang
Sharasume: Ch'eng-hua
Shen-yang: Mukden
Shensi: a province of North China
Shih-yü Yen: a Manas oil field
Shui-hsi Kou: site of an iron vein about 65 miles from Fu-yüan
Shui-mo Kou: a coal mine in the Tihwa area
Shuichow: Ch'ü-chiang
Sik'ang: a province in the Chinese Far West
Sining: the capital of Ch'inghai Province
Sinkiang: Hsin-chiang; the "New Dominion"; Chinese Turkestan; Zapadnyi Kitai; Chinese Central Asia; the Northwesternmost province of China
So-ch'e: Yarkand
Ssu-pen Kou: an oil field about 13 miles west of Tihwa
Su-erh-ko Ling: site of an iron vein southeast of Sui-ting
Su-erh-t'u River: one of the termini for placer gold findings near T'a Ch'eng
Su-fu: Kashgar
Su-hun Shan: site of a copper deposit west of Kashgar
Su-lo: a town in Southwest Sinkiang near Kashgar; longitude 76° 5′, latitude 39° 40′
Su-pa-yi: a coal mine in the mountains north of Kucha
Su-pa-shih T'ung Ch'ang: a copper mine in the mountains north of Kucha
Su-ta-chang: an oil field some 17 miles east of Tihwa
Suchow: a town in Northwest Kansu; longitude 98° 30′, latitude 39° 40′
Sui-lai: Manas
Sui-ting: I-li; Kuldja
Sui-tung: site of a Sinkiang gold mine (Sui-ting?)
Suiyüan: a province in Northwest China
Szechwan: a province in Western China
Ta Lan-chou Wan: a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
T'a Ch'eng (Tarbagatai; Chuguchak): a prominent Chinese city near the Sinkiang-Soviet border; longitude 83° 10′, latitude 46° 30′
T'a Ch'eng Ch'ü (T'a Ch'eng Region; Tarbagataiskii okrug): one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang

T'a-erh-ch'i Shan: site of an iron deposit northeast of Pai Ch'eng 000
T'a-erh-pa-ka-t'ai: Tarbagatai
T'a-erh-ta-mu-t'u River: one of the termini for placer gold findings near T'a Ch'eng
T'a-la-k'o: a coal mine near Pai Ch'eng
T'a-na-k'o: an oil field northeast of Wen-hsü
T'a-pan Ch'eng: the site of an iron vein in North Sinkiang
Takla Makan: the Takla Makan Desert of South Sinkiang
Tarbagatai: T'a Ch'eng; Chuguchak
Tarim: the Tarim River and the Tarim Basin of South Sinkiang
Tihwa (Urumchi; Wu-lu-mu-ch'i; Hung Miao-ssu): the capital city of Sinkiang Province; longitude 87° 53′, latitude 43° 56′
Tihwa Ch'ü: the Tihwa Region; one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang
T'i-li-k'o Shan: site of a coal mine near Pai Ch'eng
Tibet (Hsi-ts'ang): a frontier territory in the Chinese Far West over which China asserts suzerainty
T'ieh-pen-erh-k'o-la-pu-la-k'o: site for coal and iron deposits north of Aqsu
Tientsin: a city of Hopei Province in Northeast China
T'ien Shan Mountains (the Heavenly Mountains): a range bisecting Sinkiang from west to east
T'ien-shan-nan-lu: the so-called Road South of the Heavenly Mountains or South Sinkiang
T'ien-shan-pei-lu: the so-called Road North of the Heavenly Mountains or North Sinkiang
T'o-k'o-hsün: Toqsun
Toksun: Toqsun
Toqsun (T'o-k'o-hsün; Toksun): a city on the Sinkiang South Road; longitude 89° 30′, latitude 42° 48′
T'ou-t'un Ch'ang: a coal mine near Tihwa
T'ou-t'un Ho: site of a coal mine in Ch'ang-chi county
Tsaidam: the wastelands of Western Ch'inghai
Ts'ang-huang Kou: a coal mine near Tihwa
Tsao-li-ya-k'o: a gold mine near Keriya
Tu-lan: a city in Ch'inghai; longitude 98° 15′, latitude 36° 59′
T'u-lu-fan: Turfan
Tu-tzu Shan: site of an oil field southeast of Wu-su county
Tun-huang: a town in Northwest Kansu; longitude 94° 55′, latitude 40° 5′
Tung Hsin Yüeh Kung: a gold mine near T'a Ch'eng
Tung Kou: a gold mine in the Altai Mountains
T'ung-ku P'o: a Manas oil field

000 Turfan; T'u-lu-fan: a town in South Sinkiang; longitude 89°, latitude 43°
Ulan Bator (Urga): capital of the "Outer Mongolian People's Republic"
Uliasutai (Wu-li-ya-su-t'ai): a city in Outer Mongolia
Urumchi: Tihwa
Wen-hsü: a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 79° 58′, latitude 41° 20′
"Western China": Zapadnyi Kitai
Western Regions: Hsi Yü
Wu-erh-t'eng: an outpost of Western Ch'inghai; longitude 91°, latitude 37° 53′
Wu-la-k'o Shan: one of the termini for a copper vein northwest of Kashgar
Wu-lan-wu-su River: a copper vein is found along its course northwest of Kashgar
Wu-li-ya-su-t'ai: Uliasutai
Wu-lu-mu-ch'i: Urumchi; Tihwa
Wu-su: a town in North Sinkiang; longitude 85°, latitude 44° 30′
Wu-ts'ung-tao Shan: site of copper findings near Sui-ting
Ya-ha-a-li-tu-ko-erh Mountain: location of the Shang T'ung Ch'ang copper deposit
Ya-hsiang-pa: a coal mine near Pai Ch'eng
Ya-se-li-min Shan: site of an iron deposit northeast of Pai Ch'eng
Yangi Hissar (Ying-chi-sha): a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 76° 3′, latitude 39°
Yarkand (So-ch'e): a city in Southwest Sinkiang; longitude 77° 40′, latitude 38° 50′
Yeh Ch'eng: Karghalik
Yen-ch'i: Karashahr
Yen-ch'i Ch'ü (Yen-ch'i Region): one of the nine major administrative divisions of Sinkiang
Yen-ti Kou: site of the Hsia T'ung Ch'ang copper deposit of Pai Ch'eng
Yenki: Yen-ch'i; Karashahr
Ying-chi-sha: Yangi Hissar
Yu-mo-chiang Shan: site of a gold mine near Keriya
Yü-t'ien: Keriya
Yünnan: a province of Southwest China
Zapadnyi Kitai ("Western China"): a Russian name for Sinkiang
Zungaria: Jungaria

A SELECTED LIST OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Chang Chi-luan: the late editor of the *Ta Kung Pao*
Chang Ch'ien: Han Dynasty emissary to the Hsi Yü
Chao Lieh: Chinese authority on the New Sinkiang
Chao, Samuel: Chinese journalist who has traveled widely in the northwestern provinces of his country
Ch'en Chi-jung: Ta Kung Pao correspondent who has recently had extensive travel experience in Sinkiang
Ch'en Chung: elected as a member of the Sinkiang Provincial Maintenance Committee at the time of the "Four-Twelve" Affair
Ch'en Li-fu: Chinese Minister of Education
Cheng Jun-ch'eng: leader of Manchurian refugee troops who were instrumental in putting down the Sinkiang Moslem insurrection of the 1930's
Ch'eng Shao-chung: Chinese authority on animal husbandry matters
Chiang Chün-chang: author of a comprehensive Chinese study concerning Sinkiang
Chiang Kai-shek: Generalissimo and President of China
Chin Shu-hsin: son of Chin Shu-jen, former Sinkiang Military Governor; Chin Shu-hsin was shot as a consequence of the "Four-Twelve" Affair
Chin Shu-jen: former Sinkiang Military Governor; sentenced to imprisonment by Nanking for unlawful conduct while in office
Fan Yao-nan: assassin of Yang Tseng-hsin, July 7, 1928
Gabitov: a Soviet authority on Sinkiang
Galdan: Khan of the Ölöts when they ruled Sinkiang
Genghis Khan: Mongol leader of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries
Haushofer, Dr. Karl: leader of the German school of geopolitics
Hedin, Sven: noted explorer and writer
Jagatai: second son of Genghis Khan
Kao Hsien-chih: led a Chinese army through Sinkiang as far as Gilgit in 747
Khoja Niaz: a prominent military leader during the Sinkiang Moslem uprising of the 1930's
Kuo Sung-ling: a prominent war lord of Northeast China who befriended Sheng Shih-ts'ai
Li Ken-yüan: an old time Yünnan militarist-revolutionary who had charge of a famous military academy in Kwangtung Province
Li Kuang-t'ing: a Chinese authority who has prepared a map of the Hsi Yü of Han times

000 Liu Mien-t'ang: a nineteenth century Chinese colonist of Sinkiang
Liu Sheng-shi: Director of the Chinese Northwest Epidemic Prevention Bureau
Liu Wen-lung: Sinkiang Commissioner of Education in 1933
Lo Chia-lun: former Chancellor of the Chinese National Central University and more recently Special Commissioner of the Chinese Control Yüan for Sinkiang Province
Lu Chan-pin: Chinese Consul-General at Semipalatinsk in 1927
Lu Hsüeh-tsu: Sinkiang Province General Secretary in the 1930's
Ma Chung-ying: leader of the Moslem uprising in Sinkiang, 1931-1934
Ma Pu-ch'ing: Moslem leader in Northwest China; appointed Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches in July, 1942
Ma Shih-ming: a leader of the Sinkiang Moslem uprising of the 1930's
Nazaroff: a White refugee from Soviet Central Asia who has recorded his impressions concerning the closing of the Sinkiang frontier in the 1920's
Pai Yü-hsiu: a Sinkiang notable of the 1930's
Pan Ch'ao: a general who extended Han Dynasty rule widely in Central Asia
Prester John: a legendary, perhaps actual, ruler of the Kirgiz people in the Middle Ages
Qutaiba: a Turkish military leader of the eighth century
Rabdan: the leader of the Jön Gar; a nephew of Galdan, Khan of the Ölöts
Shen Hung-lich: Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry
Sheng Shih-chi: brother of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Sinkiang representative on the National Political Council of China
Sheng Shih-ts'ai: Concurrent Chairman and Provisional Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang
Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Mrs.: the wife of the Sinkiang Chairman; administrator of a girls' middle school in Sinkiang
Sun Yat-sen: the "Father" of the Chinese Republic
Sung Yün: a Manchu Dynasty general who furthered irrigation developments around present Sui-ting
T'ao Ming-yüeh: a Sinkiang notable of the 1930's
Tien Shen-chi: a Secretary of the Semipalatinsk Consulate in 1928
Tseng Yang-fu: Chinese Minister of Communications
Tso Tsung-t'ang: Manchu military leader who put down the Sinkiang rebellion of Yakub Beg in the 1870's
Ts'ui Chao-chi, Commander: a Sinkiang military leader in the 1930's
Tu Chung-yüan: a one-time Chancellor of Education of the New Sinkiang and a biographer of Sheng Shih-ts'ai
Wang Ching-wei: puppet ruler of Japanese Occupied Central China

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Wong Wen-hao: Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs

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Wu, Aitchen K.: one-time official of Sinkiang and author of a study of the New Sinkiang

Wu Chai-hsing: Chaucer H. Wu

Wu, Chaucer H.: a British educated Chinese; appointed Sinkiang Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in 1942

Yakub Beg: leader of a Moslem revolt in Sinkiang in the late nineteenth century

Yang Hsüeh-yüan: a Sinkiang notable of the 1930's

Yang Tseng-hsin: Military Governor of Sinkiang, 1912-1928

Yang Tsuan-hsü: a Hupeh revolutionary once prominent in the Sui-ting area

Yulbaz: a Moslem prominent in the Sinkiang revolt of the 1930's

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF SOME CHINESE DATES

(By dynastic, period, and reign dates)

~~Han~~ Dynasty B.C. 206-220 A.D.
Sui Dynasty 589-618
    Wen Ti 589-604
T'ang Dynasty 618-907
    Hsüan Tsung 713-756
Sung Dynasty 960-1280
Ming Dynasty 1368-1644
Ta Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty 1644-1912
    K'ang Hsi 1662-1722
    Yung Cheng 1723-1735
    Ch'ien Lung 1736-1795
    Chia Ch'ing 1796-1820
    Tao Kuang 1821-1850
    Hsien Feng 1851-1861
    T'ung Chih 1862-1874
    Kuang Hsü 1875-1907
    Hsüan T'ung 1908-1912
The Republic 1912-

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REFERENCE NOTES

(Listed by page number according to occurrence in the text)

30. *Chinese News Service*, October 5, 23, November 27, 1943; January 10, 19, February 3, 4, 16, 1944; *Kuo Min Wai Chiao*, I, 1 (January, 1943), p. 43; Samuel Chao, "China's Northwest Revitalized," *China at War*, XI, 2 (August, 1943); Li Yao-san, "K'en-min Tao Hsin-chiang Ch'ü-liao," *I-shih Pao*, September 22 (?), 1943. The author is indebted to William L. Holland, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York City, for use of this last-named source. The author here wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Holland also for the use of certain other materials. These include: Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *Ta Kung Pao*, November 15-16, 1942; "Hsi-pei K'ai-fa Sheng Chung Chih Hsin-chiang Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi," *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*, VIII, 5 (November, 1942); Lu Ko, "Hsin Hsin-chiang ti Chang-ch'eng: Sheng Shih-chi Hsien-sheng Fang-wen Chi," *Shang-wu Jih-pao*, November 10, 1942; and Tung Ching-kua, "Hsi-pei chih Sheng: Wu Sheng Ts'an-cheng-yüan T'an-hua; Chien-she Wan Tuan Chiao-t'ung Ti-i," *I-shih Pao*, October 22, 1942. Y. Y. Hsu, also of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has made a rough abstract of material from the four last named clippings, and the author has consulted that abstract as well as the original material. Holland has also made available two additional clippings: "Hsin-chiang Feng-ching Hsien," *Hsin Shu Pao*, September 12, 1943; and "Ti-hua T'ung-hsün," *Sao Tang Pao*, September 16, 1943; and he has permitted the author to consult Samuel Ming-chiu Chao's unpublished manuscript entitled, *China's Northwest* (dated Chungking, September 15, 1940). 000

32. There are apparently no definitive figures on the area of Sinkiang Province, and the various estimates have ranged from 400,000 to well over 700,000 square miles. Similarly, estimates of the Sinkiang population have differed—running from as low as one to as high as six million persons. The *China Handbook 1937-1943 A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War* (Ministry of Information of the Republic of China, compilers, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1943, pp. 1 and 2) offers a 1938 figure of 1,828,418 square kilometers (which converts roughly into 131 161

131 705,953 square miles) for the area, and a 1933 figure of 4,360,020 for the population of the province. In 1939 Owen Lattimore judged the Sinkiang area to be *"of the order of"*
161 600,000 square miles and the Sinkiang population *"of the order of"* 3,500,000 persons. *Vide: Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (American Geographical Society, Research Series No. 21, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 10-11.

Since the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power, however, the Sinkiang people speak locally of their population as "four million persons." Cf. Tu Chung-yüan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai yü Hsin Hsin-chiang*, fourth edition, Chungking [etc.], Life Book Company, 1939, p. 54; and Chao Lieh, "Hsin-chiang chin Ching-lu," *Kuei-lin Ta Kung Pao*, September 8, 1941. The present writer accepts the figure from the latter two sources as a rough, but probably sound estimate for today. So far as area is concerned, moreover, he is inclined to agree with the figure of 550,579 square miles offered for Chinese Turkestan by *The China Year Book, 1934* (H. G. W. Woodhead, editor, Shanghai, The North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd.), p. 2.

The China Year Book, 1934 gives 38,610 square miles as the area and 896 as the population per square mile of Kiangsu Province. In contrast, the population density of Sinkiang (on the basis of a 4,000,000 provincial total) would be slightly less than some eight persons per square mile. If one accepted figures of the *China Handbook 1937-1943*, the Sinkiang population density could even be calculated at a smaller amount, some six persons per square mile!

For other useful information on this general subject, cf. especially Council of International Affairs, *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39 Issue* (Commercial Press, Chungking), p. 12; Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsin-chiang Ching-ying Lun* (third edition, China, Cheng Chung Book Company, 1939), p. 51; and Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *The China Year Book, 1934*, pp. 80-81. The author wishes to remark at this point that he is indebted considerably to the last article for its concisely summarized facts regarding the land, people, and early history of Sinkiang.

000 32. For information on the terrain of Sinkiang and concerning the designations which Chinese have formerly used for the area, *vide* Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 5, and 9; Owen Lattimore *High Tartary* (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1930), pp. 34-35; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, especially his "Outline Map of Sinkiang;" *vide* also V. K. Ting, Wong Wen-hao, and Tseng Shih-ying, *Chung-kuo Fen Sheng Hsin T'u* (Shen Pao, Shanghai, 1936), pp. 54-55.

33. Cf. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, especially pp. 172-173; and *vide* Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia* (Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 57-59, 79-83, 105, 108, 109, 145, 196, and 245.

34. The iron bridge, witnessed by the author while he was in Lan-chou, 1939-1940, bears a sign reading: "1909 Telce & Schroeter Tientsin 1909 American Bridge Co., New York U.S.A. 1908 1907."

It has been the fashion for writers on this subject to refer to the Chinese characters for Sinkiang (*Hsin-chiang*) in English as "The New Dominion." *Vide*, for example, Peter Fleming, *News From Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 29, note 1. However, a literal translation of the characters involved can furnish material for lively academic debate. The character *hsin*, ordinarily translated as "new," is made up of the following component parts: *li* (a man standing erect over the earth), *mu* (a tree), and *chin* (an ax with a splinter underneath). The character *chiang*, ordinarily referred to in this case as "dominion," is made up of the following parts: *t'u* (earth), *kung* (a bow), and *chiang* (a character which in itself can be substituted for the *chiang* in question, and one which depicts two partitioned

fields and which may be roughly interpreted as a boundary). On the basis of this information the author hazards the guess that the character *hsin* designates "a man cutting wood" and that it has extensions such as "to get fuel," "to get wood," "to repair," "to renew," "to make new," and finally "new." So far as the character *chiang* is concerned, it would seem to represent the idea of "boundary." On this groundwork, there is some justification for translating *Hsin-chiang* as the "New Boundary" or, perhaps, the "New Frontier." However, these translations need not by any means be considered definitive, for the subject has been given only fragmentary attention here and is deserving of a much more detailed analysis. 000

The author has tasted the Ha-mi melon in dried form at Lan-chou. Tu Chung-yüan mentions the large size rice kernel and the excellent Turfan grapes. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

34-36. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-108; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 81; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51. In regard to the figure on the Tihwa population, cf. *Chinese News Service*, November 10, 1943, and Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 81. For the Kashgar data, *vide* Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, p. 157, note 12 citing Fernand Grenard, *Haute Asie*, Geographie Universelle, vol. VIII (Paris, 1929), pp. 319, 321; also *vide The China Year Book, 1931*, p. 42; and Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

36-37. Etherton, *loc. cit.* Edward Murray, "With the Nomads of Central Asia," *The National Geographic Magazine*, LXIX, 1 (January, 1936), p. 3; Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions* (translated by Anna Barwell, London, George Allen and Unwin Limited), p. 42.

38-40. The biographical information is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-38.

40-43. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71. Cf. Sven Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse" the Trail of War in Central Asia* (translated by F. H. Lyon, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1936), pp. 2-6, 240-247; and Ella K. Maillart, *Forbidden Journey—From Peking to Kashmir*—(translated from the French by Thomas McGreevy, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1937), pp. 196, 21[illegible]-219. The quotation on page 43 is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

[illegible]din, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 12-15, 17, 25, 40, 46-47, 55, 58, 110, [illegible] 140, 158-160, 170, 180, 213, 240-243, 245-247.

[illegible] *vide infra*, pp. 103-122.

46. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72. *Vide ibid.*, p. 72, for the Eight Point Proclamation.

47. The Six Great Policies are named in Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 73; the quotation is from the same page reference.

48. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

48-49. This, admittedly, touches on the fringe of the so-called "extreme" or "romantic;" and when sophisticates have related these tales, eyes have twinkled all too knowingly. *Vide* Peter Fleming, *News From Tartary*, p. 261; Maillart, *Forbidden Journey*, pp. 218-223; and cf. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

49. For references in regard to the ancient *Hsi Yü* or Western Regions, *vide* Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-18. Cf. also Charles Y. Hu, *The Historical Occupany and Economic Prospect of the Tarim Basin* (Master's thesis in Geography, Deposited at the University of California, Berkeley, February, 1936), especially "A List of Ancient King-

000 doms in the Western Regions and their Corresponding localities at the present, as found in the Han Annals," pp. 67-68.

49. The quotation is from Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, pp. 170-171. *Vide* also Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10, 18, 25.

49-50. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27, 32-37, 41-45; Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia* (two vols., Hutchinson and Company, London, 1914), II, pp. 356-357, 383, 384, 386-387; Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Tures) occidentaux*. Sbornik trud'ov orkhonskoi ekspeditsii, VI (St. Petersburg), p. 151; F. L. Hawks-Pott, *A Sketch of Chinese History* (Kelly & Walsh, Limited, Shanghai, 1915), p. 107; Sven Hedin, *Riddles of the Gobi Desert* (translated from the Swedish by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier, E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1933), pp. 65-69; Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 38, 225-226; *idem*, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-87; C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), p. 59.

51-53. Tsarist advances: *Vide* Warren Maxfeld Engstrand, *The Kuldja Affair and Its Significance in Sino-Russian Relations* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Deposited, University of California, Berkeley, 1933), for the story of this period. Cf. Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 225-226. British activities: The Forsyth Mission of 1873-1874 "bore a letter and presents from Queen Victoria herself to the 'Amir' Yakub Beg, Bedaulat of Kashgar," Skrine, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 62, 65. *Vide* also *ibid.*, pp. 4, 19-21. Cf. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75. *K'an-chü-t'i* is identified by another Chinese writer as a feudatory and as having become part of China ("attached to the interior") in 1764. He, curiously enough, nevertheless classifies it as a feudatory of both England and China. Ch'ien Shih-fu, *Chung-kuo Ti Shih Ti* (Min-t'uan Chou-k'an She, Nanning, 1939), pp. 5, 6, 7. For one of the clearest of modern statements from a British official in regard to his country's policy toward Sinkiang *vide* Sir Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (London, Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1937), pp. 191-192. Last Manchu efforts: Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 69-70; I. E. Gabitov, "La situation économique du Turquestan Chinois," *Novyi Vostok (Nouvel Orient)*, 8-9 (1925), pp. 30-31.

53-54. The convenience factor: Joseph Castagné, "Le problème du Turkestan chinois (Sin-Kiang)," *Revue des études islamiques*, 1933, II, pp. 164-165. It is worthwhile to note that the distances Ch'en Chi-jung gives for more recently constructed truck roads passing between some of the same termini mentioned by M. Castagné seem considerably longer. *Vide*, in passing, the chapter on "Reconstruction" *infra* under "Road transportation." Note also the mention by Skrine in 1926 that the highest pass on "the Indo-Central Asian trade" route is 18,550 feet above sea level. *Loc. cit.*, p. 4. Fleming says the Chichiklik is the "biggest" of the Pamir passes and "some" 15,000 feet high. The Mintaka Pass, 'the Pass of a Thousand Ibex," at the "extremest boundary of China," writes Fleming, is 15,600 feet above sea level; *loc. cit.*, pp. 339, 352.

54-55. Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Gabitov, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27-29, 30-31, 35; and United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, "Troubles of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway," *Russian Economic Notes*, No. 88 (September 19, 1930), p. 3. It was decided to construct the line on December 3, 1926. The length of the line, as cited in 1931, was 926 miles (1,481 kilometers). *The China Year Book 1931*, p. 42. *Vide* also P. Vostokov, "L'U.R.S.S., la Mongolie extérieure et le Sin Kiang," *Le Monde Slave*, 1936, II (June), pp. 448 and 457, for the Sinkiang-Soviet trade position in 1930. Various testimony as to signature of the 1931 Sinkiang-Soviet agreement is available in Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 69; Doctor Cherbakoff,

"In Kashgar, December, 1927, to October, 1931," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XX (1933), IV, pp. 541-542; Sir Eric Teichman, "Chinese Turkestan," *ibid.*, XXIII (1936), IV, p. 571; and Castagné, *loc. cit.*, p. 173 *inter alia*. 000

55. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 73, and 74, as well as 83 note 16 (citing a text from the *Shen Pao Year Book*, 1934). Cf. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, p. 195 and note 73, who indicates "the Chinese" obtained arms from the British in India.

56. *Vide infra*, pp. 71-72.

56-57. Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79; Heinz Soffner, "The Axis and the Moslem World A New Problem for America," *Amerasia* (April 25, 1943, Spring Issue), pp. 80-89.

57-58. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 61. An English language text of the Sino-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression is to be found in the *New York Times*, August 30, 1937.

58. For pledges of the All-Sinkiang Congress *vide* "Hsin-chiang Ti-san-tz'u Ch'üan Sheng Tai-piao Ta-hui," *Meng-Ts'ang Yüeh-k'an*, IX, No. 2 (October 31, 1938), pp. 1-4. Pertinent reference to the "Anglo-Americans" is to be found in the *Sinkiang Daily News*, December 17, 1939, and October 4, 1940.

59. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 74; cf. Chao Lieh, "Hsin-chiang Chin Ching-lu," *loc. cit.* This two-part feature is dated Kao-lan, August 20, 1941.

60-62. Early Soviet-Sinkiang trade (1918-1920): Gabitov, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27, 35. The closing of the Chinese frontier: P. S. Nazaroff, *Hunted Through Central Asia* (Edinburgh, London, 1932), especially pp. 228-262; cf. Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 66. The 1920 agreement: Castagné, *loc. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

62-63. Gabitov, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28, 32-33, 35-36, 37; cf. Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 66. But Skrine adds that "a Russian consul (without escort) has been in residence at Kashgar since July 1925." *Ibid.*, n. 1.

63-65. Gabitov, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

65. Ch'en Fu-kuang, *Wai-chiao Shih* (Ch'ing-nien Shu-tien, Chungking, 1939), pp. 71-72; *Izvestiia*, December 31, 1924; October 31, November 15, 1925; January 8, 1928; Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 1.

65-67. *Izvestiia*, January 8, 1928. The underscoring is the author's. Russians traditionally have reserved the term *Zapadnyi Kitai* ("Western China") especially for Sinkiang.

67. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 45; cf. Hedin, *Riddles of the Gobi Desert*, pp. 65-69.

67-68. Sven Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse" The Trail of War in Central Asia* (Translated by F. H. Lyon, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1936), p. 3; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67; and Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 69. For reference to the 1931 agreement, *vide* notes to page 55 *supra*.

68-69. Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse"* especially pp. 16-17; cf. Bosworth Goldman, *Red Road Through Asia* (London, 1934). The quotation is from Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 73-74. *Vide* also *supra*, pp. 41-44 and notes to pp. 54-55.

69. Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 83-84. *Vide infra*, pp. 105-106.

69. The following is a statement of Sinkiang-Soviet trade from the economic year 1923/24 to 1937 inclusive:

439 69. The following is a statement of Sinkiang-Soviet trade from the economic year 1923/24 to 1937 inclusive:

Date	Exports From Sinkiang To the U.S.S.R.		Imports Into Sinkiang From the U.S.S.R.		Total Trade	
	Th. Rubles	Tons	Th. Rubles	Tons	Th. Rubles	Tons
1923/24	3,015	12,215	418	839	3,433	13,054
1924/25	4,535	18,321	2,611	2,912	7,146	21,233
1925/26	10,331	27,925	6,092	4,659	16,423	32,584
1926/27	11,754	21,788	10,232	7,302	21,986	29,090
1927/28	13,528	24,575	10,647	7,800	24,175	32,375
1929	16,435	20,440	16,396	12,502	32,831	32,942
1930	16,033	27,232	16,027	10,957	32,060	38,189
1931	10,212	23,936	13,954	7,148	24,166	31,084
1932	12,305	21,838	15,698	8,006	28,003	29,844
1933	18,822	35,899	10,856	7,412	29,678	43,311
1934	5,945	22,630	4,730	18,894	10,675	41,524
1935	6,049	26,665	4,550	20,113	10,599	46,778
1936	25,671	28,498	26,145	22,786	61,816	51,284
1937	25,774	28,990	34,753	25,733	60,527	54,723

Figures to and including 1927/28 are from C. Zashchuk, "La situation économique de Sindsian," *Novyi Vostok*, No. 26-27 (1929), pp. 120-121; figures from and including 1929 to and including 1935 are from P. Vostokov, "L'U.R.S.S., la Mongolie extérieure et le Sin Kiang," *Le Monde Slave*, 1936, II (June), pp. 448 and 457; figures for 1936 and 1937 are from R. S. F. S. R., *Glavnoe Tamazhennoe Upravlenie Statistika Vneshnei Torgovli SSSR*, 1936, XII (December), p. 7; and 1937, XII (December), p. 7. From October of one year to September 30 of the next constituted an "economic year" up to 1929 for the Russian Customs. The statistics for 1930-1933 are particularly subject to question due to the existence of conflicting official Russian data. *Vide* Vostokov, *loc. cit.*, p. 456, n. (2). A 1941 Soviet source adds that the "annual trade turnover" of Sinkiang is "nearly 62,000,000 rubles." *Malaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia* (Second edition, *tom* IX, State Institute for the "Soviet Encyclopedia," Moscow, 1941), column 716.

An idea of the type of commodities exchanged between Soviet Russia and Sinkiang is seen in 1931 trade figures offered in the *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun* for November, 1942:

Important Items of 1931 Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang from Soviet Russia		Imports to Soviet Russia from Sinkiang	
Textile goods	11,361,000	Sheep wool	4,896,000
Petroleum products	144,000	Leather	2,009,000
Sugar	978,000	Livestock	2,891,000
Electrical products	850,000	Cotton	767,000

The same publication, for purposes of rough comparison, gives statements of commodity exchange between Sinkiang on the one hand and China Proper, India, and

Afghanistan respectively on the other. The pertinent figures are assertedly based upon a 1927 British Consulate report but, since the citations are offered by the Chinese source with certain internal inconsistencies, they ought not to be considered here as valuable for more than rough approximations of an actual situation. The figures, given below, make available a crude and very limited commodity yardstick for comparison of former Sinkiang trade relations with neighboring areas. Due to the above-mentioned inconsistencies, the Sinkiang-Indian import and export trade totals and the Sinkiang-Afghanistan import trade totals here are the author's own computation of the available *Ts'ai-*

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Sinkiang Trade with China Proper (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
Red tea	770,000	Gold	475,000
Pearls	600,000	Cotton cloth	200,000
Japanese silk	256,000	Canvas	36,000
Cotton yarn	76,000	"High quality" cotton cloth	26,250
Coins and gold	69,750	Total	737,250
Total	1,771,750		

Sinkiang Trade with India (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
European cotton cloth	276,848	Horses and ponies	101,235
Drugs	29,426	Cotton cloth	35,698
Skins (not including sheep and goat skins)	61,663	Copper	742,654
Leather goods	41,448	Raw and waste silk	47,331
Paints and dyes	226,254	Woolen goods	358,451
Pearls (European)	71,335	Felt carpets	25,524
Down of the wild swan	115,334	Coins	26,789
Silk goods (Indian)	24,876	Gold, silver, and silver "shoes"	233,759
Spices	36,562	Leather goods	16,339
Red tea (Indian)	27,386	Sheep wool	17,288
Red tea (not including Indian)	23,098	Donkeys and horses	7,508
European woolen goods	42,000	Hard jade	8,272
Total	976,230	Total	1,620,848

Sinkiang Trade with Afghanistan (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
Opium	675,000	Cotton cloth	167,500
Mountain goat gut	600,000	Sheep wool felt goods (carpets and blankets?)	80,000
Horses	45,000	Silk floss	75,000
No-tun (?) skin	10,000	Ceramics	21,200
Fox skin	24,000	Horse blankets	16,800
Mountain cat skin	4,350	Mules and horses	13,000
Foreign almonds	3,600	Khotan silk	12,500
Total	1,361,950	Total	386,000

439 *cheng P'ing-lun* commodity data. *Vide* Violet Conolly, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East: Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Tana Tuva, Sinkiang* (Oxford University Press, London, 1933) for additional basic discussion concerning related economic problems in the period previous to inception of the New Sinkiang.

000 71. "Unity" in 1936: Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," article obtained by the author in Lan-chou, China, January 4, 1940. Sheng's desire to "revive" Sinkiang: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

71-72. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

72. The fact (1) that there are today varying interpretations within China of the Three People's Principles and of the direction which the Chinese National Revolution should take and (2) that China has been constantly revising her program of action to meet dire wartime necessities, indicates that Resistance and Reconstruction may have, for the immediate practicable purposes of prosecution of war against Japan, taken precedence over the Three People's Principles.

73. Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 88; *idem, Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, p. 201; Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 13, 246; Peter Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 253.

73-74. For the text of the Sino-Russian treaty see notes to pages 57-58 *supra*. For resolutions of the All-Sinkiang Congress *vide* "Hsin-chiang Ti-san-tz'u Ch'üan Sheng Tai-piao Ta-hui," *loc. cit.* Reference to the June 16, 1939 trade agreement is to be found in the *New York Times*, June 25, 1939.

74. An English language text of the Russo-German Pact of August, 1939, is to be found in the *New York Times*, August 24, 1939. The Chinese defensive measures were personally witnessed by the author. Final ratification of the Sino-Russian trade pact was announced as taking place January 5, 1940.

74-75. *Sinkiang Daily News*, December 17, 1939, and October 4, 1940; *Hsin Hua Jih-pao*, December 12, 1940; and *Ta Kung Pao*, January 28, 1941. An English language text of the Soviet-Japanese Non-Aggression agreement is to be found in the *New York Times*, April 14, 1941.

76. Wendell L. Willkie wrote in early 1943 that Sheng Shih-ts'ai had "shifted his allegiance to the Generalissimo." This might have been worded more fortunately, but it was nevertheless indicative even then of a subtle shift in Sinkiang affairs and is pertinent to some other comments in Willkie's book, *One World*. According to the latter, "the legends which pass as news in Asia have it that Russians were accused of complicity in" the "murder" of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's "brother" in June, 1942. In his book Willkie has emphasized the overt appearance of "cordial friendship between Russia and China" yet has spoken of Sheng Shih-ts'ai as having "once" been "sympathetic with the Communists." This would suggest that the switch in Sinkiang affairs away from "Kinship to Sovietism" was becoming noticeable even as early as 1942 when Willkie was traveling through the province en route to Chungking. The recently published information concerning Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, as well as the press dispatches mentioning the alleged Soviet-Chinese border incidents on the Sinkiang-Mongolian frontier, has exposed the shift even more. *Vide* Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (Paper edition, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1943), p. 47; "Report from Turkestan," *Time Magazine* (October 25, 1943), pp. 27-28; *New York Times*, October 16, 1943, April 3, 4, and 5, 1944.

77-78. For remarks in regard to the Sinkiang population, *vide* also the reference notes for page 32 *supra*. Tu Chung-yüan states that approximately eighty per cent of the

Sinkiang population are Ch'an-t'ou or Wei-wu-erh. *Op. cit.*, pp. 54-58. Owen Lattimore identifies the Ch'an-t'ou as "predominantly Turki" but connects with them a "strong basic stock of the race called by anthropolgists, 'Alpine' . . ." "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 82. *Vide* also Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-60; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-56; and Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74 *et seq.*, for general statements on the racial components of Sinkiang. Tu Chung-yüan clarifies the meaning of "Racial Equality" on pages 71 and 74-75 of his above mentioned book. 000

78-79. Cf. Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* and *vide* also Joseph Fernand Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie 1890-1895*, II, p. 10. Carruthers suggests that the Uighurs, "a wandering people" with a "problematic" origin, emerged into prominence from somewhere "far south of Mongolia" "about the third century B.C." The greatest power of the Uighurs, he intimates in citing A. B. Adrianoff of Minusinsk, extended from the fourth to the eighth century in the Yenisei regions and ultimately "over the whole of Northern Mongolia from Lake Kossogol to the Black Irtish." But he extends their geographical range when he associates them—as of the same family—with the Kirgiz and, in turn, the Kirei whose "birthplace" he says, was "the Altai ranges and the Kemchik pastures." He does it again when he intimates that the Uighurs came from "the far south of Mongolia [illegible] from the borders of China—from the present-day provinces of Shensi and Ka[illegible]." Carruthers, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 51, 53; II, 351-353. The present writer is inclined to agree that Carruthers may have been justified in suggesting such an hypothetical extension of origin for the Uighurs, but fears that he did not go far enough. The present writer, in fact, is inclined to look for an even further extension of the Uighur origin; one that leads ultimately to the Kashgarian fringe of that rugged backbone of Asia, the Tibetan uplands. It is worth while to point out, however, that Sir Percy Sykes feels the Uighurs "originally lived in north-west Mongolia." Ella Sykes and Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes, *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia* (London, MacMillan and Company, Limited, 1920), p. 258. Also *vide, ibid.*, pp. 257, 259, and 260-261; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 85; and M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (two vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907), I, pp. 4-17.

"It would be presumption for me to attempt even the briefest survey of the immense field covered by the archaeological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein in the sands of the Takla Makan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan and Kansu." Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, p. 189. In the face of such words from one so well qualified the present writer feels that he is justified in not attempting to treat of the subject here and in referring the reader instead to abundant materials and commentary in works such as Stein, *Ancient Khotan;* Sykes, *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia;* Chavannes, *op. cit.;* Fernand Grenard, *op. cit.;* and Le Coq, *op. cit.*

79. Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55, 57-59; cf. Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 76. Chiang Chün-chang cites a fellow countryman, Ch'en Yüan-an, who claims that in the *Yüan-Shih* (an ancient Chinese chronicle) the term, Wei-wu-erh, was used to refer to a Chinese Moslem group, possibly the Uighurs of the Middle Ages. *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Tu Chung-yüan indicates that Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration has purposely kept the sound of a similar old term in naming the Wei-wu-erh (or Ch'an-t'ou) of present day Sinkiang. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

79. Islam: Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15, 74.

79-81. Wei-wu-erh characteristics: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82, 84-89, 112; Maynard Owen Williams, "From the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea by Motor," *The National Geographic Magazine*, LXII, 5 (November, 1932), p. 520.

000 81-83. "Han" Chinese: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 81, 83. *Vide* also p. 126 *infra*.

83-84. Tung-kan Moslems: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 83; Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 618; Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 253; Maillart, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 214-219; Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 4-6, 240-247; *China Daily News* (New York), July 20, 1942.

84-85. Manchus and Manchurians: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 55; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 56; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 85; *idem*, *High Tartary*, pp. 67-68, 210; Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* p. 12; and Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 387.

85-86. Mongol characteristics: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Murray, *loc. cit.*, pp. 48, 56-57; Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-209.

86. Mongol history: Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 356-357; 384-386; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 85; *idem*, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, p. 180. Carruthers states, however, that "Dzungaria fell to the lot of . . . Oktai, or Ogodai . . ." after the death of Genghis Khan. He adds that "it seems, however, to have been a bone of contention between Oktai and his brother Chagatai . . ." *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 384-385.

87. Mongol leagues and location: Huang Fen-sheng (ed.), *Meng-Ts'ang Hsin Chih* (two vols., Chung Hua Book Company, Canton, 1938), I, pp. 18-19, 109, 110. Lattimore, "Mongolia," *The China Year Book 1934*, p. 76; Murray, *loc. cit.*, pp. 46-57.

87-88. Mongol characteristics: Etherton, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Murray, *loc. cit.*, pp. 46-57; "Faces and Fashions of Asia's Changeless Tribes," *The National Geographic Magazine*, LXIX, No. 1 (January, 1936), p. xv; Williams, *loc. cit.*, pp. 534-536.

88-90. Kirgiz: Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, 351-369; Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-42; Murray, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19-45; Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 257-259. Cf. John Scott, *Behind the Urals* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942), pp. 59-60 and Appendix 1.

90-91. Kazakhs: Lattimore, *High Tartary*, pp. 41, 54, 243-244, 257-258; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 41; and Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 351-352.

91. Tajiks or Sarikolis: Skrine, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 167; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-32. Habdals and Dulanis: Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Etherton, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Taranchis: Lattimore, *High Tartary*, p. 223. Uzbeks: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

91-92. The "fourteen" races: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

92-93. The quotations are from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 75. *Vide* also "Hsinchiang Ti-san-tz'u Chüan Sheng Tai-piao Ta-hui," *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-4, and related dispatches in the same journal.

94. Chiang Chün-chang emphasizes the Chinese administration in Sinkiang during the Han, T'ang, Manchu, and Republican periods (*op. cit.*, pp. 4, 1-40), and it is mainly on his authority that they have been singled out here for special consideration. However, within these same periods China has achieved a kind of exceptional strength so far as her own political unity, her frontiers, and her international relations in general are concerned. This makes such a restricted treatment additionally warranted. Ch'ien Mu says that China "began to deal with the problem of foreign relations" in early years of the Ch'in-Han reigns, a period when "China became unified, established her territorial outposts, and became racially mature." *Kuo Shih Ta Kang* (two vols., Commercial Press, Changsha, China, 1940), I, p. 137. He reminds his readers also that "it was not until after a four hundred year long period of chaos that, under the Sui and T'ang reigns, once again a

unified government emerged for China." *Ibid.*, p. 276. In turn the Manchu accession to power, according to his view, was a "regeneration of racial sovereignty," though "in a narrow sense." *Ibid.*, II, p. 571. 000

95. ". . . the important duties of the *Tu-tu* were to watch the Wu-sun and K'ang-chu [ancient principalities in the Chinese Western Regions] and all their activities with foreign states. If practicable these matters were to be handled peaceably; if necessary by force." Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

95. T'ang: *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35; cf. Hung Ti-ch'en, *Hsi-ts'ang Shih Ti Ta Kang* (Cheng Chung Book Company, Nanking, 1936), pp. 148-58.

96-97. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

97-98. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 76; cf. Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan," *The Open Court*, XLVII (Chicago, March, 1933), p. 99.

98. "Clean Government" is a free translation of the Chinese term, *Ch'ing-lien;* the Chinese is also translatable more literally as "clean-handedness" or "honesty." Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

99. Administrative Divisions: *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. Chao Lieh wrote in 1941 that there are twelve administrative districts with a total of seventy-five hsien in Sinkiang. *Loc. cit.*, Wang Tso-cheng, *Chung-kuo jen sheng Hsiang-t'u* (Ya-Kuang Geographical Society, Shanghai, 1939), states instead under "Sinkiang Province" that there are fifty-nine counties and six Provisional Administrative Offices in the province. The Soviet accounts seem, however, to corroborate or to have accepted Tu Chung-yüan's account. *Vide* the *Malaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, tom IX, column 715, which lists nine *okrug* ("district" or "circuit") on its map of "Sinkiang (Western China)," as follows: Kashgarskii okrug (Kashi), Khotanskii okrug (Khetian), Karasharskii okrug (Yanshzi), Aksuiskii okrug, Illiskii okrug (Ili), Urumchinskii okrug (Dikhua), Komul'skii okrug (Khami), Tarbagataiskii okrug, and Altaiskii okrug (Ashan'). *Vide* also Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-83. 631

100. *Vide supra*, p. 55. *Vide* also, for example, the *New York Times*, June 26, 1937, which cites a Pei-p'ing dispatch stating *inter alia*, that "Russia . . . is keenly interested in maintaining paramountcy in Northern Chinese Turkestan, a territory held strategically vital as a cushion against infiltration of Japanese influence along the Siberian frontiers." The same article refers to the "provincial governor who is considered a Russian puppet . . ." *Vide* also dispatches dated October 22, 1937, and October 10, 1938. The latter states "Russian influence, politically and militarily, is extensive in Sinkiang . . ." Such items from the well considered *New York Times* are mild compared to others that have appeared in less discriminating newspapers. 000

102. Hedin, *Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 156-157. Kara-Khitai: In 1123 a Khitan prince, who swept into Turkestan at the head of a considerable mercenary following, set up the kingdom of Kara-Khitai. Cf. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 356-357; 384; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

103. Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

103-104. Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.* Chao Lieh reports (*loc. cit.*): "The first three-year plan began in 1937 . . ." Ch'en Chi-jung says ("Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*): "After the middle of 1936 the whole province gradually became united . . . and it was possible to institute the three-year plan of reconstruction." Ch'en Chi-jung claims that in addition to the Sinkiang Commercial Bank, the Central Bank of China established a Tihwa office in 1938 to facilitate financial transactions between Sinkiang and the interior, and that the Farmers Bank of China has also opened an office there. *Loc. cit.*

871 104-105. Education: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75, 80-83. According to the statistics of Chiang Chün-chang, of the fifty-nine counties in the province during 1931 less than a half had any (or at best not over one or two) primary schools. In contrast to Tu, Chiang states that there were not over 7,380 students in the whole province; and of those 7,162 were attending primary school. *Op. cit.*, p. 139. Cf. Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.* Figures on Sinkiang education are largely derived from the following sources: *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* (Nanking), p. 1225; Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.;* Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.;* and Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.* Ch'en Chi-jung mentions a *Hsin-chiang Hsüeh-yüan* (i.e., a Sinkiang Academy) but Samuel Chao calls this Sinkiang institution of higher learning the Sinkiang College. Tu Chung-yüan speaks of "ten institutions including middle schools and an academy;" *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* mentions three middle schools; Samuel Chao lists nine; and Chao Lieh says there are fifteen. Tu Chung-yüan names fifty so-called people's schools, *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* mentions "15 popular and vocational schools." Samuel Chao, "203 people's schools," and Chao Lieh, "122 mass education academies." Tu Chung-yüan names "1,291 local and private academies," Samuel Chao 1,291 "private schools," and Chao Lieh 2,000 "private schools." "Cultural Progress Societies" is a translation of the original term, *Wen-hua-tzu-chin Hui.* The figures on the number of Cultural Progress Societies are from, and therefore ought to be dated in accordance with, Tu Chung-yüan's statistics. *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-83. Samuel Chao's are only slightly different figures, while Chao Lieh merely says there are "cultural societies everywhere." The reference to "pocket money" is from Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*

000 105-107. Currency and finance: Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*

107-108. Cultivated acreage: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. *Vide* also Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest.*

108. *Ibid.:* Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48. There is, however, considerable uncertainty about the exact amount of land that has been under cultivation in Sinkiang, and there are great variances in available estimates. For example, Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.*, gives a figure which indicates that traditionally there have only been slightly over 30,000 acres of land suitable for cultivation ("land that can be cultivated," *k'o-keng-chih-ti*"). Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97, however, cites a table from the *Hsi-yü T'u-chih*, the total of which indicates that "reclaimed land" (*ken-ti*) alone in Sinkiang during Ch'ien Lung times (1736-1795) amounted to over 48,000 acres. Further, English language estimates for 1932 (*vide* the *China Year Book, 1934*, pp. 39, 41) have given the cultivated acreage for rice and wheat in Sinkiang alone respectively at the equivalent of approximately 279,334 and 785,000 acres. The question deserves extended study.

108-109. Agricultural products: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48: *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

109-112. Animal husbandry: *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *loc. cit.;* Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91

112. Mineral resources: *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.; The Chinese Year Book, 1938-39*, p. 124; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

112-113. Petroleum: *The China Year Book 1931*, p. 42; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52; *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39*, p. 124; Samuel Chao, *op. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

113-114. Iron: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.* 000

114-115. Coal: Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* W. H. Wong, "Chapter XXVI—Minerals and Mines in China," *The China Year Book 1934*, p. 734; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

114-117. Gold: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 49; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest.*

117. Copper and other minerals: Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53; Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.* The Wu-lan-wu-su River deposit runs from An-chiu-an-ch'ia to the lower Wu-la-k'o Mountains.

117-118. Industry: Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 83; Skrine, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87; Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.;* cf. Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-290, for a far-sighted view in the 1920's of Sinkiang's industrial potential; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

118. Communications: *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39*, p. 126. According to comment by Owen Lattimore, the experiments of 1921 were made at Tihwa as well as at Kashgar. Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.;* note also the *Sinkiang Daily News.*

119. Aviation: Samuel Chao, *op. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "A-la-mu-t'u Jih Tsa-chi," *Ta Kung Pao*, February 10, 1941 (a first hand report by one who has flown the route). Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest*, puts the distance from Chungking to Ha-mi at about 1,700 miles. Ch'en Chi-jung, "A-la-mu-t'u Jih Tsa-chi," *loc. cit.*, gives 884 miles (1,415 kilometers) as the distance from Ha-mi to Alma-Ata via Tihwa and I-ning. Samuel Chao, who had not flown in Sinkiang at the time he wrote this manuscript, says the distance from Ha-mi to Alma-Ata via Tihwa and T'a Ch'eng is only "about 700 miles making the total distance 2,400 miles."

119-120. Road transportation: Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.;* the kilometers of his original statistics have been converted to miles. Note, however, that a map of the Northwest Highway Administration of the Chinese Ministry of Communications gives the distance from Tihwa to Hsing-hsing Hsia at 928 kilometers (580 miles). Cf. Chao Lieh, *loc. cit. Vide* also *Far Eastern Survey*, XI, No. 20 (October 5, 1942), p. 204. The figure of 800 miles as the distance from Lan-chou to Hsing-hsing Hsia is from a Chinese Northwest Highway Administration map. Samuel Chao (*China's Northwest*) gives 728 miles. The Sinkiang-Ch'inghai and Sinkiang-Mongolia routes are shown clearly in Ting et al, *Chung-kuo Fen Sheng Hsin T'u*, p. 54. Cf. Martin R. Norins, "The New Sinkiang—China's Link with the Middle East," *Pacific Affairs*, XV, No. 4 (December, 1942), pp. 457-459, 470.

120-122. Some recent developments: Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *loc. cit.; Chinese News Service*, May 28, October 23, November 10 and 27, 1943. Tung Ching-k'ua, *loc. cit.;* cf. Lu Ko, *loc. cit.*, who points out that at the time Sheng Shih-chi was only 31 years old. He is a younger brother of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. *Vide* also "Report from Turkestan," *loc. cit.*

124. Ch'en Chi-jung, "A-la-mu-t'u Jih Tsa-chi," *loc. cit. Vide*, as examples of trespass penalties, the notices of the Sinkiang Border Defense Air Corps in the issues of the *Hsin-chiang Jih-pao* (*Sinkiang Daily News*). One, that appearing December 17, 1939, warns *inter alia* that under certain circumstances guards for Sinkiang air fields are authorized to shoot to kill in the case of trespass.

125-126. Generalissimo Chiang's visit to India: *New York Times*, February 14, 1942. The Chu-Sheng conversations: "Report from Turkestan," *loc. cit.*, p. 28. Dr. Wu's appointment: cf. *Chinese News Service*, September 16, 1942; and *Far Eastern Survey, loc.*

000 *cit.*, p. 204. The Lan-chou conference: Norins, "The New Sinkiang—China's Link with the Middle East," *loc. cit.*, p. 458. Ma's appointment: *China Daily News* (New York), July 20, 1942. Madame Chiang's trip: "Report from Turkestan," *loc. cit.*, p. 28. Dr. Wong's trip: *Vide* Norins, *loc. cit.*, p. 458. Generalissimo Chiang's trip to Northwest China and announcement of the development program: *Kuo Min Wai Chiao*, I, 1 (January, 1943), p. 43. The Chinese migration: *Chinese News Service*, October 5, 23, and November 27, 1943; Li Yao-san, "K'en-min Tao Hsin-chiang Ch'ü-liao," *loc. cit.*

126-127. The quotation is from Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Save Its Far West?" *Asia* (December, 1939), p. 677. The description of the Chinese migration is meant to be a composite one. It is based not only on the dispatches consulted by the author but also on his own observations in the Chinese Northwest in 1939 and 1940.

127. In the Department of State, *Foreign Service List* (May 1, 1943), p. 10, there is mention of the appointment on April 19, 1943, of Mr. Oliver Edmund Clubb as United States Consul at Tihwa. This appointment is qualified as "Temporary. Functions under the general supervision of the Embassy at Chungking." Cf. also *Chinese News Service*, June 17, 1943; "Report from Turkestan," *loc. cit.*, p. 28, which mentions arrival of a British colleague in September, 1943; and the *New York Times* of October 16, 1943. *Vide* "Sinkiang, Heart of Asia," *Life* (December 6, 1943), pp. 27-35, and "Sinkiang Land at the Back of Nowhere," *ibid.* (December 13, 1943), pp. 94-103, for rare first hand documentation concerning the New Sinkiang and Russian "withdrawal." The reports were made available by the magazine's correspondent, Theodore H. White, and photographer, William Vandivert.

128. In January, 1943, over a year ago, President Franklin D. Roosevelt revealed that we were "flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road," and press dispatches of March 26, 1944, have testified that "the Chinese now are receiving more supplies monthly" by planes flying the "hump" route into China "than during an average month over the old Burma Road." "China's Slender Skyline," *Far Eastern Survey*, XII, No. 3 (February 8, 1943), p. 25; and *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1944.

Developments concerning the new "Ledo Road" by now have become historic. As early as September 25, 1943, a delayed Associated Press report announced that United States Engineers had "hacked" the new route toward China. It appears that intensive work on the avenue began December 15, 1941, but ("for security reasons," it is explained) the military authorities allowed "no" announcement about it until September, 1943. *Vide* the *New York Times*, September 28, 1943; and cf. also *PM*, March 23, 1942. At this writing it appears quite possible that United Nations forces may be able to push the Ledo Road through to a juncture with Chinese transport routes of Western Yünnan Province.

130. The distance over Russian and Chinese terrain for this Alaska-Siberia-Turkestan-Sinkiang route may be estimated to be something around 7,000 miles. It is of interest here to refer readers to Joseph Wechsberg ("Alaska, Springboard of Attack," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, April, 1943, XXVI, 4, p. 187) on this general subject of Alaska-Siberian transport even though he puts stress on contact between "the railway frontiers of Canada" and "Irkutsk" (a chief office of the Trans-Siberian Railway further west than Verkhneudinsk).

130-131. As for the Iran-India-Afghanistan routes, *vide Far Eastern Survey*, XI, 20 (October 5, 1942), p. 204; Skrine, *op. cit.*; Sykes, *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*; especially the map, "Persia and Afghanistan," attached to Sir Percy Sykes, *Sir Mortimer Durand* (Cassell and Company, Limited, London, 1926); and *Chinese News Service*, January 19, 1944. Figure the distance from the Russian border, say, via Sui-ting or

T'a Ch'eng through Tihwa, Ha-mi, and Hsing-hsing Hsia, to Lan-chou, at an estimated 2,000 miles, gasoline (or fuel alcohol or charcoal) as available, and the distance from Lan-chou to the Shensi-Shansi war front (via Sian) at about 450 miles. This is rough calculation. Cf. Owen Lattimore, "China's Turkestan-Siberian Supply Road," *Pacific Affairs* (December, 1940), pp. 393-412, for more detailed discussion of the route. 000

131-132. Citation of the statement by the Chinese Minister of Communications: *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1943. Of related interest is the Chinese announcement of March 27, 1944, that a recent agreement has been reached between Chinese and Soviet postal authorities on the transmission of parcels not exceeding five kilograms in weight between China and Soviet Russia through Sinkiang. "Owing to war conditions in China," the announcement states, "parcel post is limited to these two countries only, and no parcels for transit to other countries are accepted." *Chinese News Service*, March 27, 1944.

132. Reported signature of a new treaty of amity between China and Afghanistan on March 2, 1944, has made it more practicable than at any time since the bombing of Pearl Harbor to anticipate dispatch of goods between the two countries. For in the new treaty the two governments reportedly have agreed "to enter into negotiation as soon as possible for the purpose of concluding a commercial treaty." This is a considerable step forward in Sino-Afghan relations which have not always been at their best. Afghanistan benefited, and China lost, territorially by the terms of a Russian-British agreement signed in 1895, to which the Chinese have never previously appeared willing to acquiesce. A principal dispute has been that over the Sino-Afghan boundary, especially questions concerning the general area of the Wakhan Pamir. The Wakhan, which the British and the Russians awarded to Afghanistan in 1895, has since been considered by them as a narrow, insulating strip of territory between Russian Turkestan and British India. But Chinese maps still designate national boundaries in that general area as undelimited. *Vide* the map, "Persia and Afghanistan," *loc. cit.;* Etherton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-29; *New York Times*, March 5, 1944; *Chinese News Service*, March 6, 1944; and "Map of China," attached to *China Handbook 1937-1943* as well as Ting et al. *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

132. Data on transport in India: John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in India Burma and Ceylon* (London, 1938), pp. 361, 376, 389, 392, 393, 400, and 402.

132-133. For the air cargo figures: Maj. Murray C. Woodbury, "Cargo and Transport," *Flying and Popular Aviation* (September, 1941), pp. 124-125. Cf. also an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, D. C., dated December 8, 1943, concerning C-87 army freight planes "regularly" flying the "longest air freight line in the world" (from the United States to India and back). This dispatch indicates that transports capable of carrying four tons are now seeing regular use.

134. Right Honourable Sir Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality, A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* (1942 Reissue, Henry Holt and Company, New York). Mackinder lumped traditionally known continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia into a "new" geographic unit called the "World-Island;" within the "World-Island" he found a "Heartland" which stretches from Siberia (in the northeast) to Eastern Europe (in the northwest) and Iran (in the southwest). *Ibid.*, especially p. 150. For a brief summary of Axis geopolitics, *vide* (for example) H. W. Wiegert, "German Geopolitics," *Harper's Magazine* (November, 1941), especially pp. 587, 588.

138-139. Sun Yat-sen, *The International Development of China.* Reprinted from the second edition (1928) (The China Publishing Company, Chungking, Hong Kong, 1941), p. xi; cf. "The International Development of China," *Contemporary China* (*Chinese News Service*, II, No. 17, January 11, 1943), for a helpful summary. *Vide* p. 126 *supra* for evidence that the Chinese Nationalist Government has been attempting to carry out such colonization of Sinkiang in 1943 and 1944.

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000 The entries which follow are selective and do not include page citations for the Reference Notes, Glossaries, or Working Bibliography.

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Frontispiece

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CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA

BY

C. P. SKRINE

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, BRITISH CONSUL-GENERAL IN CHINESE TURKISTAN 1922–1924

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND
K.C.S.I.

WITH A FRONTISPIECE IN COLOUR

5 PANORAMAS AND 2 MAPS

51 OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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To

000 MY WIFE

WHOSE HELP AND COMPANIONSHIP
MADE ME ENJOY ALL
THESE WANDERINGS

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PREFACE

THIS book is an account, compiled during a spell of home leave, of a very happy two and a half years spent by my wife and myself partly at Kashgar, partly on the road in Northern Kashmir and Chinese Turkistan. I did not seriously entertain the idea of writing a book about our experiences until three or four months before we left Kashgar; consequently, most of the letters and desultory notes on which I have relied for my material have had to be edited from memory far from the scenes described. The book does not in any sense, therefore, purport to be a treatise on the countries described. I have, however, thought it worth while to devote two or three chapters to such ethnological and other observations as my study of the Eastern Turki language and the experience gained in the course of my official duties suggested. It is hoped that the result of my amateur efforts will at any rate indicate the variety and interest of the different fields open to the student of man and Nature in Chinese Central Asia.

As a travel-book, on the other hand, I fear this work will be considered old-fashioned. Neither aeroplane, nor caterpillar-wheeled car, nor cinema, nor wireless, nor oxygen apparatus, nor any of the other adjuncts of up-to-date travel figure in its pages. The fact simply is that my wife and I, being confirmed nomads with a strong distaste for the beaten track, welcomed my appointment as Consul-General at Kashgar as a Heaven-sent opportunity for the gratification of our tastes; and for the benefit of the many who share those tastes I have tried to give a matter-of-fact account of the experiences and impressions of two average Britons wandering among the highlands and lowlands of "Innermost Asia." Though it has sometimes been difficult to maintain a due sense of proportion among scenes beautiful and rare, I have tried throughout to eschew exaggeration; and in particular I have done my best to avoid the trap into which so many travel-writers fall—over-

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emphasis of such difficulties and dangers as they may have experienced. The reader will find few of the "adventures" (most of which could probably, if the truth were known, have been avoided with a little more care and foresight) that loom so large in many popular accounts of travel.

My thanks are due to the Royal Geographical Society for permission to reproduce, with certain additions, the excellent map prepared by them to illustrate Sir Aurel Stein's paper on "Innermost Asia: its Geography as a factor in History," published in the "Geographical Journal" for May and June 1925. I have also to thank the Society for their great encouragement and help in connection with the photographs which illustrate this book.

In the collection of material for chapters XII and XIII, I was loyally assisted by my friend Murad Qari of Yarkand, who also helped me with the transcription and translation of most of the Turki songs, proverbs and popular sayings quoted. I would also like to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to my father, Mr. Francis H. Skrine, for many useful hints and for an invaluable final correction of the proofs.

With the exception of the plate representing certain Takla Makan antiques, for which I am indebted to the British Museum, the photographs were all taken and developed by me in camp or at Kashgar. For the benefit of those interested in the subject I have appended a note on photography in Central Asia at the end of the book. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a sketch made by my wife at Yambulak on our journey to Kashgar in 1922.

C. P. SKRINE

THE BATH CLUB
1st July, 1926

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INTRODUCTION

THE "unchanging East" is, of course, a fiction. The East does change, and change very remarkably, as we can see from this book. When a high Chinese official receiving a British Consul-General can wear a bowler hat, and relieving himself of it transfer it to an attendant wearing a Homburg hat, who thereupon places the bowler on the top of the Homburg on the top of his head, things must have changed indeed from the time when every Chinese official on every official occasion wore a pork-pie hat and feather and kept it firmly on his own head.

Other changes too one notes in this book. Thirty-nine years ago, when I first visited Chinese Turkistan, the Russian Consul-General was in a dominant position and there was not a single Englishman resident in the country. During the period with which this book deals (1922–4) the Russian Consulate no longer exists, and it is the British Consul-General who is the most influential European in Kashgaria.

Still, if the East does change, there can hardly be a part of it which changes less than Chinese Turkistan. On three sides it is hemmed in by lofty mountains, including the Himalaya, the Roof of the World, and the Heavenly Mountains. And on the fourth it is bounded by a great desert. Tibet itself is hardly less secluded. And, therefore, we can still see there now most of what the East was. The Chinese may have taken to wearing European clothes, but the skin under the clothes remains of much the same colour. From Mr. Skrine's account of the officials, including the General, they appear to be both as polite and cultured and composed, and also as arrogant and at times cruel towards the people, as they always have been in Turkistan. And the change in the amount of influence respectively exerted by the Russians and British does not particularly affect the Turki inhabitants. They seem to remain pretty much the same as they have been for centuries; and Chinese Turkistan

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is a blessed country without a single railway or even a metalled road.

Here then is a country worth taking some trouble to describe. You do not need a snap-shot camera : the object is sufficiently stationary for you to give it a time exposure. And Mr. Skrine has taken advantage of his opportunity. Not everyone—especially not every married man—would care to exile himself for two and a half years to so distant a post. But Mr. Skrine seized the chance with enthusiasm and worked assiduously all the time—observing like a bird all that went on around him and recording what he saw with the indefatigability of a typing machine.

And he was incessantly on the move touring the country. What with the Russian, French, Swedish and British travellers who have explored the western end of Chinese Central Asia one would have supposed that there was not a nook or corner which had not been visited. Yet Mr. Skrine discovered what must be about the most delightful spot in the whole country—the Happy Valley lying under the very eaves of the Roof of the World.

His description of this valley and of other parts which he visited, and of the people, their art, their folk-lore and their customs, and his photographs—all these together make Mr. Skrine's book a valuable and welcome addition to Central Asian literature.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

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CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA

CHAPTER I

TO THE OUTPOSTS

IT was on a frosty evening in the November of 1921, in the cosy precincts of the Quetta Club bar, that Fate vouchsafed its first hint of the pleasant Odyssey that was in store for my wife and myself. A certain senior colleague of mine in the Foreign and Political Department, who happened to be in Quetta on duty at the time, drew me aside and made the following electrifying proposition:

"Some time ago I agreed to go to Kashgar next summer and officiate for a year as Consul-General in place of E. who is going on leave. Now, for domestic reasons, I don't want to go. Would you like me to suggest you to Government as a substitute?"

It took me an appreciable time to grasp the full significance of this proposal. Then I said:

"Why, I'd start to-morrow if I had the chance. But I am far too junior and there's not the least prospect of their giving me the job."

"Oh, I don't know," said the Colonel, "it's only for a year,[1] and there won't be much competition. Anyhow, I may suggest your name to them at Delhi?"

"Most certainly you may!"

D. (my wife) and I were touring six weeks later in that remote and little-known district of East Persia, the Sarhad, when the telegram came which informed me that I had been appointed to officiate as British Consul-General in Chinese Turkistan. A picturesque Baluch scallywag of the Sarhad Levies brought it, twisted up in a grimy section of his voluminous clothing, from Khwash, 60 miles away, the westernmost station of all the far-flung Indian telegraph system. To use a

[1] This period was subsequently extended.

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trite phrase, the news seemed too good to be true. Four years before, at Kerman in south-east Persia, Sir Percy Sykes (then Inspector-General of the South Persia Rifles) had spoken to me in glowing terms of the "Kashgar job," and I had sworn a vow that some day, later in my service perhaps when I should be full of years if not of honour, it should be mine. And now, after only four years, I was to go! The only question was, would D. be able to come with me? Forthwith I set the wires humming, and three anxious weeks, during which D. hardly slept for fear lest she should be left behind, passed before the necessary permission was received from Government. I had little anxiety on the score of her ability to stand the fatigues and hardships (if any) of the journey, for in the course of two long tours in the Sarhad she had had a good taste of desert travelling, and wanted more. Besides, I knew by experience how straight are made the paths of the British traveller on the frontier or beyond; had I not myself helped to make straight the paths of others in a like case?

There was no need for haste. The Kashmir passes would not be officially "open" for another four or five months. For it must be understood that the route by which Kashgar had been most easily accessible before the Russian Revolution, that is to say by rail from Russia to Andijan on the Transcaspian Railway and thence twelve marches by pony caravan across the Tien Shan, was no longer open. Thanks to the chaotic state of Transcaspia since the Revolution and the consequent closing of the Russian frontier of Chinese Turkistan, a comparatively easy journey to our destination with a free trip Home thrown in was denied us. The only practicable alternative was to go by rail and road to Srinagar and thence, in June when the passes opened, to ride and walk for seven weeks across the wide mountain belt which separates the Vale of Kashmir from the plains of Chinese Turkistan. There was plenty of time, therefore, to make our preparations and indulge in the delights of anticipation.

The end of April saw us jogging up the Jhelum valley to the Kashmir capital. Most travellers to Kashmir, being in a hurry, dash up the 190-mile road in two days by car. We could afford to take six days and taste the full savour of our first trip to the famous Valley, so we went by "tonga" or pony-cart. D. and I with our rolls of bedding and hand-luggage (our heavy boxes had gone ahead by motor-lorry) occupied one tonga, while on the other came, perched on mountains of

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their own baggage and some of ours, our faithful little butler-valet Ahmad Bakhsh and D.'s even smaller " ayah," a delightful old Bombay duenna called Malamma. The ayah came no further than Srinagar, for the passes would certainly have killed her, but Ahmad Bakhsh figures throughout this narrative and deserves a proper introduction. A dapper, cheerful, energetic, efficient little native of Amroha in the United Provinces, where the best servants come from, " A.B.," as we always called him, entered our service at Delhi in December 1920 when we were on our way to set up house in Baluchistan. Since then he had accompanied us loyally and cheerfully in all our wanderings and now, marvellous to relate, had volunteered to come with us to Kashgar. What this means will be appreciated by anyone who has tried, as I had more than once, to induce his best servants to accompany him on service out of India. Let me say here and now that A.B. not only went with us to Kashgar but stayed there for two years and came back with us, and that he was an unqualified success both as " camp khidmatgar " on the road and as head butler at the Consulate-General, where he ruled his Turki subordinates with a rod of iron.

Arrived in Srinagar, we found that it would be a month or more before we could expect to start on our long trek across the mountains. Thanks to the beauty of Nature in the Kashmir Valley in spring and to the kindness and hospitality of friends new and old, the time passed only too quickly. At first we were the guests of the First Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir, Mr. Lothian, and his charming wife; afterwards we collected a local cook and one or two other servants and set up house for ourselves in some unoccupied clerks' quarters lent us by the Resident. Then began in earnest the task of equipping ourselves and making arrangements for our long journey.

Before going further I must explain the situation as regards the " roads " which connect India with Chinese Turkistan. At their best, i.e. most of the way up to the furthest British outposts, they are well-engineered pack-transport roads, from three to six feet wide, made and maintained by the Indian Public Works Department. Once the level floor of the Jhelum Valley is left there is no question of *wheeled* transport of any kind; it would cost millions to construct a motor-road even as far as Gilgit or Leh. Beyond the outposts the " road " degenerates rapidly into a stony caravan

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track winding up the gorges and along the precipitous mountain-faces of the Karakoram until the Great Divide is reached.

There are few alternatives even among these exiguous paths. The tremendous barrier formed by the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram can only be pierced at three points, that is to say by the Chitral, Leh and Gilgit routes respectively. For reasons into which I need not enter, the first of these is not practicable for the ordinary traveller. The second, which goes from Srinagar to Leh and thence across the Karakoram to Yarkand, is the route most generally used. It is, I believe, by far the highest and most difficult trade-route in the world, not even excepting those across the Andes. Ever since the famous Forsyth Mission of 1873-4, which bore a letter and presents from Queen Victoria herself to the "Amir" Yakub Beg Bedaulat of Kashgar, it has been our policy to foster the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan. Until 1891, however, the Leh caravans used frequently to be looted by the men of Hunza and Nagar, and it is only since that year, when those tough little mountain principalities were brought to heel by Colonel Durand's column,[1] that the Leh road has been safe and regularly used by traders. The Kashmir State takes great interest in this "road," and it is carefully organized. The pack-transport road from Srinagar over the Zoji La Pass to Leh, the capital of Ladakh or "Little Tibet," is kept in excellent repair. An official known as the "British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh" looks after the interests of traders at Leh and Srinagar; stores of State grain are kept at various points along the Yarkand road for sale to caravans at fixed rates, and trade encouraged in many other ways. None the less, in spite of the facilities described above, the obstacles which the Indo-Central Asian trade has to surmount are so great that it is nothing less than marvellous that the route can be profitably used at all. First, there is the notorious Zoji La Pass near Srinagar with its blizzards and avalanches. Then between Leh and Yarkand five passes over 16,000 feet high have to be crossed, of which three are difficult and even dangerous, though the highest of them all, the Karakoram (18,550 feet), is easy. On this section, for fourteen consecutive marches all food-supplies for man and beast have to be carried by the caravans. Innumerable mountain torrents and not a few large rivers swollen with melting snows have to be forded.

[1] See the late Mr. E. F. Knight's "Where Three Empires Meet" for a graphic description of this campaign.

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The carriers, most of whom are Turki landowners of the Karghalik and Goma districts, lose scores of ponies every season owing to the rarefaction of the air on the high passes, to shortage of food and to accidents by flood, blizzard, glacier and precipice. Nevertheless year after year the caravans toil to and fro, carrying to Yarkand the products of Manchester looms and Bradford woollen mills, British and German dyestuffs, tea and brocades from India, spices and sugar from Java; while in return come felts and hemp-drug (the hashish of Arabia), silks and carpets from Khotan and a substantial balance in gold dust and silver to fill the gaily-painted coffers of fat *bunnias* in Amritsar and Hoshiarpur.

Most of the European explorers, sportsmen, missionaries and others who have visited Central Asia from India have travelled by this route, and we might have followed in their steps. But I was more fortunate than they, for I was travelling to Kashgar on duty, and a shorter and less arduous, yet even more interesting, route was open to me. This was the last of the three mentioned above, that *via* Gilgit, the Mintaka Pass and the Chinese Pamirs. For several reasons this route is not practicable for trade or other regular traffic. For one thing, the gorge of the Hunza River between Baltit and Misgar (six marches) is in many places quite impossible for loaded ponies, and all baggage has to be carried in fifty-pound loads from village to village on the backs of the few porters available. For another, up to 1891, as we have seen, the brawny lads of Hunza and Nagar added considerably to their incomes by raiding the caravans on the Leh route; and though we console them in various ways for the loss of this source of wealth, and though they have been as good as gold for the last thirty years, it would perhaps be trying them too highly to encourage the stream of trade to flow through their wild fastnesses. Lastly, there is the difficulty of supplies; each caravan or large party depletes reserves along the road, thus adding to the troubles of the local Indian Army Service Corps and Kashmir Durbar authorities who have their hands full enough already with supplying the Gilgit garrison and the posts along the road. For the favoured traveller, however, who comes armed with official permission, these obstacles are tackled by the local authorities with the utmost goodwill. The British officer of the I.A.S.C. in charge of the Gilgit road allows him to draw rations for his party and forage for his animals from the Supply depots established at most of the stages; the

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(Indian) officials of the Kashmir Durbar at Bandipur, Astore and Gilgit help him as regards any other supplies he may need as well as in the all-important matter of pony- or coolie-transport from stage to stage; while, last but not least, the Political Agent at Gilgit makes the necessary arrangements with the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar who, tactfully handled and not overworked, treat their occasional European visitors with the utmost friendliness and traditional Oriental hospitality.

The date of opening of the Gilgit road is governed by the state of the two passes which have to be crossed in its early stages, the Tragbal (11,950 feet) and the Burzil (13,650 feet). Though not nearly so high as the passes further up the road, these two make up for their lower stature by their heavier snowfall. Climatically they belong to the well-watered southern face of the Himalayas. The Burzil in particular, owing to its proximity to the immense massif of Nanga Parbat (26,620 feet), carries an astonishing amount of snow right into the summer. The I.A.S.C., who are chiefly concerned, find that as a rule the snow has not melted sufficiently for transport to cross easily until the beginning of June, and it is then that they declare the pass "open." As a fact, travellers can and do cross the pass as much as three or four weeks earlier, by travelling at night when the snow-crust is hard; but they do so at their own risk, for he who ventures too early in the season into the wilds of Gurais and Astore runs the gauntlet not only of blizzards on the passes but of avalanches in the valleys. We heard about the middle of May that the outgoing Consul-General had started down the road from Kashgar much earlier than had been expected and, travelling light, hoped to reach Srinagar by the end of the month. We were therefore advised to wait for him at Srinagar instead of meeting him up the road as we had intended, so that we could discuss Kashgar matters with him comfortably for a day or two before starting ourselves.

About this time we were joined by an old New College friend of mine, Mr. Gerard Price, a planter of tea in far Ceylon who, immediately he heard of my appointment, began to long amid his spicy breezes for the icy mountains of Central Asia, and wrote to ask if he might join us. I had some little difficulty in obtaining permission for him to accompany us to Kashgar, but eventually succeeded, and he proved a welcome addition to our small party.

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A few days before our departure yet another Kashgar pilgrim appeared on the scene in the shape of Mr. H. I. Harding of the China Consular Service, who had been employed for several years on the staff of our Legation at Peking. Attracted like ourselves by the prospect of a year in Central Asia, he had volunteered to give up the home-leave due to him and go instead to Kashgar for a year in the comparatively humble capacity of Vice-Consul in place of Mr. N. Fitzmaurice of the same Service, who had occupied the post for four years and was only awaiting my arrival to go on leave. Mr. Harding had not come alone from Peking; he too had a friend, a Chinese journalist from Peking, travelling with him. We could not all go up the road together, as this would have sorely overtaxed the resources of the Gilgit route in transport and supplies, so the new-comers gave us a few days' start and followed us, marking time occasionally in order to avoid overtaking our more slowly-moving caravan.

Our time in the little house at Srinagar was fully occupied in preparations for the journey. There were temporary servants to engage, kit and stores to purchase. Numbers of the peculiarly strong leather-covered wooden boxes for pony transport known as "yakdans" and of the baskets, also covered with leather, carried by coolies and known as "kiltas," had to be made to order by local craftsmen. Saddlery, camp furniture, felt-lined top-boots, "poshteens" or sheepskin coats, etc., etc., had similarly to be constructed carefully according to our specifications. Ahmad Bakhsh and Nizam ud Din had to be provided with regular trousseaux including poshteens, boots and suits of "puttoo" or cheap Kashmir tweed for the passes as well as thin khaki twill clothes for the hot weather at Kashgar. Kitchen stores and utensils had to be bought according to carefully-thought-out lists and packed in the yakdans and kiltas, and a stock of knives, watches, table cutlery, etc., had to be laid in for presentation to those who helped us on the road. Next, transport had to be secured; with the help of the Kashmir Durbar we arranged for twenty-five pack ponies to be ready for us at Bandipur on the Wular Lake, the jumping-off place of the Gilgit road, to say nothing of a *dunga* or native barge fitted up as a house-boat, with co[illegible]-boat attached and crews to match, to take us by river and lake to Bandipur. Finally, in the daily-increasing heat of Srinagar at the end of May, there was the packing—but over this I will draw a veil, merely remarking that those who

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have not packed with a view to a year and a quarter practically cut off from all shops, half of it to be spent actually travelling and the other half keeping house and entertaining on a large scale, simply do not know what packing is. One more item in the list of our preparations is worth mentioning, and that concerned the language question. Up to the frontier all that the traveller needs is Hindustani, more properly called Urdu, the *lingua franca* of the Indian Empire; though a good literary and colloquial knowledge of Persian, especially if acquired in Persia itself, will add to his prestige. But in Chinese territory a knowledge of Urdu is confined to the Indian traders and a very few Chinese subjects connected with India or the Consulate-General. Persian, too, is spoken by few outside the Afghan colonies in the larger towns. The traveller who, like myself, has a rooted objection to being cut off from the people of a country by ignorance of their language, must learn Eastern Turki, a descendant of the old Uigur tongue and a first cousin of modern Turkish. No suitable native of Chinese Turkistan could be found in Srinagar to coach me, but an excellent Indian subordinate official known as the Aqsaqal[1] of the Yarkandis, whose duties necessitated a colloquial knowledge of Eastern Turki, came to our house almost every day for three weeks and gave me a conversational start in the language which stood me later in good stead. D. joined us occasionally and picked up a few words, to which she afterwards added greatly (as a result, partly, of having a Turki maid) until by the time she left Kashgar she knew as much "colloquial" as I did.

While on the subject of languages, it may be of interest to mention that no fewer than seven different languages, apart from dialects, are spoken on the Gilgit road between Srinagar and Kashgar. These are:

In British Indian territory generally: Urdu.
In Gurais and Astore: Kashmiri.
In Gilgit: Shinā.
In Hunza and Nagar: Burushaski.
In Little Guhyal, and again at Dafdar in the Chinese Pamirs: Persian (Wakhi dialect).
In Sariqol: Tajik.
In Chinese territory generally: Eastern Turki.

There could be no better illustration of the extraordinary

[1] The word means literally "greybeard" and is used throughout Turki-speaking Central Asia for "headman."

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RAKAPOSHI FROM NORTH SIDE OF HUNZA VALLEY NEAR BALTIT

[Face p. 8]

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welter of races inhabiting the tangle of mountains through which we were soon to thread our way.

At last, on June 3, 1922, Colonel E. having arrived and the necessary conversations with him concluded, all was ready for the start. The *dunga* was brought by its chattering crew and moored to the river-bank near our quarters. Throughout the morning and half the afternoon our belongings gradually transferred themselves into it; our cook, who refused to come with us further than Bandipur, ensconced himself with his paraphernalia in the cook-boat together with A.B. and the "Knight of the Broom," and by four o'clock in the afternoon we had bid good-bye to our Srinagar friends and were slipping quietly down the placid Jhelum.

* * * * *

How pleasant it was next day to awake on a perfect morning of June and find ourselves gliding peacefully along the winding channel which connects the Dal and Wular Lakes! They faded away like a dream, those hot and dusty weeks of bustle and preparation, of packing and re-packing, of chaffering with tradesmen and bickering with would-be servants, guides, horse-copers, boat-owners and all the thousand and one different species of tout with which Kashmir's capital swarms. Lithe brown Kashmiri watermen poled us unhurriedly along in our Noah's Ark-shaped craft, reminiscent of house-boats and old days on the river, conducive of restfulness. Early rising was no hardship in such circumstances, and Gerard Price and I with dressing-gowns over our pyjamas were soon sipping our early-morning tea on the veranda of the *dunga*, while the first rays of the sun bathed the ice-cliffs of Haramukh hanging in the northern sky.

It is always difficult on such occasions to realize that one is at last on the Road; but when it is such a Road as that which now lay at our feet——! A few months before, D. and I who had never seen even Kashmir would have looked upon Gilgit as the furthest limit of our possible wanderings in this direction. But now the Gilgit road was but the first and best-beaten section of a track which was to lead us right through the wild mountain principalities of Hunza and Nagar, through the "Rough Bounds" of Guhyal, over the Great Divide of the Hindu Kush, across the lofty wastes of the Pamirs and down through little-known gorges to the cities and deserts of

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a land, the very name of which had long been one to conjure with—Chinese Turkistan.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,

but to be not only young—reasonably so—but bound for Kashgar was very Heaven!

Much has been written about the road from Srinagar to Gilgit, which is traversed yearly by frontier officials, sportsmen, explorers, globe-trotters and others, and I will therefore confine myself to a few impressions and episodes of interest. How vivid are some of those impressions still! The landing from our *dunga* at the leafy little "port" of Bandipur; the strawberries on which we feasted there, tarrying through the noonday heat at the cottage of kind Srinagar friends; the first tang of pine-scented mountain air which greeted our nostrils that evening as we toiled up to the "alp" of Tragbal; a snow-white river in Gurais which gushed out among pines from "caverns measureless to man"; a Paradise of cornfields shaded by groves of walnut and mulberry, Astore, hanging over its abysmal river-gorge like the gardens of a mountain Babylon; the gashed and blasted flank of Hatu Pir with its break-neck descent to the heat and sand-flies of Ramghat; the strange hues and stately reaches of the Indus Valley, first seen from the wooded heights of Dashkin. . . . It was comfortable travelling; we slept nightly at well-built rest-houses which boasted two or three, sometimes even four sets of rooms, and our marches, except when a pass had to be crossed, were taken easily enough on foot or horseback according to our whim. Rapid marching was out of the question in any case; for we depended, after crossing the Burzil Pass, on local ponies and men for the transport of our baggage; and ponies and men alike, poor creatures, were sadly weak and emaciated owing to two consecutive years of famine. This, we were at first puzzled to hear, had been caused by overcopious monsoons; in a land most of which stands upon its own edge, as it were, famine is more often caused by exceptionally heavy rains which wash whole fields away, crops and all, than by drought. We did what we could for those who came to us, but it was little enough, for it was food they wanted, not medicines or money. A procession of hill-men would come to our halting-place, carrying on a primitive bedstead a poor wretch in the last stage of some terrible malady, obviously brought on, or at any rate aggravated, by a diet of wild plants

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and garbage; it was heartrending to have to send the pitiful train away up the steep hill-side with but a tin or two of condensed milk and a handful of flour, all we could spare, well knowing that the man was doomed. We were cheered to hear afterwards at Gilgit that Government supplies were on their way, now that the Burzil Pass was at last open, and that the coming crop promised to be a good one.

The crossing of one's first really high pass is a great event, and our defeat of the snowy Burzil was a memorable experience for all of us. True, it was not quite our first pass, even in Kashmir, for the Tragbal was already behind us. But the Tragbal hardly counts, for it only boasts a beggarly 11,000 feet, and moreover does not fulfil one's ideas of a pass at all; rather is it a long, bare, grassy upland across which the path winds for several miles and then suddenly dives giddily into a forest-filled glen. The Burzil, on the other hand, is every inch a pass, 13,500 feet high. For two whole marches one steadily ascends; up through the leafy Gurais valley, famed for its trout, up the pine-clad slopes of Pushwari, up and ever upwards past the lovely alp of Minimarg, haunt of bears, past woods of silvery birch and over boggy meadows pink with primulas, each new landscape more beautiful than the last. Then the ascent suddenly steepens, flowers and trees drop away below and the traveller is left alone with the black rocks and the snow and the razor-edged breath of the great ranges. . . . Of real difficulty or danger from the mountaineering point of view there is now little or none, though in the early days of British penetration the crossing of the pass before the melting of the snows must have been a much more arduous business; for then there was no Burzil *chauki*, or rest-house. Right below the lofty saddle of snow which marks the pass appears a roomy, stoutly-built châlet of stone, and here, in the cosy quarters provided by a benign Government, we made ourselves thoroughly at home before roaring fires of pine-logs. Within ten minutes of our arrival D. with her habitual industry (always warmly approved and encouraged by myself) had started in to bake large quantities of the tasty scone of her native heath, and in due course the three of us were sitting down to a tea *à l'Écossaise* which would have done justice to any fishing hotel in the Highlands.

Under the fierce sun of a Kashmir June, snow softens in the daytime at higher altitudes even than 13,000 feet, and it is advisable to cross a pass like the Burzil at night or in the

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early morning, when the surface is firmly caked. Accordingly at the " dead unhappy " hour of three next morning, or soon after it, we swathed ourselves in every woollen and furry garment we could muster and zigzagged sleepily up the bleak hill-side. Ours were the first ponies of the season to cross the pass and, no path being visible, our only guide was the Burzil stream ; when this disappeared under a solid casing of ice and snow, the leading carriers had frequently to cast about for a practicable route. The snowfields were nowhere steep enough to be really dangerous, but there were one or two *mauvais pas* where a slip would have meant an involuntary toboggan-run into the depths of the glen, with the possibility of hitting a weak point in the torrent's ice-cap at the end of it.

Dawn was breaking when we emerged upon wide snow-slopes. Here there is a tower of steel girders about 40 feet high with a small hut perched comically on the top. This, we were informed, was a shelter for those hardy employees of the Indian Telegraph Department whose duties take them over the pass at all times of the year. At first I could hardly believe that so high a tower was necessary ; but our carriers assured us that the snow sometimes covered the hut. I thought of beloved Munchausen of my childhood, with a new respect for his veracity. Accustomed to the snowfalls of my grandparents' Highland home, seldom more than a foot or two in depth, I had always had a little difficulty in swallowing one, if no other, of the worthy Baron's adventures. I refer, of course, to the occasion on which the Baron, having tethered his horse one evening to a lonely wooden cross which protruded from the snow, woke up next morning after a sudden thaw to find himself sitting in the middle of a village market-place and his steed dangling by its bridle, kicking and struggling, from the topmost cross of the church steeple. Had I known about the Burzil, my scepticism would have vanished.

The going was now easy, and we made good progress past the half-buried Burzil Hut at the summit and down the steep but smooth northern side, where I longed for skis. By noon we had reached Sardar Koti, some miles beyond the foot of the pass on the Astore side, and now we understood why it was so necessary to cross the Burzil by night at this time of year ; the snow, which had been so firm, became, as we crossed the last patches, a bog in which ponies and men floundered helplessly. There is also the danger of avalanches, the force and fury of which may be gauged from what we saw at Gorai on

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the north side of the Tragbal. "Baedeker," i.e. the official route-book, mentions a convenient rest-house at this place on a knoll which rises 20 or 30 feet above the torrent. All we could see was a sprinkling of stones and fragments of mortar on the hill-side, steep as the proverbial side of a house, *above* the knoll. We were puzzled by this, until it was explained to us that the year before an April avalanche had come down the opposite side of the glen with such momentum that its head had shot across the stream and had carried the rest-house a hundred feet up the hill-side! Luckily the place was empty at the time.

Near Chillum on the north side of the Burzil we were met by the three mounted servants whom Colonel E. had brought down from Kashgar and left in Astore to wait for us. To eyes unaccustomed to the costumes of Central Asia they were an odd-looking trio. They wore dark-coloured overcoats padded with cotton-wool and coloured scarves wound round their waists, shapeless top-boots and remarkable red and white cocked hats exactly like the triangular paper hats made by children.[1] Of the three new additions to our *dramatis personæ* two did not remain long in our service after we reached Kashgar and may be dismissed briefly. Muhammad Rahim, a well-meaning but inefficient Ladakhi strongly resembling a baboon, appeared to owe his post as orderly to an alleged capacity for camp cooking; accordingly we tried him as a relief for the overworked Ahmad Bakhsh, but the effect upon our digestions was such that D. very soon relieved him of his culinary duties. Mamatek, the assistant table-servant at the Consulate, was an overgrown lad of about sixteen who afforded us our first experience of the congenital laziness of the younger Turki. But Hafiz, the orderly in charge of the horses, was a man of a very different type. Sturdy, active and efficient, Hafiz was always in the forefront whenever there was a job of work to be done or a difficult bit of road to pilot the caravan over. He was particularly good with animals; his was the only horse that never gave any trouble, and at Kashgar he proved a great success as Keeper of the Camel, when as a matter of course he was entrusted with the special duty of looking after and leading D.'s stately and supercilious mount, Camel Sulaiman. A native of the Kashgar oasis and a Chinese subject, Hafiz both in appearance and in characteristics

[1] The Kashgar orderlies now wear khaki turbans in the Indian style, a form of headgear they much prefer to the local type.

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approximated rather to the Mongol than to the Iranian type of Kashgari Turki. His pluck, honesty, promptness, loyalty and unflagging spirits made him in course of time more of a friend to both of us than a servant. He accompanied us on every yard of our various journeyings and when, two and a half years later, we came at last to the end of them, there was no one in all Kashgaria with whom we were more grieved to part.

In the gloomy depths of the Astore river-gorge, where the path clings perilously to the cliff-face and comes at times within inches of the foaming river, occurred the nearest approach to an "adventure" that any of us had on this journey. An adventure may be described as an unexpected occurrence which is dangerous at the time and, like one's schooldays, pleasant (if at all) chiefly in retrospect. I may be of an unromantic temperament, but that is how I have been struck by the few I have experienced. The adventure in question, which certainly merited the above description, came about as follows. With the servants we found waiting for us at Chillum was the horse which Colonel E. had ridden down from Kashgar, and which I was to ride up there, a black Afghan stallion of great strength and (as I found afterwards) by no means of a vicious temperament. On this occasion, however, all four animals had been eating their heads off for a fortnight in the clover of Astore; also—*cherchez la jument*—the black horse and a quarrelsome ginger-coloured mustang from Yarkand ridden by Hafiz were hated rivals whenever there were any mares in the offing. On the day that we marched down the gorge from Astore village our caravan included two or three mares, a fact which escaped my notice until we came up with one that was lagging behind the rest of the loads. Suddenly, snorting and flinging up a contemptuous heel at his rival as he passed, Hafiz' steed shot past us, bent no doubt on a flirtation with the mare; this was too much for the black, which pursued the red horse and sank his teeth in the latter's neck. Followed a battle royal, the red horse's hind legs lashing out time after time like a runaway threshing machine and the black snapping furiously at the red's neck and quarters, neither of them paying the slightest attention to his rider.

Most providentially, this Homeric conflict took place at one of the few points on the day's march where the four-foot path did not actually overhang the river, from which it was

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here separated by several yards of detritus fallen from the cliffs above; for the combatants behaved exactly as if they had the widest plains of their native Turkistan to fight over. Perhaps a better horseman than I would have stuck on at all costs and dragged his mount out of the mêlée by sheer strength and will-power; I frankly confess that I thought of nothing but how to jump, slide, tumble or otherwise remove myself from the back of my horse at the earliest opportunity and thus escape alike the Scylla of the red horse's hoofs and the Charybdis of the river. The worst moment was when the black horse lost his balance and sank to the ground with the other on top of him; even then, my leg being pinned, I could not roll clear, and the beast was up again with me on his back before I knew where I was. Finally he reared high in the air and I, seeing a few feet of smooth ground behind me, rolled off on to it, a few seconds after Hafiz had managed to do likewise. Bruised and shaken but thankful, I joined D., who had been an agitated spectator of the whole affair, and together we watched the horses continue the battle among the rocks. There was no stopping them, and peace was not declared until the black had bitten several gory holes in his enemy's neck and had torn his near-side saddle-flap right off, and the red horse on his part had kicked or savaged his rival in a dozen different places.

Thus was the hungry Astore River baulked of its prey, and Hafiz and I escaped with some heavy but not serious bruises on back and legs; we struggled into Dashkin and there stopped the night, halving our march, and no permanent damage was done except to a Government saddle. Needless to say we did not allow the enemies within a day's march of each other again, and at Gilgit I graciously loaned the red horse as a mount for the rest of the journey to our Vice-Consul, Harding, who as already explained was following two or three days behind us up the road. But the poor beast was doomed to a tragic end after all; in Guhyal, a few marches beyond Gilgit, he fell off the path eight hundred feet into the Hunza River—without on this occasion, however, doing his best to take another horse and a couple of unoffending human beings with him.

Another novel but less unpleasant experience was being slung across the Astore River at Ramghat on a bridge consisting of a single steel cable. A year earlier we could have crossed by a fine suspension bridge, ponies, loads and all;

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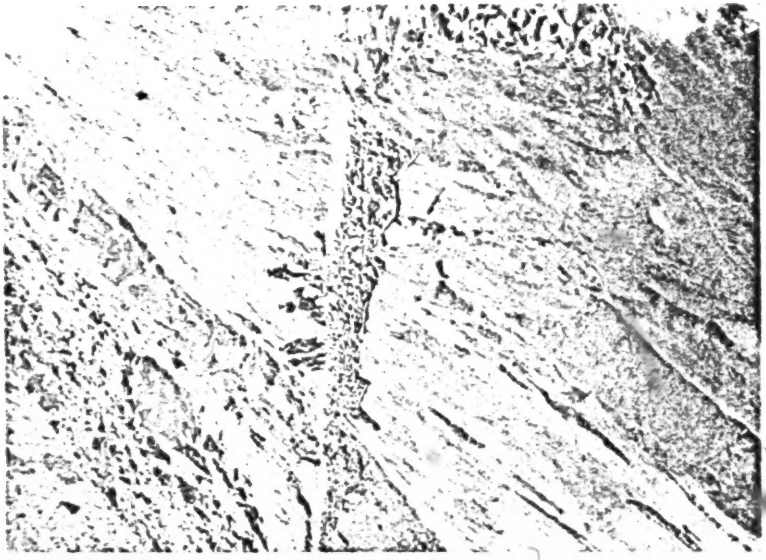
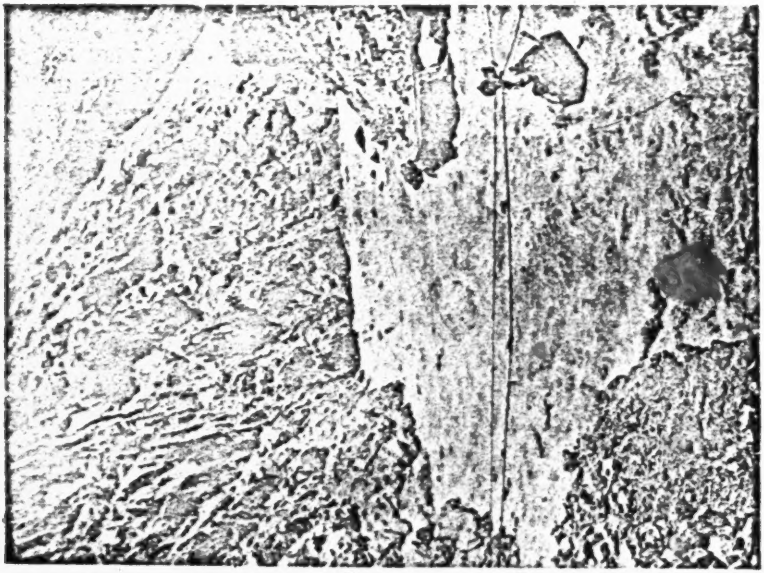
ment of a delightful picnic; and even it was not without its bright spots. After that grilling midday tramp of 8 miles from Ramghat to Bunji, the cool gloom of the bungalow which another kind friend put at our disposal was no less than the shadow of a great rock in a thirsty land, and the somewhat flavourless white mulberries of the country which we devoured in platefuls were luscious as the grapes of Paradise. In the late afternoon the heat haze vanished and there appeared, framed in the mighty curves of the Indus gorges, lovely as the Taj at the end of its cypress-vista, the ice-clad dome of Nanga Parbat, 26,600 feet high. None of us had ever imagined, much less seen, so wondrous a picture of mountain beauty and majesty, and we could but gaze in silence while the virgin world of ice above the clouds glowed brighter and brighter with the gathering of the shadows below.

At Gilgit, which we reached on June 15, we received a royal welcome from the Political Agent and his wife, and were soon revelling in the comforts of a well-appointed European house and the shade and fruits of its delightful garden. One of the pleasantest features of travelling in these parts is the uniform kindness and hospitality even of perfect strangers, who make the most elaborate arrangements for one and insist on one's treating their houses as hotels, even when they are not at home themselves. In the present case our hosts were old friends of mine, the Political Agent happening by a lucky chance to be Colonel D. L. Lorimer, my erstwhile chief at Kerman. During the four days we spent at this last European-inhabited outpost of the Indian Empire, preparing for the longest and wildest section of our journey, often did we talk of far-off Kerman and exchange reminiscences of life and travel in the sunny land of Persia.



A *RIFIQ* OR CLIFF TRACK IN THE HUNZA GORGES



HOW WE CROSSED THE ASTORE RIVER AT RAMGHAT

[Face p. 17]

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CHAPTER II

IN THE HEART OF THE KARAKORAM

OUR three days' halt at Gilgit gave us a welcome opportunity to recondition our kit and replenish our stores, according to the experience we had gained and the advice we received from Gilgit friends well versed in the peculiar "ropes" of travel in these parts. We had also time to learn something about the wild regions through which we were to travel for the next fortnight. The Hunza-Nagar country is familiar to those interested in this part of Asia from the late Mr. E. F. Knight's "Where Three Empires Meet," Sir Aurel Stein's "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," and other standard works; but it is of such peculiar interest that some remarks about it may not be out of place.

Stein says of the Hunza Valley, which he traversed in 1900 on his first journey to Chinese Turkistan:

> "There can be no doubt that this secluded valley, so long inaccessible to outside influence, with its small population wholly isolated in regard to language and ethnic origin, contains much that deserves careful examination by the ethnographist and historical student." [1]

The district is part of a region long known vaguely as Dardistan, inhabited by two widely-differing races.[2] The Yeshkun tribe, to which the Hunza-Nagaris belong, is probably of Yüehchih or "Indo-Scythian" original[3] and is supposed to have come up the Indus valley at a very early date, followed later by an Indian tribe of more humble lineage called the

[1] "Archæological Explorations in Chinese Turkistan," p. 8.

[2] See Sir T. Holdich's article on "Gilgit" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

[3] The Yüehchih or "Indo-Scythians" were pushed out of Kansu and Eastern Turkistan by Hiong-nu (Huns) from the north, and overran Bactria (afterwards Balkh, now Afghan Turkistan) about 120 B.C. Later they crossed the Hindu Kush and founded a great state in what is now the North-West Frontier Province of India.

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Shins who pushed them by force of numbers into the wilder and more inaccessible fastnesses of the Karakoram.

Well-built, upstanding and fearless, many of them good-looking and comparatively fair-complexioned, the men of Hunza and to a less extent the Nagaris contrast strongly with their neighbours further down the Indus Valley, a dark, undersized, grubby race. The language of Hunza, Burushaski, is quite different not only from the Shinā tongue of Gilgit but from all other known languages; Stein calls it "an erratic block left here by some bygone wave of conquest."[1] The ruling families of the two little States are reputed to be descended from a common ancestor in the fifteenth century, but he, they claim, was descended from Alexander; if the Yeshkuns are really of Yüehchih origin, as Biddulph thinks, it is just possible that this mythical tradition represents a race-memory of Bactria which Alexander conquered in 329–7 B.C. However this may be, there is no doubt whatever that the race which inhabits the Hunza Valley has been there, tucked away in the heart of the greatest mountain mass in the world, for a very long time indeed.

In this connexion, it must surely be more than a mere coincidence that the favourite game in Hunza and Nagar, which has been played there since time immemorial, is a primitive form of polo. Now polo, as is well known, was the royal game of Persia in the Middle Ages, though it has long been forgotten in that country. More striking still, the practice of archery on horseback is still kept up, particularly in Nagar, which is the more conservative of the two states. One of the regular sports there is shooting a narrow at full gallop at a small silver mark fixed in the ground; we watched the Nagaris doing it when we stayed with the Mir on our journey down, and were astonished at the accuracy with which they planted their arrows as they thundered past. One's thoughts at once flew back across the ages to the ancient Parthians; could it be that here, in the Indian Empire of the twentieth century, the "Parthian shot" still survived, if only as a sport? The art of shooting on horseback, indeed, still exists in Persia, but the bow has long since been dropped for the rifle.

Another link with the remote past is the shadowy suzerainty still claimed by the Chinese over the people of Hunza, or "Kanjut" as they call it. This is probably a survival of a

[1] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 34.

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BALTIT

[Face p.20]

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connexion between the Gilgit district and the Celestial Empire dating back to a most interesting episode in the history of High Asia, one which has only been brought to light during the present century through the researches of the late M. Edouard Chavannes[1] and of Sir Aurel Stein. The account given in the official Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, our sole authority, may be summarized as follows. Towards the end of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese, then at the height of their power in Eastern Turkistan, occupied the districts comprised in the present Gilgit Agency with a view to driving a wedge between their two great enemies, the Arabs on the upper Oxus and the Tibetans in Ladakh. Between 722 and 741 the Tibetans, in their efforts to join hands with the Arabs and secure a base on the Pamirs for an attack upon Kashgar, managed to gain possession first of Baltistan (Polu) and afterwards of the Gilgit district (Little Polu). This stimulated the Chinese to a truly remarkable enterprise. An army ten thousand strong under a general of Korean extraction called Kao Hsien-chih marched up to the Pamirs from Kashgar, defeated the Tibetans, crossed the exceedingly difficult Darkot Pass (15,400 feet) into Yasin and reoccupied the whole of "Little Polu," including the Hunza Valley. It is almost incredible that so large an army, or indeed any army at all, should have performed such a feat; but the T'ang Annals are definite and circumstantial on the subject, and Sir Aurel Stein by his researches on the spot has worked out the itinerary actually followed by the Chinese general. The latter's exploit made a lasting impression on the neighbouring countries of Asia, though not perhaps quite such a widespread one as the Chinese historian would have us believe when he says that "the Syrians, the Arabs and 72 kingdoms of divers barbarian peoples were all seized with fear and made their submission." "Little Polu" was turned into a military district with a garrison of 1,000 men, which, it is interesting to note, was afterwards victualled with the utmost difficulty from Kashmir, probably by the very same route by which the present garrison of Kashmir State troops under British officers has been supplied for the past thirty-five years. By the end of the eighth century the Chinese power had gone down before the victorious Tibetans, and close upon a thousand years were to elapse

[1] Chavannes, "Documents sur les Tou-kiu occidentaux"; Stein, "A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A.D. 747," "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," February, 1922.

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but this convenient method of transit was no longer available. The previous July, during the annual "spring cleaning" and readjustment of the bridge and its cables, one of the latter parted and the bridge turned turtle, flinging six unfortunate workmen into the river and drowning three of them. It still spanned the perpendicular-sided gorge, but all twisted, tangled and awry, its roadway, railings and all, tilted giddily round towards the river a hundred feet below. There was something peculiarly grim and yet pathetic about the sight; the picture of the bridge twisting round and the wretched coolies dropping off it like flies haunted one, while the vast scale of the picture's setting dwarfed it until the broken bridge seemed no more than a strand of spider's web torn by the falling of a twig. Here where it debouches into the Indus, the Astore river-gorge is at its narrowest and deepest, and a mighty volume of water roars through it in summer from the glaciers and melting snows of Nanga Parbat. As D. and I squatted in the four-feet-square wooden box without a lid which did duty for a car and were jerked slowly across the gulf, we had ample time to gaze apprehensively downwards and ask each other how any of those six coolies managed to escape at all.

The temporary rope bridge above described, though up to four hundred weight of people or baggage at a time, could not cope with horses, and our mounts had to make a detour involving two extra marches down the Indus to Lezin, across a bridge there and up the right bank. We were thus deprived of them for two days. To our dismay we found that the shortage of horseflesh was even more pronounced nearer Gilgit than in Astore, and two or three skinny local "tats" were all that we could raise for our servants and ourselves. We had perforce, therefore, to foot it most of the forty-four interminable miles of baking sand and rocks that compose the road between Ramghat and Gilgit. In June the Indus Valley at this point is not to be compared for heat and biting insects with some countries that I have experienced, the Persian Gulf littoral for instance, or the plains of Sind though which this same Indus flows a thousand miles further south. Still, there are cooler places, and I for one have decided that if ever I have to travel up this road again in summer, nothing will induce me to come down from the cool heights of Astore until I am assured of a mount for every yard of the Ramghat-Gilgit road. Of our whole journey from Srinagar to Kashgar, this was the only section which fell below the level of enjoy-

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before it was re-established. But the tradition of Chinese dominion in " Little Polu " seems to have survived. For at least two generations before the British conquest the Mir of Hunza, or " Kanjut Chief " as the Chinese call him, had been sending annual deputations to the Tao Tai of Kashgar with tribute in shape of gold dust and woollen cloth ; and in 1847 we hear of Hunza sending a contingent to the aid of the Chinese in one of the numerous revolts of the period. And yet there is no record of a Chinese army having ever again penetrated south of the Hindu Kush. The Hunza deputation still waits on the Tao Tai of Kashgar every year with an ounce and a half of Shimshal gold dust and bales of rough grey tweed, and every year, as a proof that the Kanjut Chief is still his feudatory, a photograph goes to the Governor at Urumchi showing the Tao Tai sitting in full durbar with scales for weighing the gold dust by his side and the men of Hunza standing respectfully before him. The Tao Tai indeed makes it worth the said chief's while to pay the " tribute," for he sends back several times its value in presents of porcelain, silk and tea, besides defraying all the expenses of the deputation while in Chinese territory.

The scarcity of even reasonably level ground and the poorness of the soil are such that it is only by hard work and clever husbandry that the land can be made to support any population at all. The crofts and steeply-terraced plots of the inhabitants cling precariously to the precipitous sides of the river-valley and its narrow side-glens ; even in the main valley the cultivation is only in three or four places more than a few hundred yards wide. To the inhabitants of such a country the world consists of " nullahs " or confined valleys in which men live, and the ice-bound heights between them. This is amusingly illustrated by a conversation which took place between a British officer of my acquaintance who was shortly going home on leave, and a headman in the Yasin district.

" You are going to your father's home in England, aren't you, Sahib ? " asked the headman.

" Yes, I am going to the capital of England, London."

" London is a very big place, with plenty of shops, isn't it, Sahib ? "

" Yes, there are a great many shops."

" I suppose it is in a nice *wide* nullah, Sahib ? "

The country being what it is, one must not be too hard on

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the men of Hunza if they succumbed to the temptation put before them by British encouragement of trade on the Yarkand road and regularly raided the caravans, coming and going by the terrible Shimshal gorges through which no hostile force on earth could follow them. Even the slave-traffic which they carried on, selling their weaker Shin neighbours in droves across the Chinese border, can be understood if not forgiven. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that they were quite as bad as they were painted. Nothing indeed surprised me more on the way through their country in 1922 and afterwards, than the difference between the courtesy, good humour, frankness, honesty and genuine friendliness of the men of Hunza and the picture drawn of them by the author of "Where Three Empires Meet." Arrogant, bloodthirsty, treacherous, cruel—no words of abuse are too strong for them. I think the explanation is to be found, partly at any rate, in the reaction of a small, despotically-governed Oriental people to the character of its ruler. Safdar Ali, the Mir who was deposed by the British after the campaign of 1891, was from all accounts a man who deserved all Mr. Knight's strictures and more. It was his greed, cruelty and arrogance that were responsible for the state of affairs which eventually necessitated the Hunza expedition; and one can well believe that the fiercer spirits at any rate among his entourage became like him. It was only necessary, as the British authorities wisely saw, to banish Safdar Ali, or rather to let him stay where he had taken refuge in Chinese territory, for a great revulsion of feeling to take place among his subjects under his admirable successor, Muhammad Nazim Khan, the present Mir. In spite of the loss alike of their independence and of the chief source of their wealth, so soon afterwards as 1895 the Hunza-Nagaris were rendering yeoman service in the Chitral campaign, and at the present day it would be difficult to find more loyal and enthusiastic adherents of the "Sarkar."

Fierce rivalry has existed from time immemorial between the two principalities which frown at each other across the Hunza River, unfordable in summer and forming an admirable strategic frontier. Though they might combine against a common foe, as they did in 1891, a state of chronic warfare had existed between them until Colonel Durand's column enforced the *pax Britannica* which has existed ever since. Not much love, however, is even now lost between the two states, particularly as the Hunza men are Maulais or followers of H.H.

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the Agha Khan,[1] whereas the Nagaris are strict Sunnis. But their age-long rivalry is now, theoretically at any rate, a friendly one, confined to the polo-field and the various sporting contests organized at the *jhalsas* or "Highland Gatherings" held twice yearly at Gilgit. Only among the older men, perhaps, does a lingering regret for the good old days survive. D.'s Hunza orderly once took his mistress to see his tall, upstanding, white-moustachio'd father, who showed her with loving pride the sword and bow with which he used to fight the men of Nagar and raid the caravans on the Leh road.

"We were poorer in those days," the old man said. "We used to take the Nagaris prisoner and sell them as slaves to the Kirghiz for the Yarkand market. We used to loot silk and pearls and coral from the Leh caravans." He heaved a sigh, and then, remembering to whom he was speaking, added, "But now, *by the favour of the British Government*, we do not need to fight or raid any more."

The four marches between Gilgit and Baltit, the capital of Hunza, are graphically described by Knight in "Where Three Empires Meet," and a few extracts from letters written on the road and from an account of the journey which I compiled soon after arrival at Kashgar will suffice to convey some of our more vivid impressions. The first two marches up to Chalt, where the extracts begin, are dull compared with the second two; little can be seen from the bottom of the ever-narrowing Hunza river-gorge along which the road, from four to six feet wide and as solid as anyone could wish, is carried for the most part on ledges and galleries cut out of the cliff-face, alternating with stretches of flat but stony beach. Eighteen miles from Gilgit we spent the night at Nomal, a sunny strip of orchards and cornfields contrasting happily with the desolate gorge above and below it.

Chalt, 20th June, 1922.

* * * * *

Just before you reach this village the gorge opens out into a fair valley round which the pine-forests

> Fledge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep,

sheltering terraced fields of maize and barley and tiny hamlets set

[1] I had come across a community of this sect in the wild country south-east of Yezd, far away in Central Persia, and it was interesting to find more of them in another remote corner of Central Asia. We were to find yet other colonies of Maulais in Sariqol on the Pamirs and in the plains district of Posgam, south of Yarkand.

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600 in orchards of apricot and mulberry. The steep Chaprot glen stretches away up into the sunset, a sentinel village perched on a poplar-crowned crag in its midst; to the south, if you climb a little way up the grassy hill-side and are careful not to look round until you reach a little shepherd's hut, there will burst upon you the first marvellous vision of twenty-five-thousand-foot Rakaposhi. Like a sword of ice brandished to heaven, the sharp ridge of Rakaposhi stabs the blue, incredibly far overhead; surely nowhere else in the world can crag and snow-slope and ice-cliff be seen from such close quarters towering one above the other to a height of nearly four miles! In the evening we wandered up the Chaprot path, and from a flat-topped boulder watched the setting sun catch points on the ice-wall and make them glow like burnished silver above the shadowy forest, while opposite us the "alpengluh" suffused Rakaposhi and the sea of peaks from which it rises.

* * * * *

Minapin, 21st June, 1922.

* * * * *

At Ghalmit, the half-way house on this march, we were met by the son and heir of the Mir of Nagar, a good-looking, well-mannered youth of about twenty-five. He is a contemporary of the heir of Hunza, our escort Ghazan Khan, and the two are old school-fellows and the best of friends in spite of the historic enmity between their States. This friendship is cemented by the marriage of Ghazan Khan's sister to the Nagar boy. As for the heir of twenty generations of Hunza chiefs, he is a friendly, cheerful youth, fair and sandy with a bushy red moustache, a Scotsman to the life did he but dress the part.

We lunched under a spreading plane in the very middle of the village, sitting on deck-chairs specially brought for us from Nagar, a delicate attention invariably paid to "Sahibs" by the thoughtful Mir. Soon after leaving the village we were surprised to see ahead of us, issuing from the depths of the gorge, vast clouds of what seemed to be smoke flying upwards with great rapidity. Somewhat alarmed, and wondering whether perchance we had come by mistake to the verge of the Bottomless Pit, we pushed on, and soon discovered what it was; on the opposite slope of the valley, which is composed of crumbling rock and detritus and is pitched at a very steep angle, a stone-shoot was in progress—a kind of continuous land-slide in which streams of boulders bounded down a funnel-shaped slope, sending up columns of dust as they went. Every now and again the battering of the stones would dislodge a mighty fragment from the side of the shoot and it would join the rout, plunging heavily out of sight to an accompaniment of echoing crashes. The remains of the road which used to traverse the north side of the valley, right across the shoot, are still visible; now not an ibex could tread that path and live.

This was the only stone-shoot we saw in eruption, so to speak, but there were many others on the north side, some enormously high and all pitched at an astonishing angle. We had to cross one on the south side too, three miles before Minapin. The path is carried away in several places, and you have to tread gingerly along a barely-visible mark among the loose stones, which sink under your feet and

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start small avalanches hurtling down to the hungry-looking river far below. A few hundred yards on, comes one of those contrasts which give their peculiar quality to the landscapes of Kanjūt; the unstable, desolate, terrifyingly steep stone-slopes with their touch of Dantesque horror give place to an Arcadian village set in rich woodland pastures, fields of corn and shady orchards perched on cliff-tops and a picturesque ruined castle crowning a crag in the midst. Two miles of leafy paths brought us to Minapin; here broad fields, heavy with crop, and groves of mulberry and apricot trees stretch from the foot of two glacier-valleys of Rakaposhi to the very edge of the river-bluffs. In places the orchards are brought almost within inches of the sharp-cut edge without a wall or fence of any kind, and one marvels at the survival of the rosy-cheeked children who are to be seen at every one of the farms along the cliff-tops.

* * * * *

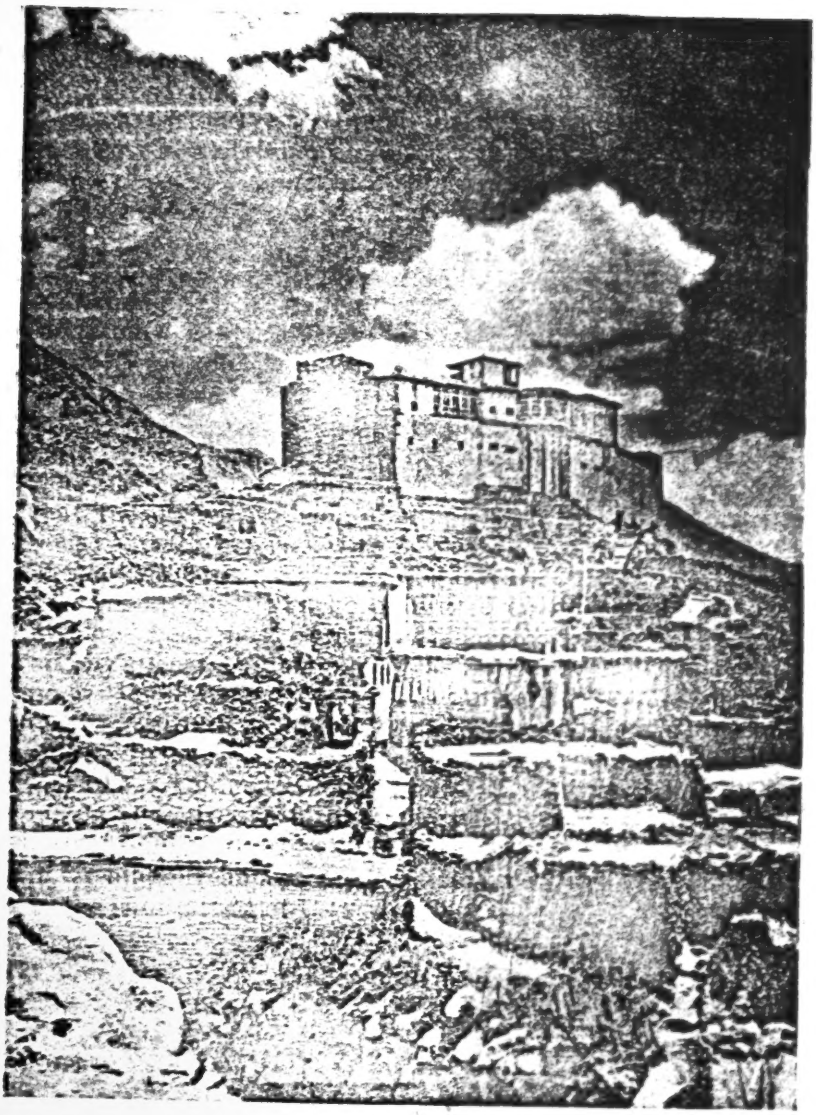
Baltit, 22nd June.

The charm of the Hunza valley lies in its amazing combination of the most diverse elements in a landscape; in its villages embedded in foliage and neat terraced fields overhung by glaciers and needle-peaks ribbed with ice; its orchards perched on dizzy cliff-tops, and romantic castles built on crags above the gorge; its plume-like water-falls spraying vineyards cocked at terrifying angles; its irrigation-channels carried along the face of vertical cliffs to homesteads where merely to stroll in the garden after dinner must require a good head.

The Baltit reach of the Hunza valley is the finest of all. At Murtezabad you cross from the south or Nagar side of the river by a suspension bridge (the northernmost and last of the Indian Public Works Department bridges on this road) to the Hunza side. All is bare and terrible here, and the sides of the deep gorge are unstable and gashed with landslides. Then tiny orchards and neatly-terraced cornfields begin once more; suddenly you turn a corner and—there in front of you is the heart of Hunza. Imagine a spacious valley with sides from ten to eighteen thousand feet high, a winding canyon with a fierce pale-brown river threading it below, its sides green-clad up to two thousand feet or more above the stream; four miles away, right opposite you, an ancient castle on a hill covered with flat-roofed houses and trees, behind which rises a seemingly vertical mountain-face three miles high, crowned with ice-cliffs and snow cornices away up in the blue heavens!

At Aliabad a little further on we halted an hour or two for lunch, while mounted couriers dashed ahead to Baltit to inform the Mir of our approach. He met us a mile out of his capital. We took to him from the very first. Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan is a half-brother of the exiled tyrant Safdar Ali, in whose stead he was installed as Chief of Hunza by Colonel Durand after the campaign of 1891. He is a kindly, courteous, quiet-mannered man, vigorous and alert though advancing in years, of keen intelligence and wide interests, proud of his long lineage and the ancient independence of his people, but equally proud of the esteem in which he is held by the British Government and by his many European friends and acquaintances. There is much to admire on Hunza's leafy, winding highway, and we arrived sooner than we expected at the Mir's summer residence on its green spur below the little town. Tents had been pitched for us under

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All



CASTLE OF THE MIRS OF HUNZA, BALTIT

[Face p. 26]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

be seen however much you crane your neck, and close behind that again rise ice-crowned cliffs and glaciers to a height of 24,000 feet above the sea, second only to those of Rakaposhi in appalling perpendicularity. The woodwork of the castle's interior is black with age, and the balustrades are highly polished by the touch of countless hands; nor is this surprising, for the place is six hundred years old. On the top floor we found a suite of guest rooms, simply furnished with bright-coloured modern Khotan rugs and chairs locally made and carved. On the walls hang portraits of former Mirs and photographs presented to the Mir by "Sahibs" of his acquaintance. There is also a little collection of clocks, cups and other souvenirs of European friendships, and a few heirlooms such as a richly damascened sword and a dagger ornamented with the silver wire-work of Arabia, which have been handed down from Mir to Mir for centuries. But the glory of the Mir's castle is the view from its windows. One of them opens on twenty miles of the Hunza Valley with marvellous Rakaposhi above it; another shows the valley of Nagar crowned by the mighty snows of Hispar; a third looks up the gorges which lead to Cathay. What King, what Emperor has such a landscape to look upon from the windows of his palace?

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Baltit, 24th June.

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After lunch we all went down to Altit, where a game of Hunza polo had been got up specially for our benefit. Never have I played such strange polo, nor on so romantic a ground. Any number can play at the same time; the sticks used have heavy fish-shaped heads set at a sharp angle, almost impossible to hit the ball with when you first try; the ground is very long but (of necessity in a country like Hunza) narrow, and is bounded by four-foot walls of rough stones, off which the ball comes at remarkable angles; there is no penalty for "crossing" or any other foul; after one side has scored a goal, its captain picks up the ball in the same hand in which he holds his stick, gallops full speed up the ground followed by his side and at the half-way mark throws the ball up and smites it full-pitch towards the enemy's goal. I saw the veteran Mir, who in spite of his years is still a wonderful player, perform this feat, known as the *tamboh*, eight times in succession, and never once did he hit the ball less than a hundred yards. There are no chukkers, the game continuing until one side or the other has scored nine goals. The result is that the ponies, though many of them are of the Badakhshi breed famed for their stamina and spirit, become dead-beat and the game flags somewhat after the first twenty minutes or so. While they last, however, the game is a most exciting and invigorating one.

A day full of new impressions concluded worthily with a sword-dance in one of the courtyards performed by nine stalwarts of the Mir's bodyguard. I had never seen such a dance—it was thrilling, finer even than the well-known Cuttack dancing of the North-West Frontier. By the light of three bonfires, with the sixteen-thousand-foot precipices behind the Castle gleaming above them in the moonlight, those Hunza guardsmen danced like men possessed, and yet in perfect time and with every step, every twist and whirl of their swords correct. The wild music, the flickering light of the fires, the

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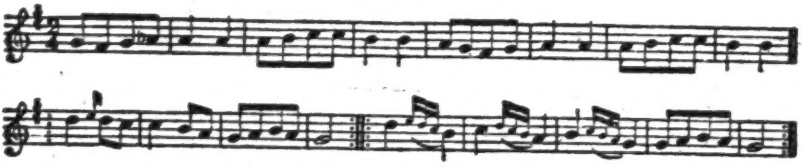
trees, and as our baggage arrived very soon after us we were soon comfortably installed.

* * * * *

This evening at eight o'clock we were bidden to dinner with the Mir and his eldest son. Not knowing our host, we expected something rather barbaric, and would not have been surprised if we had been confronted with mountainous pilaus and nothing but our fingers to help ourselves with. Imagine our surprise, therefore, when we were ushered into a brightly-lit dining-room containing a well-appointed table laid for five in correct English style, on which in due course was served a dinner which would have done credit to any "Sahib's" house in the less sophisticated parts of India. The Occidental illusion would have been complete had it not been for the Arabian Nights music discoursed most pleasantly outside in the garden by the Mir's orchestra, which consists of "rababs" (Persian guitars) with an accompaniment of small drums and cymbals. The Chief Musician plays "first rabab" and sings Persian and Afghan ballads in a soft dreamy voice the while. He was once a shining light among the Amir's musicians at Kabul, whence (no doubt for some excellent reason) he had one day to flee. Making a living by his music and his songs, he wandered up and down the frontier from Zaimukht to Chitral until one day he found himself at Gilgit. There at the annual *falsa* or gathering of the tribes the Mir heard him play, and at once engaged him to be Chief Musician at Baltit. Since then he has trained several Hunza youths, and a "State Band" (not that his master calls it by any such grandiloquent title) has come into being which is the joy and pride of the music-loving Mir. The Chief Musician's favourite song, which is called "Sultan Aziz Jan," tells of a wild romance of the Court of Kabul; it is full of lilt and haunting cadences. Another attractive entertainment at the Mir's dinner-parties is the dancing of boys dressed up as Turki girls in brightly-coloured Khotan silk robes with long braids of hair imported from Kashgar down their backs; pretty girls they make, too, and gracefully they dance.

Sultan Aziz Jan



Baltit, 23rd June.

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In the afternoon we were taken to see the old Palace, which is surely the most impressively-situated mediæval castle in the world. Its three storeys are built entirely of timber (if the building had been of stone it would have been destroyed by earthquakes long ago) and stands on a crag, round the base of which cluster picturesquely the not less ancient wooden houses of the Wazir and other functionaries. Immediately behind the castle is an abyss, the bottom of which cannot

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000 rows of watching faces, the swaying of the tall dancers and the rhythmic, inexorable sweep of the swords were for us a never-to-be-forgotten experience.

Our visit to the hospitable Mir came to an end only too soon, and we then found ourselves faced with the most difficult section of the whole journey. As if to balance the increased arduousness of the road, however, we received at Baltit an important addition to the strength of our party. Not only did the Mir send with us as far as the Chinese frontier a tall cheerful Havildar, with instructions that if anything happened to us he would be hanged, drawn and quartered and lose his job into the bargain, but he generously lent us for the whole of our time at Kashgar the services of two of his most valuable henchmen. Sangi Khan, whom I gladly engaged on the spot as Consular orderly, was a member of the Mir's bodyguard and a model of discipline, honesty and unflagging devotion. Stalwart, fair, good-looking and as strong as a horse, he was not only a born cragsman (in which capacity he was afterwards to prove invaluable) but an intrepid horseman with an unshakable seat. From the outset he installed himself as D.'s particular henchman, and his strong arm was never absent when there was a *mauvais pas* for her to cross. As for horsemanship, his boyish delight in showing off his skill was such that we used sometimes, when there was a suitable "gallery," purposely to drop gloves or hats for him to pick up, Cossack-fashion, from the saddle. Though far from brilliant, Sangi Khan was no fool; he could read and write the Arabic script and spoke, besides his native Burushaski, Urdu, Turki, and even a little Persian. Our other new acquisition was Murad Shah, who became our camp cook in place of the digestion-destroying Muhammad Rahim. Murad showed up less than Sangi Khan, but was no less useful, nay indispensable to us throughout our travels. A stocky, plain, quiet and unassuming but astonishingly hard-working and conscientious little man, he never failed us even under the most difficult conditions on the road; while as assistant to Daud Akhun, the Consular chef at Kashgar, he did at least three quarters of the hard work of the kitchen. In fact, his devotion to duty was a standing joke in our *ménage*, for even in the middle of the hottest summer afternoon when every one else was asleep Murad would be found scrubbing, peeling or cooking something or other in the kitchen.

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CHAPTER III

OVER THE GREAT DIVIDE

THE 22 miles of track between Baltit and the next inhabited settlement, Galmit, lie through the most terrific country imaginable. The turbid Hunza River rushes through a gorge of which the sides are mountains 24,000 and 25,000 feet high. The pathway, which is entirely native-built, varies from 18 inches to 4 feet in width and is in many places carried for hundreds of yards at a stretch on stakes let into the cliff-face. Elsewhere it climbs narrow steeply-pitched clefts in the rock by means of a ladder-like arrangement of small branches and stones called *rafik*. The cliffs along the face of which so much of the track is thus laid are known as *paris*. Every time the path reaches the outside of a curve of the river, it has to climb high up the *pari* to avoid the water which laps against perpendicular and sometimes overhanging rock; on the inside of the next bend it drops down no less steeply to the stony river-bank for a stretch; then comes another *pari*, and so on. One of these on our first march took an hour to cross, and we climbed 800 feet in the process. I was not sorry that the whole march was only 9 miles in length, so that we did it comfortably enough; leaving Baltit at noon we lunched in deep beds of clover under apricot trees on the way and were in by half-past five. We camped near the river under a waterfall at a place called Ata'abad; we were told that there was a village of that name, but it was perched on a ledge of the cliffs 900 feet almost vertically above our heads, so that we could not see it. It was pleasant to camp that night for the first time in our cosy, double-fly 80-lb. tents, and dine by the dim light of hurricane lanterns on our X-pattern table under the stars. Tired though we were, we thrilled to think that we had left dak-bungalows and Public Works Department roads behind and had all Central Asia before us.

On next day's march the grandeur of the Hunza gorges came

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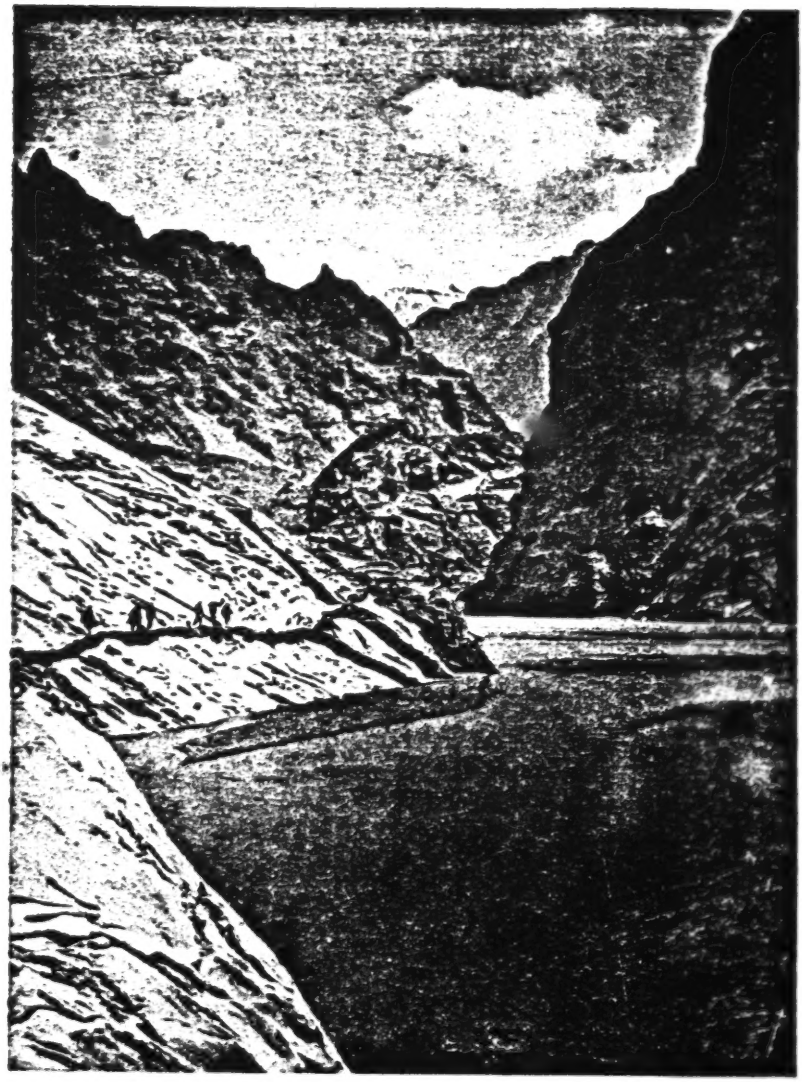

IN THE HUNZA GORGES BETWEEN ATA'ABAD AND GALMIT

[Face p. 29]

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to a climax. At each corner it was more difficult than at the last to believe that any way could be found through the apparently solid wall of cliff, thousands of feet high, in front of us. Except for a mile of stony hill-track at Bulchidas in the middle of the day, the path was one continuous succession of *rafiks* or ladders. It was too bad even for led horses, and our three had to be taken up to the village of Ata'abad and thence by a long *détour* high up among the mountains. As a matter of fact, from Hafiz' account the track they went by cannot have been so very much better than ours, for in several places they had to take the horses over one by one, two men at the head and two at the tail. However, they all arrived safely late in the evening.

Ghalmit is an attractive village boasting about 300 acres of fields and orchards well shaded with planes and poplars. It is walled round with lofty jagged peaks of a yellowish tint, fantastically fretted and carved into minarets and towers. The villagers, curiously enough, are mostly Wakhis who came originally from Guhyal near the headwaters of the Oxus, away up on the Roof of the World beyond the Hindu Kush; hence the name of this part of Hunza, Little Guhyal. They are a fine, tall, full-bearded race like the better type of cultivator in some parts of Eastern Persia. They speak among themselves Wakhi, an archaic dialect of Persian, of which I could not make out much; to me they spoke the debased and Indianized Persian current in Chitral and other parts of the far North-West.

Next day's march (27th June) was a memorable one. We started at 7.15, crossed one glacier, skirted round the foot of another, crossed a third and reached Khaibar at 8 p.m. It must have been a back-breaking day's work for our fifty-one porters, each of whom carried the regulation load of about fifty pounds—no bagatelle, as anyone who has tried to carry a box of that weight up a steep and stony mountain-side will testify. The porters who usually take loads from Ghalmit to Khaibar come from an Arcadian village buried in orchards called Ghulkin, the music of whose plashing stream belies the cacophony of its name, and they must be a powerful race.

We were disappointed with our first glacier, the Sasaini or Hussaini. Only a short section of it is visible from the moraine, and on the glacier itself, instead of the pure greenish-white pinnacles and grottoes and walls of ice that we had expected, all we could see was a tumbled waste of mud and

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stones with here and there what looked like blocks of obsidian rising through it. The latter turned out on closer examination to consist of black ice, while the mud and stones proved to be merely a thin layer covering unknown depths of the same substance; but it is first impressions that count, and ours were disappointing. The Pasu glacier is a more satisfactory specimen of its kind; it is broader and whiter then the Hussaini, and a much longer stretch of it is visible from the high lateral moraine. It was in the afternoon, however, that we were introduced to the greatest of them all, the Batura. The upper reaches of this glacier are unexplored, even by the native mountaineers of Hunza; its length is unknown, but is estimated at 50 miles.[1] As one views it from the top of the high lateral moraine, it comes round in a great sweep between two ranges of black serrated cliffs; on this occasion mists veiled the snow-peaks beyond, and the great river seemed to pour down from a world of ice infinitely high and infinitely remote. For a moment, one had the impression of a flood of deadly coldness invading this earth from Outer Space.

Crossing the Batura with a caravan is a strange and somewhat arduous experience. As the surface of the glacier is always changing, there is no fixed path, and the leading coolies pick their way across as best they can. Very soon after the moraine was left behind we found ourselves in a fantastic world of glassy black cliffs alternating with forests of crystal pyramids, brooklets of pale emerald water flowing in beds of aquamarine contrasting with steep banks and ridges of dirt and stones, hideous to behold. For what seemed an age the coolies scrambled and slid and toiled ever up and down, up and down, now treading gingerly along razor-edge ridges of ice, now splashing through the pools at the bottom of shallow crevasses. Finally all the loads and—more anxious work—the horses were piloted safely across, and after a steep ascent we found ourselves on the top of the north moraine. From here it was 6 miles of easy going to Khaibar, and we treated ourselves to a picnic tea under a rock in a hollow of the moor, while the weary coolies filed slowly on. We could understand their being tired, for we were not exactly sprightly ourselves when at eight o'clock we straggled into the little lonely village

[1] Since the writer's return to England the Batura Glacier has been explored by Mr. Ph. C. Visser and party, who have found it to be 37 miles in length. The longest glacier in the Himalaya is 16 and in the Alps 10 miles long.

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of Khaibar, herding the last of the coolies with alternate objurgation and encouragement. Nevertheless we had the tents up, boxes open, beds put up and ready to sleep on and were eating a hot dinner by 9·15—not a bad record.

That night and the next day it was rainy and cold, so we contented ourselves with an 8-mile march to the pretty plateau-village of Gircha. The valley with its steep crumbling sides and turbid river was the very picture of desolation and had an end-of-the-world feel about it, an impression which was deepened by the gloominess of the weather and the mists which shrouded the sinister shapes of the jagged peaks to the south. At the sixth mile from Khaibar a few huts and scanty cultivation afford welcome relief; the place is called Murkhun, and from here a forbidding gorge leads north-eastwards up among wild mountains twenty thousand feet high towards Shimshal and the Raskam country. The Shimshal route is practically the only means of access to the Raskam gorges of the upper Yarkand river, and even it is almost impassable in summer.

Next morning barely enough coolies were available for our loads, and it was half-past eight before our caravan took the road. The going was at first surprisingly good, but at the pleasant little orchards of Sost the track led up a deep and difficult valley to the north and for five miles was scarcely anywhere more than two feet broad, with breakneck slopes above and below. Shortly before we reached the junction of the Kilik and Khunjerab rivers we crossed the main stream by a swaying suspension bridge, the approach to which is distinctly alarming; one slip on the steep rocks, and if you missed the bridge you would return to India, by water, considerably quicker than you came. Then came a terrific *pari* with the most imposing views up the Khunjerab gorges, and a descent of a thousand feet to the right bank of the Kilik. Once past the junction the going was slightly better, but there were several awkward little *paris* and land-slides before we reached the bridge below Misgar. As we came to it we heard a rattling sound from the opposite bank, and looking up saw that the path there crossed a narrow but high stone-shoot. Stones, none of them very large, but some quite big enough to puncture one's skull, were rattling merrily down from a point out of sight among the cliffs above, and it was ten minutes before this performance ceased sufficiently to allow us to proceed. A stiff pull up across the cliff-face brought us on to

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the bleak plateau of Misgar, where at a height of 10,150 feet twenty or thirty hardy Hunza families scrape a precarious livelihood out of the rock-debris of the crags above. We had now passed out of the Wakhi enclave and were in Hunza-inhabited country once more. The fields of barley were half-grown and the struggle that their production must have cost was betrayed by the size of the stone walls, or rather ramparts, which divided them and by the heaps of stones dotted about everywhere. The houses are similarly scattered about the fields, and in fact look like nothing more than rather larger heaps of stones roughly arranged into walls and covered with thatch; these, however, are only inhabited in the summer, the people in the Arctic winter of this place moving into an entirely separate group of houses huddled together under the lee of a ravine-bank at the north end of the plateau.

The wind was bitterly cold when we arrived shortly before sunset, and we were grateful for the shelter of the telegraph station, a solidly-built three-roomed house of stone. The Indian Christian clerk in charge and his assistant seemed to be quite happy at this, the remotest and probably the bleakest station on all the far-flung Indian telegraph system. The work consists entirely in receiving and despatching Kashgar messages by the weekly "dakchis" or couriers, who take twelve days, winter and summer, to do the journey across the Roof of the World.

As we approached the Mintaka the path became narrower and the going more uneven; but the Mir of Hunza's men had kept it, such as it was, in good repair and we were nowhere seriously held up. Four miles from Misgar the valley of the Kilik River bends up to the right (north) and after a series of cataracts opens out and becomes, as it were, cleaner and better ventilated. Wild roses, primulas, gentians and other flowers which we had not seen since the Burzil begin to appear, star-scattered over the greensward, and groves of graceful birches line the banks of a more pellucid river. Murkushi is a pleasant thicket of willow and ash at the junction of the Kilik and the Mintaka streams, where one's tents can be pitched on grass in shelter from the chill winds which sweep ever up to or down from the passes that lead to the Pamirs.

To D.'s huge delight, next morning there appeared two magnificent yaks belonging to the Mir, which he had kindly ordered to be brought down from their grazing-grounds for us to ride over the Mintaka. The two great beasts, "lovely

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600 hairy cows" as she irreverently called them, were an inspiring sight as they minced towards us over the meadow, their absurdly short legs carrying their massive bodies as lightly as any cat's—well meriting the Mir's epithet with which he described them to us, *billi-patta* or, exactly, "pussy-foot." D. chose the black one (she has a Mazeppa-ish preference for black steeds which extends even to yaks), and before the sun had risen above the cliff-tops she and G. were trotting nimbly up the mountain-side, followed by myself on the black horse. The pace at which a yak can carry up a steep and rough path not only his own enormous weight—that were surprising enough—but a full-sized rider as well, must be seen to be believed.

Above the wide flat meadow of Builip, where the bordering cliffs are hollowed into cave-dwellings for the shepherds—northermost inhabitants of the Indian Empire—the valley steepens. Boulder-strewn slopes alternate with vivid green meadows, quite flat; cascades plash merrily down from butt-ends of glaciers far above, and the cliffs are ornamented with flourishing beds of ice-flowers even in June. We contented ourselves with a short and easy march to Gul Khwaja, for in the circumstances there was no question of crossing the Mintaka in one day from Murkushi. The foot of the Mintaka Glacier loomed cold and grey above the rough-built Government hut, and the narrow camping-ground, amid a chaos of boulders looked from a distance most uninviting; but under an over-hanging rock in the bright afternoon sun we were as warm and comfortable as on a Riviera beach, though the place was 13,650 feet above the sea.

Apart from a little breathlessness which D. experienced during the night, none of us suffered from the altitude; but I developed towards nightfall one of the terrible headaches from which I suffered every time I crossed a high pass, and afterwards found to be caused not by altitude but by eye-strain due to wearing too strong sun-glasses. I got it under by means of aspirin and so achieved sleep, but alas! the unevenness of the tent-floor was too much for my rickety borrowed camp-bed, which chose the smallest of the small hours to collapse under me. Now when a Rurki-pattern bed collapses, it does it thoroughly, and it takes three strong men twenty minutes to put it together again; so there was nothing for it but wearily and with splitting head to extract the tangled mess of poles and cord and canvas from under my mattress and doss down on the very knobby floor. During the rest of the night I had

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ample time to meditate upon my folly in accepting a job which entailed spending the night reclining upon ground as high, and probably at least as bumpy, as the top of the Matterhorn.

Glorious weather favoured our crossing of the Mintaka Pass, the Great Divide which separates India from China. Only the last 1,200 feet of the ascent are really steep, though the going is rough all the way, and the rarity of the air makes the pace slow at the end. From the col, for which my aneroid gave a height of 15,600 feet, an unrivalled view of the whole Mintaka Glacier and forests of strangely-fretted dolomitic peaks tempted us to linger, but we hurried on over the slushy remains of snow-fields on the flat top of the pass, for we longed to see what was beyond. It was a great moment when we stood for the first time on the soil, or rather rocks, of China and gazed northwards upon the Pamirs. The contrast between them and the Hunza-Nagar country through which we had just passed leapt to the eye. What strikes one at once about the Pamirs is their cleanness and their spaciousness. The soil, the water, the contours of the hills are all cleaner and purer than the crumbling, decaying rocks, the muddy rivers and the black sinister mountains of the terrible country to the south of Mintaka. Again, the general level of the "Roof of the World" is so high, from 10,000 to 14,000 feet, that though the mountains go up to 18,000 and 19,000 feet they do not give the impression of overpowering height; they are dwarfed by the vast spaces all round them.

At the northern foot of the pass we found awaiting us the party which had come out from Tashqurghan to meet us. There was Sharif Beg, a big handsome young Kirghiz voluminous in a quilted coat, Russian boots and a big astrakhan-rimmed cap; he was the "Beg" of Mintaka and represented the Chinese Amban or magistrate of Sariqol district. Then there was Nadir Beg, who figures on the Consulate roll as "Watchman in Sariqol" on the lordly salary of Rs.15 (£1) a month, but is a considerable landowner, keeps several horses and looks more like a retired Indian officer than anyone else. Various other Kirghiz and Tajik Begs had come out from their camp at Mintaka Aghzi, stout hairy good-humoured people who seemed genuinely glad to see us. With this escort we made short work of the mile or so of bare but green and smiling valley which led to Lopgaz, where Kirghiz tents (*aq-oi*) had been set up for our occupation.[1]

[1] For a description of the Kirghiz *aq-oi* see Ch. XI, p. 155.

As soon as we were settled into camp we asked the Begs to tea. They were shy at first, but once they had got over this and had learnt how to spread a Scottish scone with English bottled honey, they enjoyed themselves thoroughly. Like most of the Sariqolis they could all speak more or less intelligible Persian, so there was no difficulty about conversation.

Next day (3rd July) for the first time our whole caravan consisted of yaks, in all six riding and eighteen baggage animals, and they did the 27 miles to Paik in 10½ hours. For us the brilliant clearness and invigorating purity of the air, the springy turf extending for miles under our horse's hoofs, the sense of illimitable freedom given by a gallop over the spacious Pamirs, all combined to make that morning's ride from Lopgaz down to Mintaka Aghzi a memorable one. Just below the junction of the Karchanai and Mintaka streams we breakfasted largely under a rock, little knowing what was in store for us. Hardly had we travelled a mile further, when we came upon four or five *aq-ois* looking like enormous button mushrooms on the wide meadow, with countless sheep and goats and a few yaks grazing peacefully around. It was the encampment of one of the Begs whom we had entertained to tea the afternoon before, and it was out of the question to refuse a return of hospitality; accordingly we were soon sitting cross-legged on the floor of the largest *aq-oi* and absorbing enormous quantities of excellent flat circular loaves, tea, cream, dried apricots and *poi* or rich curdled yak's milk. Thanks to the air of the Pamirs, G. and I at any rate did ourselves well, to the satisfaction of our hosts; indeed, *poi* sprinkled with sugar and spread thickly over fresh Kirghiz bread makes a meal fit for a king. All the while our hosts remained standing and hungry, according to the universal and somewhat embarrassing custom of hosts in Central Asia. The women interested us as much as we, and especially of course D. in her quasi-masculine riding attire, interested them. They are not veiled, or even particularly shy; a good-looking, square-faced, high-cheekboned type, quite fair, were it not for their quaint garb they might have stepped out of any Scandinavian village. Their costume is certainly delightfully picturesque. Unlike the men, they wear turbans, but of a fashion not seen in India or Persia; of snow-white calico, tightly and neatly wound and flat-topped, the feminine headgear of the Pamir Kirghiz looks for all the world like a large

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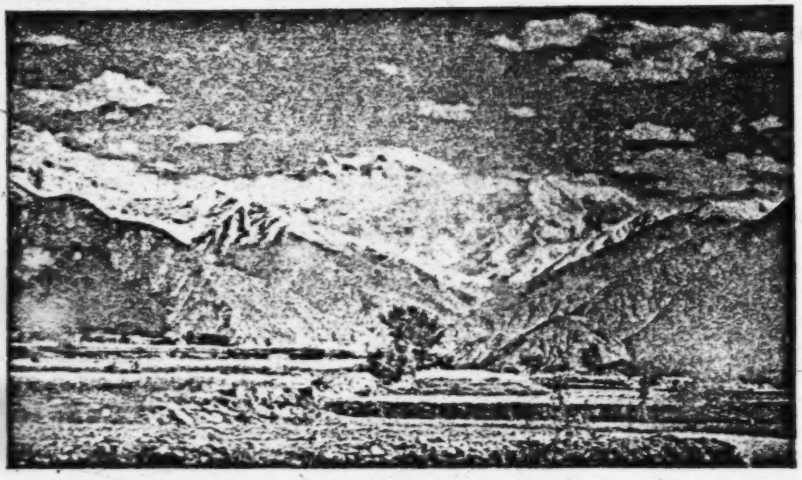
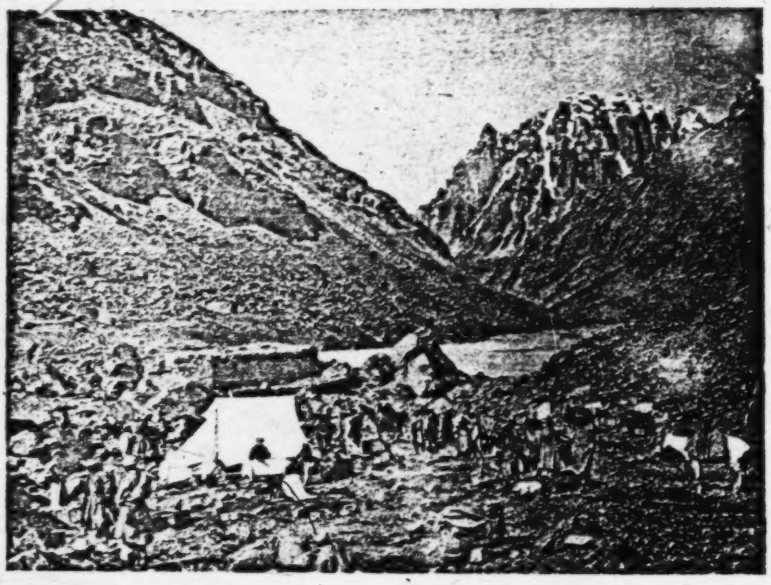


NANGA PARBAT (26,620 FEET) FROM BUNJI, INDUS VALLEY



D. AND G.C.P. AT BREAKFAST BEFORE CROSSING THE MINTAKA PASS (15,600 FEET)

[Face p. 36]

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600 china cream-bowl perched on the wearer's head. One expects it to slop over any moment; yet its fair wearer not only balances it without difficulty, but also hangs a long strip of gaily embroidered silk down from the back of it, almost to her heels. Their party-frocks are also of this many-coloured type, of Bokhara silk or cotton; altogether, a bevy of Kirghiz beauties on the greensward in the brilliant sunlight of their native Pamirs is a gay sight indeed. The Kirghiz have an eye for colour: their huts are hung inside with richly-tinted red and blue strips of carpet, pieces of Andijan satin, coloured leather articles and, most effective of all, large reed mats decorated with characteristic designs in dyed woollen thread.

With great difficulty and protestations of eternal friendship we at last tore ourselves away from the hospitable tent of our friend—only to be confronted a mile farther on by an even larger and more opulent encampment belonging to another of our Begs, where the same performance had to be repeated. It would, of course, have been highly invidious to have eaten less *poi* and Kirghiz bread spread with cream here than we had absorbed in the tent of a rival Beg, and by the time we had finished being tactful we could hardly hoist ourselves on to our horses. We were visibly, I fear, relieved when in answer to our anxious inquiries we were informed that the 17 miles of road to Paik held no more hospitality in store for us.

At Mintaka Aghzi ("the mouth of the Mintaka") we were within a few miles of the frontiers both of Afghan Wakhan and of the Russian Pamirs; so that three Empires and one Kingdom very nearly (but not quite) met close to us. The pleasant green land seemed to be populated, apart from the few Kirghiz and their flocks and herds, entirely by golden marmots (*Arctomys aurea*). These little animals made us laugh with their curious cry, like a street-urchin's derisive whistle, the intriguing black tips to their tails and the cheeky way in which they sat up and gazed at us from the edges of their burrows, ready if we made a sign to pop down like a jack-in-the-box.

At the very draughty little Chinese post of Paik, 12,650 feet above the sea, we did not envy the lot of the N.C.O. and his ten seedy-looking men. He looked as if he smoked opium, and no wonder. This detachment was withdrawn not very long after we passed; its existence at Paik for a few years was an indirect result of the Great War.

Next morning on the march to Dafdar, 22 miles, we at first

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had great trouble with the caravan, which consisted this time of six camels and five yaks. I wrote feelingly about it in a letter home as follows:

"The people of this country have no idea how to load a camel. They seem to think it ought to be done by perching as many packages on top of the beast's spine as possible, then tying a single rope round the whole and finishing up by hanging a lot more odd articles from any projecting corner they can find; the result is that before the animal has gone half a mile, various tin cans, lanterns, baskets, hat-boxes and other odds and ends have become unshipped and the balance of the load, such as it was, is destroyed. Round slips the whole affair under the camel's stomach, whereupon he takes fright and bolts. Now a camel bolting at the ungainly, lumbering trot of the species with several hundredweight of assorted luggage raining off him like leaves in autumn is one of the funniest sights imaginable when it is somebody else's luggage; but when it is one's own cases of whisky, medicine chests or favourite yakdans that are dangling from the beast's tummy, the humour of the situation is not so striking. This happened to every one of the camels, and to most of the yaks as well, within the first two miles of the march, and we all expended much energy and language helping the men to put the loads on again. Once the camels had been loaded in the proper way, *i.e.*, with the load in two separately tied up and compact parts hanging on each side of the animal and balancing each other, all went well; but do you suppose the owners took the lesson to heart? Not a bit of it. Next morning all the luggage was perched on the top of the camels exactly the same as of old."

A mile or so below Ujadbai we passed a high, craggy mountain on the west side of the river called Qizqurghan or the "Maidens' Castle." Nadir Beg pointed out to me the ruins of a fortress high up on its face, and told me there was a local legend about it which he had once heard but had forgotten. It was something about a Persian princess who had long ago reigned over Sariqol from this impregnable castle with a body-guard of maidens, Amazons as it were, and had allowed no man to come near. Water they had obtained by means of deep wells and Persian wheels; it was said that remains of these wheels (otherwise unknown in the Pamirs) were still to be seen among the mountains. Remembering this story of Nadir's I was much interested to read afterwards in Sir Aurel Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (vol. 1, p. 90) a description of these ruins, which he reached after a difficult climb. The walls, he says, extend for 450 feet, average 16 feet in thickness and are over 20 feet high where best preserved. They contain thin layers of juniper twigs, like the ancient Chinese border wall in the Lop desert, and probably belong to the same period.

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More interesting still, the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang, who returned to China from India viâ Afghanistan and the Pamirs in A.D. 642, saw this same fortress, which was even then in ruins, and relates the legend he heard locally about it. This was to the effect that a Chinese princess of the Han Dynasty had been betrothed to the King of Persia and was being escorted to his capital from Peking. At Chieh-p'an-t'o (Sarikol, Chinese Pamirs) the way was blocked by robbers and the princess' Sarikoli escort placed her for safety on an isolated peak protected by precipices. Here, well-guarded though she was, the Sun-god visited her, and when at last the way was clear and the escort came to fetch her, they found her with child. They were so impressed that they begged her to stay and rule over them. The chiefs reigning in Sarikol in the pilgrim's time were descended from the son then born to her. Sir Aurel also mentions that the Afrasiab hill near Tashgurghan is supposed to be called after the son of the Princess, who was buried there. He says nothing about remains of Persian wheels.

From Dafdar, where there is a flourishing colony of Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan who have made the desert blossom like the rose; the road is flat and almost featureless the whole 34 miles to Tashqurghan. Only the finely-scarped Sariqol range on the left and, on clear days, a distant glimpse of the great white dome of Muz Tagh Ata in front, relieve the monotony of the view. Three miles from Tashqurghan, at an outlying farmstead of Tughlan Shahr, we were met by a reception-party consisting of the Aqsaqal or British agent at Tashqurghan, the local *Pir* or chief of the Maulai sect and a few other Maulais and British subjects. In the farm-house we were entertained at our first *chah-jan*, the wayside reception-feast which is such a feature of the elaborate ceremonial of Chinese Central Asia. We had only just eaten our sandwiches, but rather than disappoint the good British subjects we did our best with the *pilaus*, sour cream and local bread. Hardly had we consumed the last mouthful of which we were capable when we were informed that the *Pir* of the Maulais had invited us to a similar feast at his house a mile away! There was nothing for it but to climb on to our steeds and proceed to the Pir's house with as much grateful alacrity as we could muster. A regular procession followed us across the fields. Meanwhile a thunderstorm had been brewing, and before we were half-way a heavy shower of rain and hail came on. There being appar-

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ently only one table and three chairs in Tughlan Shahr, these had to do duty at both entertainments, and we were regaled with the sight of our dining-table galloping ahead of us on a frisky horse, closely followed by the chairs. A hundred yards from home the table began to come to pieces, and its legs soon strewed the fields; the sportsman who carried it, however, was quite unperturbed; excited small boys collected the pieces and we were astonished to find the hard-worked piece of furniture, richly dight with loud-hued table cloth and almost literally groaning with food, awaiting us in the Pir's innermost drawing-room when we arrived!

Between Tughlan Shahr and Tashqurghan the river flows in many channels across meadows of close-cropped grass, covered with cows, ponies and donkeys grazing. Tashqurghan is the seat of a Chinese Amban or District Magistrate, and this gentleman ought, we were informed, to have fired a salute of three guns and had the troops out in honour of our arrival; rather to our relief, he considered we were not important enough and omitted to do so. He contented himself with sending his large red paper visiting card by the hand of his secretary and interpreter, a sly-looking person with a remarkable fluency in Persian, Turki and Chinese as well as his native Tajik. The house of the Aqsaqal, which is used as a rest-house by British travellers and is well situated on a bluff overlooking the bazaar, is a small place consisting of an outer courtyard with servants' quarters and an inner one, pleasantly shaded by willows, with two small "sahibs' rooms" and a kitchen. Here we made ourselves comfortable enough for the three nights we stayed at Tashqurghan.

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CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71-2.

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487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

131 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese [132] officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be [181] performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

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quality not seen in lower snows, makes it an impressive spectacle. The wide floor of the Sariqol Valley is dotted with homely little farmsteads, each nestling snugly beside a clump of willows. The soil is remarkably good; wheat, barley and oats sown in May are reaped in October, and two crops of lucerne are usually taken. Sweet-smelling purple orchises, gentians, vetches of all colours and primulas of large size line the paths in June and July.

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The Amban of Sariqol, our first acquaintance in the Chinese official world, was not a favourable example of his kind. He was an opium-smoker, and shortly after our arrival at Kashgar was relieved of his post. I called on him my first morning, as I was determined to be polite in spite of his having practically ignored us the previous day. As I arrived only half an hour after the appointed time, nothing was ready, and the Aqsaqal and I had to stand in the waiting-room of the "Yamen" or magistrate's quarters amid an interested crowd of bottle-washers and hangers-on, while a servant hurriedly brought in a small table, two chairs and some uninviting-looking sweetmeats. Finally the Amban came in and we both sat down. Pale green tea tasting strongly of hot water was our tipple; conversation, I regret to say, somewhat flagged, the old Amban being obviously under the influence of opium while my style was cramped by the "gallery" standing close around and following every syllable, every mouthful. I was relieved to be able to escape after twenty minutes or so of this entertainment.

The Amban was in better form when he returned my call the same afternoon, and did his best to make amends for his previous remissness. This encouraged us to invite him, his young son, the Commandant of the Garrison and his adjutant, and the Pir of the Maulais to tea the following afternoon. I found out afterwards that it was a mistake to ask the Pir, as the Chinese seldom sit at table with their subjects. D. spent the whole morning making scones and sweets, and the party was a great success. Conversation flourished, the Amban being quite talkative. He spoke in Chinese to the Adjutant, who translated into Turki to Nadir Beg, who translated into Persian to me and I into English to D. So:—

AMBAN (to Adjutant): How old is the *Tai-tai* (lady)?
ADJUTANT (to Nadir Beg): How old is the *Khanum*?
NADIR BEG (to me): How old is the *Mem-sahiba*?
I (to D.) How old are you?

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574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 563 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from 522 their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour. I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

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said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy on his head ? " The problem of supplies was not so difficult as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

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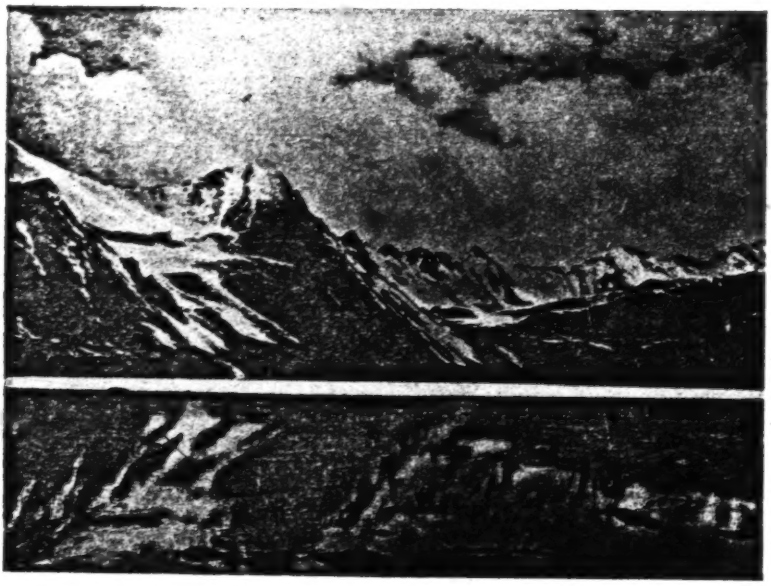
CROSSING THE YANGI DAVAN (16,100 FEET)



UNMAPPED LAKE AT HEAD OF YAMBULAK VALLEY; SPURS OF MUZ TAGH ATA IN BACKGROUND

[Face p. 46]

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467 Kŏk Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down [622] from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. [272] Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we [263] made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

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487 milking the sheep and goats by the water's edge while the men and children looked on.

[231] Next morning we awoke to find a brilliant sun shining on a cheerful scene composed of yaks, yak-calves, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, curly-headed children, rainbow-clothed white-turbaned women and one to two shaggy men (the rest were still in bed), against a background of fat mushroom-like *aq-ois*, foaming river and steep green hill-side. I had decided to halt a day at this pleasant spot, partly to give the caravan a rest, partly in order to reconnoitre on foot a pass called the Merki Davan by which I hoped to cross into the upper Qaratash valley and thus gain access to one of the blank patches on the map which Sir Aurel Stein had advised me to explore. To cut a long story short,[1] Gerard Price and I, assisted by Juma Beg with his men and yaks, reached a height of 16,500 feet on a snowy spur, from which point we could see that the "pass" was quite out of the question for our caravan. It was nothing but a lofty ridge of rock at least 17,000 feet high, deep in snow even on the south side and defended also by steep ice-slopes.

[758] Meanwhile D. passed a strenuous but amusing day with the Kirghiz ladies, all of whom clamoured (mostly quite unnecessarily) for medical treatment and seemed to appreciate presents of quinine tabloids and castor oil even more than the beads and other small gifts which D. had brought for them. At any rate, she made herself very popular, for next morning when we marched down the valley their farewells were most affectionate and they walked at her stirrup quite a long way down the valley. One of the younger ones was perfectly lovely; the coloured sketch of her which was done by D. on this occasion and is reproduced as a frontispiece to this book does not flatter her unduly. As a rule, however, the faces of the Kirghiz women, though broad-browed and pleasing, are too flat for beauty.

[37] As we filed down the Yambulak valley it became ever narrower and its sides higher and steeper. The profusion of wild flowers was a revelation; anemones, primulas, kingcups, columbines, antirrhinums, campanulas, asphodel and many others of which we did not know the names grew in masses, especially in places where the sheep and goats could not get at them. Cascades of wild roses grew out of every

[1] For an account of this climb, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925, p. 388.

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Art (13,340 feet) and the Kashka Su (12,900 feet) respectively. They were very much alike; winding ravines among high rocky hills; a glen thickly carpeted with alpine flowers, narrowing and steepening as we ascended it; a last back-breaking ascent, and then the col, a rounded ridge with out-cropping rocks and turf enamelled with tiny blooms. We lingered long on the Kashka Su; we had been travelling over or among mountains for such an age—a golden age—that it was difficult to believe that we were crossing our very last pass. From the summit we looked with interest towards the north, hoping to see the plains of Kashgaria spread out below us, but as far as the eye could reach lay a jumble of green ridges surmounted here and there by a snow-flecked crag and deeply seamed by silver torrents, the music of which floated gently up to us. Behind us to the south and south-east a magnificent array of giant peaks, the little-known mountains of the Upper Yarkand River valley, bounded the horizon with walls of cliff and glacier.

Descending steeply for 1,500 feet over meadows covered with asphodel we found a small tent pitched for us and a way-side tea-drinking prepared by a delightful old Father Christmas of a Beg called Mirza Ahmad Beg of Taumtara, a side-glen to the north-west. We greeted our host in the tent and were at once confronted with a mountainous collation of freshly-killed and exceedingly tough mutton, leather-like bread, a kind of oily and very indigestible pastry and tea with salt in it. Being fortunately left to ourselves with this repast, we were able, ostensibly at any rate, to do our duty as guests by disposing of quite a large quantity of the food; this we effected by the simple process of eating our own sandwiches and putting the Beg's viands in the haversack thus emptied. Meanwhile the Beg's wife and sister, who must have heard of D.'s fame from Yambulak, were round the corner in gorgeous robes and exaggerated Kirghiz head-dresses, awaiting their opportunity. As we emerged from the tent after our deceitful meal, we saw them in all their glory crossing the stream on their ponies, a picturesque sight. A lengthy interview with D. in the tent followed, while I talked to the old Beg outside. When the ladies had at last finished sampling D.'s medicinal stock and wisdom (for that is what they had really come after), we continued on our way. D. said that they had been rather heavy on hand and had no small-talk; they gave her the impression of being *mazlum-kishis* indeed (I may explain that

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487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

[221] That night (14th July) we camped in wild and grand, but
[64] less green and flowery, country at Toilebulung, the winter headquarters of the Yambulak Kirghiz who grow their crops there and bury their dead in curious little domed mausolea. The elevation was only 9,650 feet, the first time we had been down to four figures since Gircha in the Hunza valley, sixteen days before. We mopped our brows and complained of the stuffiness of these low-lying valleys, until some one pointed out that we were still far higher up than the most elevated Indian hill-station.

432 Next day we bid adieu to the Yambulak Kirghiz with many
[431] invitations and promises to visit them again one day. I had already given old Ibrahim Beg with much ceremony an official present in the shape of a watch. Just before leaving I discovered that he had already disposed of it to Hafiz for five taels (about 15s.). As it was only worth about four taels, and as I wanted to impress upon the Kirghiz the enormity of the insult to the British Empire, I publicly reproved Ibrahim, took back the watch, made him repay the 5 taels to Hafiz, and then gave him a cash present of 4 taels instead of the watch. I then, supposing that Hafiz really wanted a watch to tell the time by, sold him the Government watch for 4 taels. The following day one of the other orderlies told me that Ibrahim had bought back the watch from Hafiz for 4½ taels, evidently thinking that as there was such a to-do about the article, it must be a good investment. It was not till after we reached Kashgar, however, that I heard the sequel from Harding, who passed Yambulak two days after us. This was that Ibrahim Beg changed his mind once more about the watch and sold it to Harding's orderly for 3½ taels! Turkis and Kirghiz alike are born traders and would sell the noses off their faces if they could get good money for them.

487 On each of the next two days we crossed passes, the Ter

487 *mazlum-kishi* is the Turki for "woman" and means literally "oppressed person"). However, small-talk is not so necessary when you have plenty of diseases, as these oppressed ones apparently had, and D. scored another social success. A couple of hours later we were settling into comfortable *aq-ois* provided by Father Christmas on a meadow by the Kinkol River. Near by grew many mushrooms, a rare treat. On the mountain-sides all round we could hear the red-legged partridges calling; I accepted their invitation, and a brace of them soon graced our camp larder. I may mention that between Yambulak and Kichik Karaul not a day passed that we did not bag partridges or hares, or both, for the pot. Next day I had a misfortune in the shape of a nasty fall with the black horse, which came down suddenly at the trot and threw me on to a sharp stone, which bruised my thigh somewhat severely, causing me to faint twice with the pain. I rode the rest of the march (and the two following days) on a yak or pony with my leg in a sling, neither a comfortable nor a rapid mode of progression. This delayed us very much and we took a day longer to get into Kashgar than we would otherwise have done.

Further down the valley became very wild and rugged, and raging glacier-torrents from the Qizil Tagh or "Red Mountains" on our right had to be crossed as well as the main stream. Here, at a place called Sasik Tika, we noticed a single poverty-stricken *aq-oi*. I distinctly remember commenting on the sinister look of the valley at this point. I was reminded of this the following spring, when I was present at the trial by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar of the Kirghiz to whom the *aq-oi* belonged for the murder of a Chitrali traveller.[1]

137 Soon after leaving the next camp, Toqoi Bashi, the first real trees we had seen since Tashqurghan appeared, and after that we were never without some. Short, thick-set trees they were, with fluted bark and small, pointed leaves; further down the valley some of them attained great size. We did not then know to what species they belonged, but they afterwards became very familiar. They were the desert poplar (*P. varifolia*, Turki *toghraq*) which is the characteristic tree of the Tarim Basin and, outside the oases, the only one that grows at all freely.

487 That night we camped at the first settled village of Kashgaria, Kichik Qaraul or "The Little Fort" It was pleasant to sit on the grass and munch juicy melons, nectarines and

[1] For an account of this trial, see Ch. X.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows.

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia.

Ighiz Yar ("The High Bluff") proved to be a pleasant stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters; they also opened on a cow-byre.

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village "general shops" at home.

Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

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bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined. 574

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very confortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in 622 our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing 574 over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which [353] we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, 487 but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 between rich cultivation and howling wilderness in the true Central Asian fashion, brought us to the village of Yapchan just before dark. Here we were somewhat depressed to find that instead of the house and garden we had been promised, we were to spend the night in two or three tiny, unventilated rooms in a very small and dirty public *serai*. It appeared that the owner of the house at which Europeans usually stay had inconsiderately died just before our arrival. Half the loafers and children of Yapchan enjoyed an excellent close-up view of the three of us unpacking, dining and going to bed. Next morning D. said that she had not been by any means the only occupant of her room; she counted, I think, seventy-one others.

On 21st July, 1922, we rode and drove the last 24 miles to Old Kashgar. Some three miles out we were met with an elaborate wayside reception by Mr. Fitzmaurice, the outgoing Vice-Consul who had been holding charge of the Consulate General pending my arrival, supported by the office staff, the Aqsaqal and other British subjects of Kashgar. A mile further and we were being greeted at a pleasant pavilion among willow-groves by the Chinese officials, representatives of the Swedish missionaries and the Russian colony, and others. Here we were entertained at an excellently-cooked and almost European lunch by the friendly and genial Taoyin of Kashgar, after which we listened and replied to speeches of welcome in various unfamiliar tongues. A long and dusty procession through bazaars and suburbs brought us late in the afternoon to "Chini Bagh," by which name the British Consulate General is locally known.

Our journey from Srinagar had occupied 49 days from Srinagar, including eight days' halts on the road. We could have done it easily enough in, say, forty-two, but we should not have enjoyed it nearly as much as we did. Including the value of stores consumed on the road, but not the wages and travelling allowances of private servants and Government orderlies, the cost according to the careful accounts I kept worked out at £120 for the three of us—much less than I had expected.

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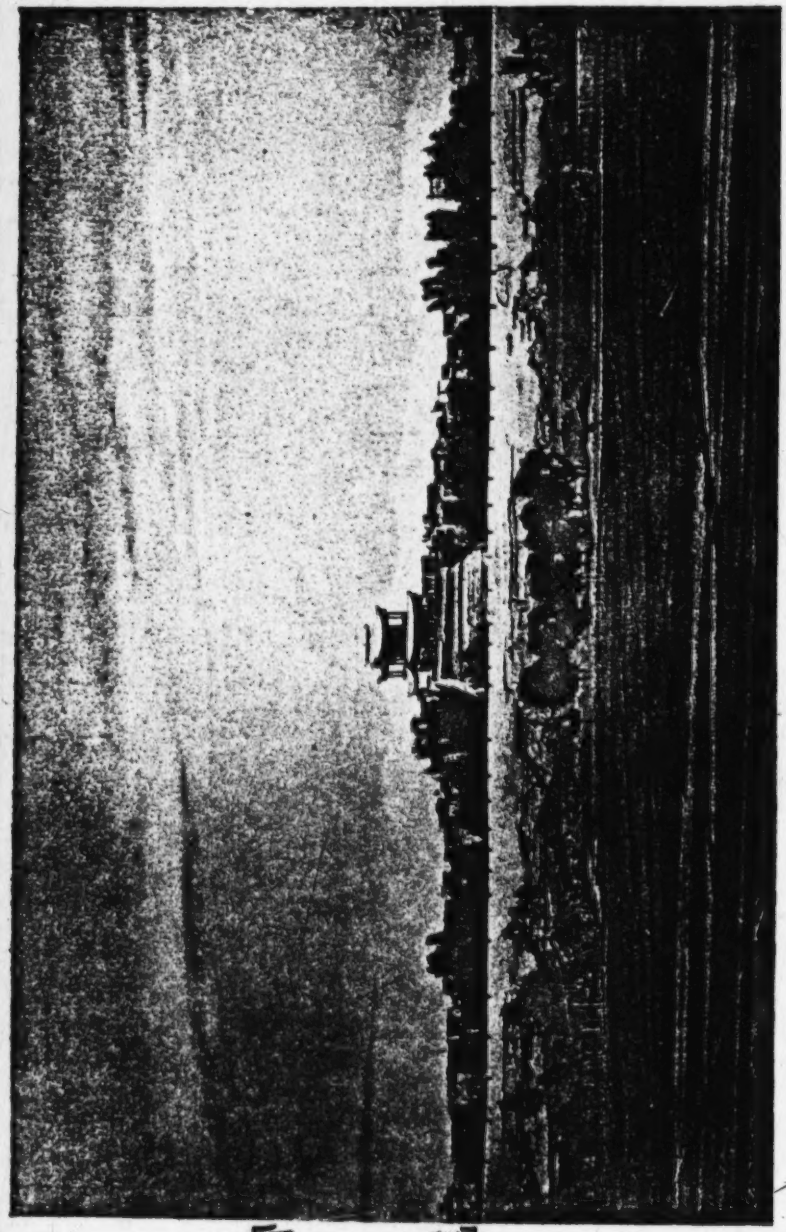

THE WALLS OF OLD KASHGAR

[Face p. 54]

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CHAPTER V

KASHGAR

ONE'S first impression on arrival at the Consulate General is of greenery and shade; of limes and acacias, willows and planes and fruit-trees of all kinds; of tall bushy poplars rising like a wall against the sun, and slender poplars with little white-backed leaves which flutter silently in the faintest breeze like the waving of fairies' hands; of confused gardens on three different levels, with an orchard and a vine-pergola and a little meadow and a dense thicket of Babylonian willow and a pond with lotuses in it and a carved Chinese summer-house, all mixed up with trees and an amazing riot of flowers and vegetables. The house itself is comfortable enough, expecially after the long pilgrimage over mountain and desert which leads to it; the bedrooms are perhaps a little inadequate, according to English ideas at any rate, compared with the magnificent hall, dining-room and drawing-room, but the latter certainly impress Chinese and Russian visitors with the dignity of the British Empire. So does the imposing gateway flanked by a long line of clerks' quarters on one side and by the office buildings on the other. But the glory of the Consulate-General is undoubtedly the terrace along its north-western side. The approaches and south-eastern façade of the house afford no inkling of the view of which a first glimpse is obtained through the French windows of the drawing-room. Stepping out on to the long terrace with its sundial and parapet of sun-dried brick, you find yourself on the top of a low bluff looking out over the wide shallow valley of the Tümen River. Immediately below you are the trees of the lower garden and its enclosing wall; then comes a narrow road-way with country people going to and from the busy town all day long; beyond it a patch of melon-beds and willow-fringed rice-fields, into which from the left juts a promontory of river-bluffs crowned with houses and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

361 trees and at the very tip a small mud-built shrine. Then comes the winding river, brimming in summer with the melted snows of the Tien Shan. On the further bank more rice-fields and a line of loess bluffs, below which here and there nestle cottages and water-mills buried in willows; beyond, trees and farmsteads stretch away to the northern edge of the oasis five miles distant, where in stark contrast a great sweep of gravelly desert slopes down from the curiously-corrugated foothills of the Tien Shan.

What a joy that terrace was! The bedrooms all opened on it, or on a small verandah just above, in which I slept in all but the coldest weather. How pleasant it was, as one sipped one's early tea, to watch the sunlight flood the valley and listen to the various noises of the morning as they floated up from field and homestead, the harsher ones softened by distance; birds twittering, cocks crowing, women calling to one another, donkeys braying, boys singing, dogs barking, cart-wheels creaking and, on Wednesdays, the musical wailings of women worshippers at the little shrine of Sultan Buwam down by the river; best of all, that peculiar sound which for us seemed to hold the very essence of Kashgar's charm—the note of the millers' horns as they called to their customers to bring their grain for grinding. It is the horn of a mountain-goat that the miller of Kashgar winds for this purpose, and to us the gentle sounds which floated up in the morning from the little mills by the river were as the

Horns of Elf-land faintly blowing.

In the evening, too, the terrace was a favourite haunt, when the river-bluffs opposite glowed with the sun's last rays and pearly clouds floated over the far-off Tien Shan; when the patter of ponies' and donkeys' feet and the voices of the villagers riding home from market came up from the road beyond the garden, and the call to prayer echoed along the valley from the mosques of the city. But if the view from the terrace was wide, that from the roof of the tower was, or could be, immense. Perfectly clear weather is, alas, rare in Kashgaria owing to the fine loess dust which almost always slightly thickens the atmosphere; but at two seasons of the year, early summer and late autumn, the atmosphere in the mornings could be as clear as crystal and the farthest mountains plainly visible from the top of the tower. And what a panorama they made, in November at least when the leaves were off the trees which

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partially masked them! From south right round by west to north-east they stretched, the walls that screen Kashgar from the rest of Asia. To the north indeed the snowless outer ranges of the Tien Shan were not impressive, and higher peaks could only here and there be espied beyond. But right across the south-western horizon, sixty to a hundred miles away, stretched a mighty rampart of eternal snow, here irregular and serrated, there smooth-topped and broken only by the very highest massifs, which stood out like the marble bastions of a Citadel of the Gods. It was the Kashgar Range, a hundred miles long and from 18,000 to more than 25,000 feet high, which walls off the lofty table-land of the Pamirs from deserts and oases of the Tarim Basin.

It is difficult to analyse the fascination of lofty mountains seen afar off; so much depends upon their associations. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the climber thinks of the arêtes and chimneys and ice-slopes that await his scaling; the naturalist, the geologist and the surveyor of the new and varied world they offer, and the stalker of the mighty heads that surely lurk among their inmost sanctuaries. But to none do "the Hills" mean more than to Western dwellers in Eastern lands; and not only to those for whom they are a relief from the soul-destroying monotony of the plains, but also to all those who have heard the call of the Desert. To one who knows them both, the limitless freedom of desert horizons is the more exhilarating by contrast with the narrow paths of the mountains, while the springs and streams, the woods and flowers and grassy shoulders of the hills are the lovelier for the memory of arid wastes and empty sun-baked water-courses. So it was that for us, who knew so well the parched lands of Baluchistan and south-eastern Persia, much of the glamour of that distant line of snows lay in the promise they held of flowery meadows and deep glens full of greenery for our exploring, of "fresh woods and pastures new" tucked away among their crags and splintered ridges.

But the enchantment of the Kashgarian landscape is not solely of the kind that is lent by distance. The soil is of the curious formation known as "loess," which consists of nothing but fine desert dust, deposited from the air and firmly caked in layers of varying thickness. Loess has two peculiarities: one is its extraordinary fertility, which is such that you have only to poke a stick into the ground and water it regularly,

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[134] and it will grow into a full-sized tree; the other is its tendency to vertical rather than horizontal cleavage. The result of the 312 first is that wherever water can be brought (the climate of the plains is almost rainless, but water from the encircling mountains 241 is plentiful for irrigation) the land is closely cultivated, willows and poplars line every water-channel and the farmsteads are buried in foliage. The second peculiarity results in the landscape being broken up most picturesquely in the neighbourhood of the many rivers by perpendicular cliffs or river-bluffs, seldom more than thirty or forty feet high, but bold of outline and of a rich yellowish hue, with farmsteads perched on top of them and mills nestling below, trees and crops growing to their very edge and greenery in every cranny.

The whole aspect of the better-watered parts of the oases is one of immemorial peace and contentment and of a civilization, such as it is, that has persisted unchanged for centuries. Nowhere could be found a more striking illustration of the strength and permanence of a rural population with its roots deep in the soil, especially when that soil can only be made productive by means of an elaborate system of irrigation. 175 Politically, Kashgaria has had as stormy a history as any country in the world. During the last 2,000 years or a little more the Chinese have conquered it five times, and four times they have been evicted from it. The total period of their occupations up to date only amounts to about 425 years; during the remainder of the time Kashgaria has been the prey of one conquering people after another. Huns, Yüehchih or Indo-Scythians, Hephthalites or White Huns, Tibetans, Uigur Turks, Qara Khitai,[1] Mongols under Chingiz Khan, Dzungar Mongols and Turkis from the Transcaspian Khanates have all won and lost it in turn. Apart from these more cataclysmic changes, civil war has at various periods raged between the larger towns, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu. Yet [241] down through the ages generation after generation of peasants have yearly tapped the summer floods from the mountains and have raised their crops of wheat and barley, rice and millet, cotton and maize and melons, while wave after wave of conquest has rolled over their head. Whenever any conqueror or tyrant has interfered overmuch with the cultivator, his greed has been his downfall. A striking recent example of this

[1] The twelfth-century conquerors who gave their name to "Cathay." Stein, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 495.

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was in the case of Yakub Beg, the Khokandi adventurer who led a successful revolt against the Chinese in 1865 and ruled the country after the traditional manner of the Oriental despot for the next twelve years. Under his tyranny, according to Stein,[1] the population of some of the oases sank to one-half of what it had once been, and the cultivated area everywhere shrank greatly. The result was that when in 1877 the Chinese came back in force, they were welcomed with open arms by the people and the power of the self-styled "Amir" collapsed like a house of cards. 175

Nothing is more impressive than the persistence with which through the ages China has enforced her claim to Eastern Turkistan. Whether to safeguard the transcontinental "Silk Road," which in the palmy days of Imperial Rome carried the produce of her looms to the Atlantic shore, or whether because she must extend her effective occupation to the westernmost mountain barriers of her empire on pain of losing their protection, China has always returned to the charge, even after a thousand years. Despite the gigantic distances involved—for even now, with several hundred miles of railway to help, the journey from Peking to Kashgar takes five months—her armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Emperors of Cathay has leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as though they had never been. [489]

Since their last re-conquest in 1877 the Chinese have governed Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," from Urumchi fifty marches north-east of Kashgar. Standing on the site of Bishbaligh, one of the chief centres of the Uigur civilization in the Middle Ages, Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China, except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, where a man may travel for fifty days without meeting a single human being, the New Dominion has recked little of the civil wars which during the last twelve years have rent the mother-country from end to end. The only effect on Sinkiang of the Revolution of 1911 and the consequent weakening of the Central Government has been to permit a Governor of outstanding ability to establish himself as the virtually independent ruler of Chinese Central Asia. The result of Yang Tseng-hsin's twelve years' rule has been that the military and other 636

[1] "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 498.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them [651] will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the [161] mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. 311 We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, 631 notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

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Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land 311
into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe— 631
receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for
promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted
on canals along which the water will not run—" Amban's
Follies " we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious
Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way 651
and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer.
For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and
half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not 871
exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached
to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but
reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censor- 208
ship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing
with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and
Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news
or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually
prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from 178
the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if
the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps —that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I 439
liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though
the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly
limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route,
the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently
or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is
surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100
and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one
or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur.
Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

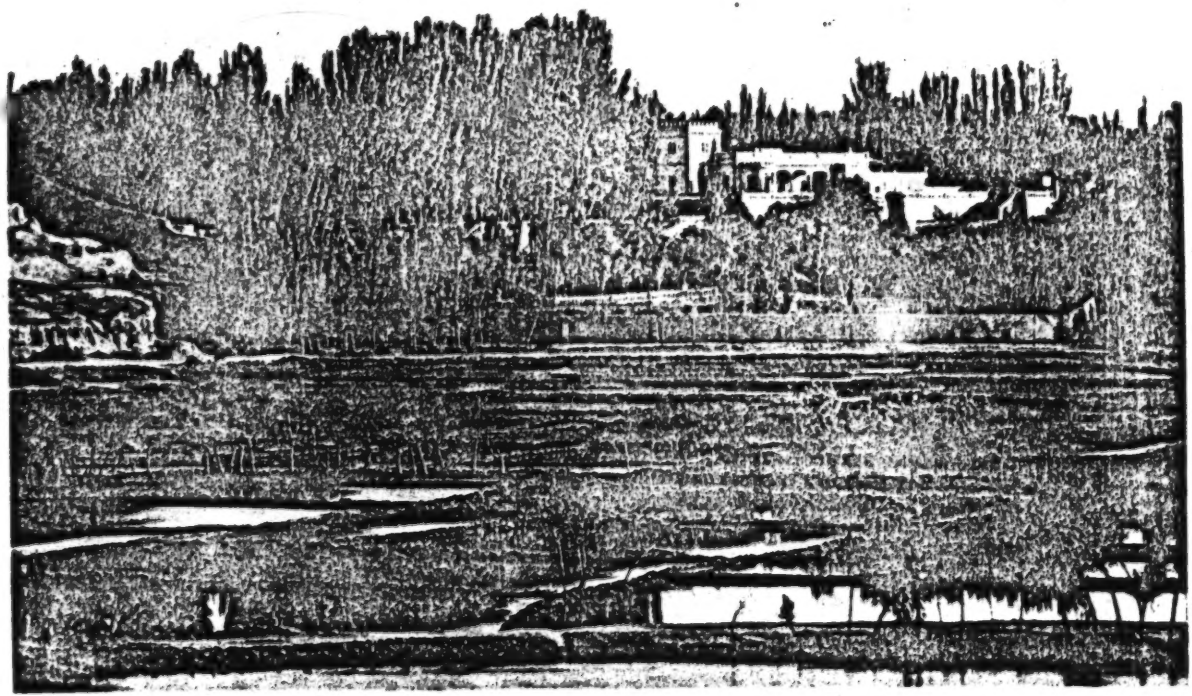
439 Hissar, Karghalik and elsewhere. Besides these there are colonies of Muhammadan British subjects in nearly all the districts, some of them purely agricultural immigrants from Northern Kashmir and Chitral, others (and these among the wealthiest in the land) merchants engaged in the Indian trade. Many of the latter have married Turki wives, own land and houses, and have a considerable stake in the country. 648 All these people[1] cling tenaciously to their British nationality and their right to the protection of the Consular court, which 692 under the existing arrangement exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction over them. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the extra-territorial system in general or the details of its application to Kashgaria. Suffice it to say that the Consul-General is kept very busy maintaining order among the British subjects of the various districts, settling their civil disputes, trying cases brought against them by Chinese subjects, helping them to obtain redress in the Chinese courts and generally watching over their interests. Although theoretically the Consul-General deals only with the Taoyin, the representative of the Governor of the province, in practice very few cases, and those only the most important ones of an "international" nature, are heard at Kashgar. The Consul-General works informally with the District Magistrates, either directly or through the British agents ("Aqsaqals") in the various towns. As the majority of the British subjects live from five to twenty marches from Kashgar, it can readily be understood that the most effective and expeditious method of dealing with their cases is regularly to visit the districts in which they reside and settle matters on the spot, either with the District Magistrates or among the British subjects themselves as the case may be. In fact, it was only by travelling once a year down each of the two main roads, Yarkand-Khotan-Keriya and Maralbashi-Aksu-Kucha, with halts varying from one to fifteen days at each district headquarters and with an occasional extra visit to the chief centre of the Indian trade, Yarkand, that I found it possible to keep in touch with the Indian colonies and (what is no less important) on friendly personal terms with the 484 Chinese magistrates. Nearly half of the two and a quarter years we were in Kashgaria was thus spent on tour, and D. and I covered, apart from holiday jaunts to the hills, some 3,400 miles, almost entirely on horseback with our baggage in Peking carts or on the back of pack-ponies. There was

1 [Indian merchants -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

no difficulty or hardship about any of these journeys among the oases of the plains, for, apart from being looked after very well by our own people, we were not only assisted and escorted everywhere we went by the local authorities, but actually treated as guests, having frequently the utmost difficulty in getting payment accepted for the loads of flour, vegetables, rice, fruit, fodder for horses, etc., which met us at every town. Either the Chinese official rest-house or a private residence was placed at our disposal at most stages, though in the larger centres the Aqsaqal or some other influential British subject usually insisted on putting us up. Escorts were provided everywhere, whether we wanted them or not; the troops, at any rate down the Khotan road, were invariably turned out in our honour. Last but not least, at every town we visited except two or three in the remoter northern districts, the officials not only came out to meet us and to see us off with the peculiar roadside tea-drinkings which are *de rigueur* on these occasions, but also gave special dinner-parties in our honour. As will be seen later, these attentions were sometimes rather embarrassing than otherwise, but one could not help appreciating the goodwill that prompted them. Altogether, the friendliness and courtesy with which we were received practically everywhere by the Chinese authorities were most cheering, and testified eloquently to the popularity and respect gained for the British Consulate-General by its founder, Sir George Macartney, as a result of twenty-eight years of able and single-minded service.

Life at Kashgar itself was physically less strenuous than on tour, when work and long marches had to be combined, but I was always kept very busy, especially after I was deprived in July, 1923, of the valuable assistance of the Vice-Consul, Mr. Harding, whose post was afterwards left vacant. The number of different languages in which we carried on our work indicates the variety and interest of our daily routine. On any one of our files there might be, and often were, papers in six different languages: English, Chinese, Turki, Persian, Urdu and Russian. As for the "spoken word," Turki, Urdu and Persian were all in regular use with visitors, litigants and witnesses during office hours. Some of the more cosmopolitan of my friends, indeed, used all these three languages in the same conversation, switching from one to the other in a most disconcerting manner. The Consulate staff, whom I must now introduce, were as follows: the Mir Munshi (Head



BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL FROM NORTH BANK OF TÜMEN SU
(*Telephotograph*)

[Face p 64]

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000 Clerk), Khan Sahib Muhammad Nasir Khan; the Accountant, Treasury Officer and Second Clerk all in one, M. Firoz ud Din; the Chinese "Writer," i.e. Secretary and Intrepreter, Mr. George Chu of Peking, late Intrepreter with the Chinese Labour Corps in France; and the Doctor, Khan Sahib Fazl-i-Ilahi. In spite of the conditions of exile under which they worked, two months' journey or more from their homes—for with the exception of the Doctor none of them had been able to bring their wives or families to Kashgar—they laboured uncomplainingly and loyally, and made things very easy for their chief.

For some years before our arrival there had been a platoon of Kashmir Imperial Service infantry under a native officer as Consular Escort, but this was "axed" in 1922 and replaced by eight mounted orderlies under a *jemadar*, recruited locally and armed with swords and revolvers. The pay and conditions of service being very good according to local ideas, we had the pick of the British subjects and some good Turki candidates to choose from, so that a really excellent set of men were got together. The best of them were Hafiz and Sangi Khan, who have already been introduced, and the Jemadar, a steady, nice, wise old Ladakhi called Ghulam Muhammad. These men, together with the *dakchis* or postal couriers and other Government employees and our private servants, all had quarters within the Consulate enclosure. Altogether our population was generally between seventy and eighty, including women and children; some of the men had other wives in the town, but nobody was allowed more than one within the precincts of the Consulate-General. In fact, we had a regular village on the premises, with its own gate and water-supply, each house enclosing a courtyard and some of them a tiny garden as well.

202 Government officials who live at the end of telegraph and (worse) telephone wires, as nearly all do nowadays even in the remotest parts of the Empire, will envy the Consul-General at Kashgar when they hear that practically all his official telegrams take between 11 and 19 days to reach him. There certainly is a Chinese telegraph line between Peking and Kashgar viâ Urumchi, but messages usually arrive in such a mangled state after a week or more *en route* and several retransmissions, that it is seldom used for official correspondence, which comes through the nearest Indian telegraph station, Misgar. The Government of India maintains a service of couriers who bring the mails from Gilgit in 15–17 days and

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202 the telegrams from Misgar in 11–13 days. Hunza men carry the bags on foot or horseback as far as Tashqurghan, Consulate couriers the rest of the distance. Except in early spring, when the mails are sometimes held up for a week or two by snow on the passes and the telegraph line over the Burzil is broken by the same agency, the service is remarkably regular. Accidents do happen, but are fortunately rare; in 1921 a Hunza courier with his mail-bag fell off the path near Ata'abad and was dashed to pieces, and another was lost in the snow on the Mintaka Pass in the spring of 1923. Needless to say, these men are well paid, and the Kashgaris on the Tashqurghan section, who do the double journey by the Gez route once a month all the year round, have in addition comfortable married quarters in the Consulate "village," a coveted privilege.

205 Legation correspondence and other mails from China Proper, on the other hand, came by the Chinese post, which was regular and remarkably speedy, considering the vast distances involved. Letters took two months to reach Kashgar from Peking, and parcels (which came by cart) five to six months. Except for two private couriers whom we maintained for our heavy correspondence with Yarkand, we depended entirely on the Chinese post within the borders of Sinkiang. Our letters reached Keriya, for example, in ten days, though the distance is well over 400 miles, including 150 miles of sandy desert. The service between railhead at Pingtang and Keriya, viâ Kansu, Hami, Maralbashi and Yarkand, some 3,000 miles, is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world. Its efficiency is all the more creditable in view of the enormous difficulties with which the Department has to contend. The head of the Postal Department in Sinkiang during our time was an Italian and is always a European official of the Chinese Board of Communications; and the Chinese Postmasters whom we met at Kashgar were all men of up-to-date Western education with a good knowledge of English.

"Society" at Kashgar consisted of the Chinese official
647 world, the Swedish Mission, the Russian colony and the
648 British Consulate-General. The Chinese officials of whom we saw most were the Taoyin, usually known by the honorific title of Tao Tai; his Foreign Affairs Secretary, who spoke English; the Magistrates of the Old and New Cities, which are the headquarters of separate districts though only six
648 miles apart; the Commandant of the Old City garrison; the Postmaster (another English-speaker), the Master of the Mint,

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648 [797]

and one or two others. The Swedish Church Mission has branches at both the old and the new towns, as well as at Yarkand and Yangi Hissar. They were short-handed during our time owing to the Russian road being closed and transit viâ India both difficult and expensive, and there were only three ladies and two men at the Old City Mission. We had some very good friends among the Swedes; most of them spoke English, and we came to regard them almost as our fellow-countrymen.

Before the Revolution of 1917 the Russians were very strongly represented at Kashgar. The Consul-General was usually a diplomat of high rank with an escort of a hundred Cossacks and a very considerable retinue. Owing to this and to the relative proximity of the Transcaspian centres of Russian culture, the Tsarist Consulate-General was the preponderating element in Kashgar society. By 1920, however, it had died a natural death and the Russian colony had dwindled to twenty-three, of whom seven were children. The former Trade Agreement between Russia and the Sinkiang Government having been abrogated in 1922 and no new agreement having yet been concluded with Moscow, the Soviet Government was entirely unrepresented in southern Sinkiang during our time, though this was by no means the case north of the Tien Shan.[1] Moreover, the whole Russo-Chinese frontier from the Pamirs to Aqsu was closed by the Chinese, who allowed no Russians of the new régime to enter Kashgaria, so that the surviving colony consisted almost entirely of pre-Revolution residents who either could not or would not return to their own country. Like the Chinese, hardly any of them spoke any language but their own, a fact which added considerably to the complications of official entertaining. Indeed, had it not been for two of the Russians, who spoke English and Turki respectively and acted as interpreters, intercourse would have been impossible, for neither D. nor I could speak a word of Russian.

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In spite of the language difficulty, the official and foreign community met frequently and on the most friendly terms. We all "did our bit" in the matter of entertaining, including the chief Chinese officials, who were most hospitable, and keenly appreciated European hospitality in return, although it must have seemed strange and barbarous to them. Some

[1] A Trade Agreement has since been concluded between the Soviet Union and the Governor of Sinkiang; and a Russian Consul (without escort) has been in residence at Kashgar since July 1925.

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one of local importance, say one of the older Russian residents, would set the ball rolling with a Gargantuan feast to which every one was invited; thereupon the Tao Tai and the Hsieh Tai and the Mission and the Bank and ourselves, not to be outdone, would rapidly follow suit, each after the manner of our kind. Social life at Kashgar thus alternated between periods of comparative quiet and bursts of feverish gaiety. Among the most enjoyable parties were those given on behalf of the Chinese by one or other of the leading Turki merchants in their beautiful gardens outside the city. It may be explained that the modest term *bāgh* or garden in Central Asia includes not only what we would call the garden but the house or houses built on it; and very delightful places some of them are, with large airy rooms, quiet courtyards and deep high-roofed verandahs looking out on wildernesses of roses, pomegranates, vines, orchards and willow-fringed pools.

Apart from all this hospitality, there were frequent calls to be paid to or received from Chinese officials from the Tao Tai downwards, either visits of ceremony in connection with Chinese or British festivals, arrivals or departures of officials and so on, or interviews on business. These last, if knotty "international" points had to be discussed, might last an hour and a half or two hours, but three-quarters of an hour was the average duration of a Chinese call. Not speaking a word of Chinese—I was told that seven years was the shortest time in which I could hope to acquire enough of the language to be of use to me officially—I relied entirely on the services of an interpreter, either Mr. Chu, the Chinese Writer, or (while he was with us) Mr. Harding, a brilliant Chinese scholar. As I had found when I first went to Persia, the necessity of speaking through an interpreter is not altogether a drawback in diplomacy.

Another of my social duties was to exchange ceremonious calls twice a year with the British Aqsaqal and ten or twelve of the leading residents of the town. These latter included the chief Muhammadan religious and legal luminaries, the Yamen Begs and two or three of the wealthiest merchants engaged in the Russian trade. At Christmas they all came to pay their respects at the Consulate, and their calls had to be returned; at the 'Id festival it was my turn to call on them first. These visits were an education in old-world courtesy and dignified kindliness. Most of the old gentlemen were perfectly natural and had plenty to say for themselves,

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so that there was nothing stilted about these functions. I was surprised to find that, though they all knew some Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, only one of my Turki friends spoke Persian. That tongue, however, was our regular means of communication with the British subjects of Chitrali or Afghan extraction, including some of the Aqsaqals.

We were not very much at headquarters in spring, summer and autumn, but when we were our spare time was fully occupied with rides and walks, tea-basket picnics, tennis with the Indian clerks on our excellent hard court, and so on. In winter there was skating on perfect ice from about 20th November to 10th February, as well as excellent duck- and snipe-shooting. My attempts to make a small practice-rink in the lower garden were not a success; nothing would induce the water to remain under the ice as it formed. But there are many marsh-lakes throughout the Kashgar oasis which, as early as the middle of November, carry a foot or more of mirror-smooth black ice. The nearest of these natural rinks was six miles along the Aqsu road, and there was another one, much larger, among the marshes of Salarma five miles south-west of the New City. Two or three afternoons a week I rode out to one or other of these lakes, and often D. came with me or followed later with guns and the tea-basket. A couple of hours' exhilarating practice on the perfect ice would be followed by tea on a sunny bank, after which we would take our guns and an orderly to neighbouring haunts of duck and teal that we knew of, seldom returning empty-handed.

136 On days when there was not time to go out to the lakes there was plenty of shooting close at hand. The Tümen Su, which flows past the Consulate-General, the Qizil Su two miles to the south, the Yaman Yar and other rivers, together with the innumerable springs along their banks, are frequented between October and March not only by the mallard and teal which breed in Kashgaria but by countless hosts of duck, geese and snipe of all kinds passing to and fro between the colder lands to the north and the lakes of Afghanistan, East Persia and North-western India. One day in November we counted no less than twenty-three gaggles of geese in the sky at the same moment, winging their way south-eastwards from beyond the Mountains of Heaven. A spring among the frozen rice-fields immediately below our garden wall was the haunt for weeks of several duck and a couple of snipe,

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which were so confiding that we came to regard them as pets and spared them from the pot; but less than a mile away, under the eastern wall of the city, was a large area of rice-fields kept moist by slightly warm springs, where on good days one could rely on putting up twenty or thirty couple of snipe. As for duck, I counted no less than eight different quiet spots within two miles where we could be reasonably sure of a shot at any time of the day. 136

We had also our various hobbies. I spent hours puzzling out the results of my plane-tabling among the "Alps of Qungur" and elsewhere, and had also my enlarging apparatus (worked with an incandescent spirit lamp) with which I turned out many hundreds of pictures from my ever-increasing collection of negatives. The garden was D.'s chief joy and pride, but she also gathered the Consulate children round her two or three afternoons a week and taught them sewing, gardening, outdoor games and other accomplishments as well as such Girl-Guide and Wolf-Cub ideas as were appropriate in the circumstances. There was also a perfect menagerie of pets, useful or ornamental, to look after; these included at various times (and mostly at the same time) three cats, four snow-cock, three gazelles, fourteen hens, five ducks, a white pony about the size of a Shetland which I bought at Qizil Bazar for the equivalent of eighteen shillings, eight rabbits and a camel. The gazelles and the poultry all came to a tragic end at one time or another at the jaws of the semi-wild dogs which are such a pest in Kashgaria. These brutes hunt in packs at night when they are supposed to be guarding their masters' houses, and though I repulsed several of their attacks with my gun and killed some of them, they always came back, scrambling over the high walls of the garden with extraordinary agility. The loss of the poultry was particularly sad, for the cock, a magnficent bird of great size with all the colours of the rainbow in his plumage, had been picked up by us at a farm near Yarkand, while D. had brought back two beautiful hens three hundred miles or more from Khotan and Aqsu respectively. D. was breeding from these three birds and had raised two fine sets of chickens, when the dogs broke into their house and killed the whole lot one night. The feline members of the community were perhaps the most important of all; D. and I are both cat-lovers, and there is no doubt that the pussies ruled the Consulate. Their names reflected our polyglot habits at Kashgar, for the big tabby was "Chong Mao," the middle-

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000 sized black "Chhota Mao," while the black kitten which was brought to the door by a poor Kashgar woman in the spring and speedily became first favourite was generally known as "Wee Squeakie." *Chong*, I may explain, is Turki for "big," *mao* Chinese for "cat," and *chhota* Hindustani for "small," so that four different languages (or five if you include Scotch) were represented in the nomenclature of the Consulate pussies.

They were happy days we spent at Chini Bagh, and only too quickly did they pass; hardly, it seemed, were we back from one tour before it was time to prepare for another. For halcyon days, halcyon weather is needed; and here the climate played its part right nobly. For those who love the sun and yet like a winter that *is* a winter, the climate of Kashgar approaches perfection. During the whole of our time 132 there was not a single day on which the sun did not shine, if only for an hour, and on four out of five it shone all the time. Not always with its full strength, indeed, because of the dust-haze already described; but it shone. The average rainfall throughout the year at Kashgar is about two inches. Between the beginning of March and the end of July showers and rain-storms are liable to occur, but there is always ample warning, so that they cause a minimum of inconvenience to lovers of *la vie au grand air*. The Turki farmer likes a drop or two of rain during the early summer, but it must not be overdone. Some years ago during a drought the inhabitants of Kashgar requested a certain popular mulla to pray for rain. He did so with great fervour, and shortly afterwards rain fell in torrents, ruining the crops. Whereupon, at the petition of the Kashgaris, the Amban punished the unfortunate mulla with a thousand stripes! I remember during the first rain we had at Kashgar being astonished to see out of the window the gardener hurrying indoors with the geraniums; on being questioned he explained that, as every one knew, rain-water was injurious to flowers and he was taking the geraniums in to save their lives. When it does rain, it is inadvisable to go out until the ground has dried, for the loess clay becomes so slippery with wet that it is almost impossible to keep one's footing. Owing to the extreme "continentality" of the climate—Chinese Turkistan lies further from the sea than any country in the world—the annual range of temperature averages 100° Fahrenheit; the lowest readings in January being in the neighbourhood of zero, while the highest shade temperature in August is 103°

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to 105°. Another climatic feature arising from "continentality" is the fact that April is much hotter than October, which is the warmer month in other regions of the globe. 132

In winter the ground freezes to a depth of a foot and a half, and all irrigation water stops owing to the choking of the canals with ice between 15th November and the end of February. Yet the Kashgar winter is not at all a formidable affair. The skies indeed are sometimes grey with dust-haze, and for several days in January the thermometer does not rise above freezing-point. But the sun shines most of the time, while as for wind, that terror of cold lands, we had none worth mentioning. Ringed round on three sides by lofty ranges, Kashgar is mercifully windless in winter, so that in spite of the hard and prolonged frost the cold is not severe. We made ourselves very cosy in the evenings in front of roaring wood fires. One of the first things we did to the Consulate was to instal good British open fireplaces, not being content with the cheerless Russian stoves we found in the house: vast shiny black cylinders like the funnels of monstrous locomotives, which disfigured and either under- or over-heated every room. There are usually one or two light snowfalls during the winter, but the snow melts very quickly in the strong sun, except where there is underlying ice. In spring and early summer occasional storms with rain or dust or both vary the monotony of the eternal sunshine, and are also to be welcomed for the exquisite clearness of the air which follows them. At any time in July or August the weather may become, for short spells at a time, unpleasantly warm according to European though not to Indian standards; punkahs are unknown, though I must confess I should sometimes have been glad of one. But the nights are seldom oppressively hot, except occasionally just before a storm. Another fly—to use an appropriate metaphor—in the ointment of a Kashgar summer is the insect life. 136 Mosquitoes and sand-flies are a trial, though not to be compared with those of an Indian plains station; the former are smaller and less robust than those of Hindustan, and both can be effectively circumvented by a mixture of citronella oil and kerosene. At night muslin sand-fly curtains are advisable, unless one is sleeping in the open air and well away from walls.

One would have expected that the cities of Chinese Turkistan, where ideas regarding sanitation and hygiene are of the most primitive, would be hotbeds of disease and regularly 164 364

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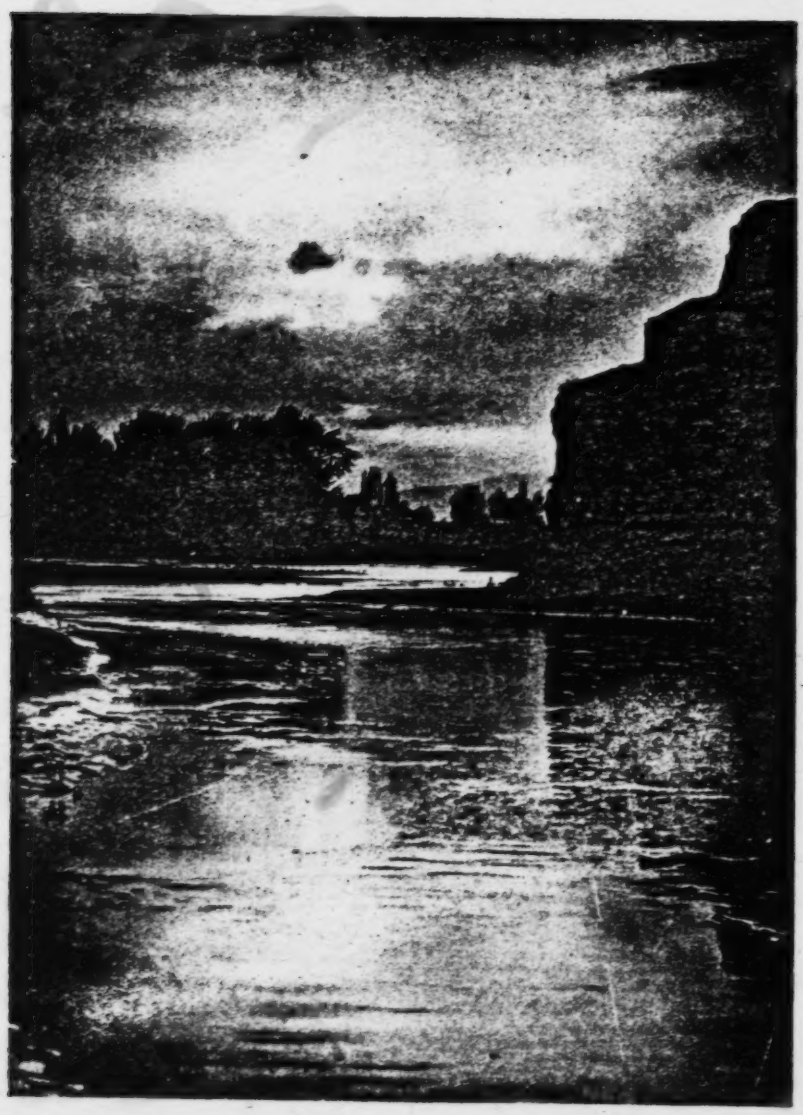

EVENING ON THE TŪMEN SU ABOVE KASHGAR

[Face p. 72]

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swept by all sorts of epidemics. In particular it might be supposed that towns which are dependent for their water-supply upon small rivers, canals and even ponds would be peculiarly liable to the scourge of cholera, as are those of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan where similar conditions prevail. But it is a remarkable fact that cholera, typhus and plague are alike unknown, though they appear regularly in Ferghana and Bokhara immediately to the west. Stranger still, though dogs both tame and semi-wild abound, and though they occasionally go mad and bite people, hydrophobia is unheard of, though common enough on the Russian side of the Tien Shan. The only serious infectious diseases are typhoid and smallpox, which appear to be endemic ; in neither case, however, is the mortality rate high, in spite of the lack of western-trained doctors and hospitals, nor have Europeans much to fear from them. The only ailment which seems to give Europeans much trouble is a comparatively mild form of malaria which is prevalent in the districts where there is much rice-cultivation. On the whole, Kashgaria may be said to be one of the healthiest countries in Asia. So, at any rate, we found it, for with the exception of a single chill which kept D. in bed for a week or two our first September neither of us had a day's illness during the whole of our time in Chinese Turkistan.

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CHAPTER VI

A CENTRAL ASIAN ARCADY

ON a clear May morning before breakfast at Kashgar it is pleasant to lean on the parapet of the flat roof of the Consulate and allow one's gaze to wander round the vast horizon of oasis and desert, of plains and snowy ranges. Beyond that horizon, north, south, east and west, it is easy to picture the sunlit spaces of High Asia stretching away round the dipping curve of the globe. How remote and isolated was the ancient land to which we had come! Sometimes I wondered whether railway or even metalled road would ever scale those lofty ramparts of ice, or bridge the immense gulf of desert between us and the Far East. Whose while would it be worth to spend the millions needed? There in the north, beyond the Mountains of Heaven, was the fair province of Semirechia, once richest of the Tsar's Central Asian lands and the home of many thousands of colonists from European Russia—a "white man's land" indeed. It looked at one time as if Kashgar was going to be made accessible from Europe through Semirechia more easily than by any other route; the Tsar's Government were pushing the Chimkend-Vyerni extension of their Transcaspian Railway rapidly eastwards towards the Dzungarian frontier, and southwards from Pishpek on this line they made a rough carriage-road by Fort Narin to the Tien Shan. They even, I believe, carried a *route carossable* over the Turug Art Pass, while from the Kashgar side they somehow or other—the Russian Consulate-General was very strong in those days—brought about the building of a fine bridge over the Tümen River just outside the Yarbagh Gate of the Old City. This bridge would have been convenient for visitors, armed or otherwise, who might have happened to approach Kashgar by the Narin Road. It was swept away by a summer flood some years ago, and curiously enough has not been rebuilt by the Chinese. Then there was

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Ferghana to the west, an older land than Semirechia and no less fair. The Islamic culture of Kashgar comes from the ancient cities of Ferghana; its minstrels still sing of Marghilan, the Silver City, its ballads tell of the days when there were Khans in Khokand. The Russians before the War had brought their railway to Andijan, and for years the caravan-route over the Terek Pass from that town was the least arduous of the roads to Kashgar. Thus it is that such little foreign influence as has left its mark upon this place is Russian. But in Central Asia the triumph of politics over nature is short-lived, and the trade between Kashgar and Russian Turkistan is a mere shadow of its former self. To the south of Ferghana lay the secluded mountain lands of Eastern Bokhara, another ancient Khanate. Time was when the Oxus and its affluent the Surkhab saw the caravans passing to and fro between Persia and Cathay; long before the Revolution, the organization by the Russian Government of the Andijan route had diverted traffic from the ancient Silk Road, but the glories of Bokhara and far Samarkand were household words in Kashgar none the less. Now the age-old Chinese policy of seclusion has once more prevailed, and the city of Tamerlane is as remote from Kashgar as Roum—Constantinople—itself. Then, to the south-west beyond the Pamirs, Afghanistan, now emerging from the shelter of her mountain walls into the dusty arena of the twentieth century; then the "Rough Bounds," as they would call them in the Highlands, of Dardistan and Baltistan across which we came; and last Tibet, the true Roof of the World, still remote and mysterious in spite of the long but narrow searchlight-beam of publicity which has lately fallen upon it.

Ignorance in Kashgaria of the outside world is still profound. Strangers, especially "Afghans," under which generic term Indians, Persians and Bokharans as well as genuine Afghans are grouped, are called "travellers" (*musafir*), or "men who have crossed the passes" (*davan-ashti*), for the road to Leh and India is often referred to as the "Seven Passes." What little knowledge there is of India and its English protectors is confined to Kashgar, Yarkand and the oases of the south; along the north-east road, in Maralbashi, Aqsu, Kucha, etc., the vaguest ideas prevail. Nor do their Chinese rulers enlighten the inhabitants; quite the reverse. Some of those we met had very hazy ideas themselves as to what was "beyond the passes." Harding told me that they visualized India, if

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at all, as a mountainous frontier province of "England," inhabited entirely by turban-heads (Chan-t'ou) over whom ruled a white race only slightly less barbarous than themselves. I remember once being told by an inspecting officer from Urumchi who called on me about the road across the Gobi Desert to China Proper: "It is not so dangerous as it used to be," he said, perfectly seriously. "The route the caravans used to go by between Hami and Tunhwang became infested by stone dragons, which breathed fire and storm and devoured many travellers. They got so bad, that the government sent out a detachment of troops against them. But the stone dragons devoured the troops too. So the route had to be declared closed and now travellers go by a longer one where there are no stone dragons." Another Magistrate with whom I was talking about the elusive "cloudy tiger" of the Tarim River jungles was very contemptuous about this animal, which he admitted he had never seen. "It is like the Turban-head, mild and cowardly," he said. "The real Chinese tiger is a very different animal. It is twice as big as the Maralbashi tiger, and it bears on its forehead the royal symbol, Wang. Wherever it goes, a strong wind follows it. Thus is it recognized."[1]

Every now and again some sight or incident would bring forcibly home to me the Arcadian isolation in which the people of the country lived. One day while walking near the Aqsu Gate I came upon a small crowd lining the bank above one of the few short pieces of level road near the city. Wondering what they were looking at, I joined them and saw—a young man vigorously pedalling a bicycle up and down. The crowd gazed in awed silence. I got into conversation with a man who told me that this "velocipede" was the only one in Kashgar and that its owner occasionally gave exhibitions. He did not think that anyone else in Kashgar knew how to ride a velocipede.

[1] So tall were some of the yarns with which I was solemnly regaled by dear old mandarins, that had it not been for the fact that they obviously believed every word they said I would have taken it for granted that they were trying to pull my leg. One, who evidently thought I had never seen a yak, told me some remarkable facts about that animal. He said that a yak will dig his horn into the mountainside and thus swing his body across a steep face, using his horn as a pivot. More wonderful still, when a loaded yak comes to a corner in a narrow cliff-path where a rock juts out and prevents his getting his load round in the ordinary way, he turns inward, facing the cliff, and *sidles* round the corner with his hind legs over the edge!

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In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Pashraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

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"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers.

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can import the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above.

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443 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the 511 roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his 571 lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of 435 the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

262 Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*
Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.
Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*
Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.
Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.
Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.
Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*
Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.
Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

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the Tümen Su. D. never bought it in the bazaar, but arranged with a particular fisherman to bring along his morning catch now and again. She paid him 4*d.* a pound for it, straight from the river. In winter the Chinese get frozen fish by post from Ili in the north, and this is regarded as a great delicacy; it is a kind of sturgeon, which if thawed gradually is quite eatable. But we much preferred fresh "heaven-fish." There is a theory among the Europeans of Kashgar that the local fish is dangerous to eat, on account of a poisonous gland or something of the kind; this seemed to us to be a myth, for neither we nor our guests ever felt the slightest ill-effects from it. We went out one morning with our friend the fisherman and his mate to study their methods. At 7 a.m. they called for us at the Consulate with their paraphernalia, which consisted of a large bag-shaped net on a triangular frame attached to a pole carried by one man, and a long stick carried by the other. Arrived at the canal (the Qizil Su in which they usually fished was rather a long walk from the Consulate, so the men said they would try the mill-canals of the Tümen Su) the man with the net entered the water and submerged the net, facing upstream; his mate waded in about fifty yards above and began beating the water with his pole, gradually working down, in order to drive any fish there were into the net. When he had finished the beat the other man lifted the net out of the water to see if there were any fish in it. We watched them do this at several different points, but we evidently brought them no luck, for not one did they catch. In the Kizil Su they used to get quite big fish, eight or ten pounds.

The king of Kashgar fruits is undoubtedly the melon known as the Beshak Shirin. It is indeed a super-melon. We used to think in Baluchistan that the melons were good, and at Kerman too I used to get fine ones by the donkey-load as presents from Persian friends. But the best of Persia and Baluchistan were only as the inferior kinds grown at Kashgar. The Beshak Shirin is shaped like the Cantelupe, and is yellow with green markings; it is on an average twice as big as any Cantelupe one sees in London shops, and when ripe its skin is so thin that its juice oozes out on to the dish. Its flesh, white or pale yellow, you can eat right down to the skin and its flavour is ambrosial. We weighed and measured a fairly good specimen from our own garden—by no means the biggest I have seen; its circumference was 33 inches and its weight

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KASHGAR ON BAZAR-DAY

[Face p.80]

244 17½ lb. During the lamentably short season of about three weeks in August–September a Beshak of this size costs 3*d*. in the bazaar. Melons like a slightly salt soil, but must have a great deal of water; when we were making an orchard out of the lower garden, which had been under useless and insect-harbouring Babylonian willow, we first sowed melons in order to take the salt out of the soil, and the crop we obtained was a magnificent one. The Beshak Shirin of Kashgar is of the same kind, and probably just as good, as the famous melons of Hami in the extreme east of the province. The latter used 431 to be sent as presents to the Emperor in classical times, as any educated Chinamen will tell you. As the distance is 2,000 miles by road, and as the Beshak is a delicate melon and quickly goes bad, I often wondered how they did it; and I once questioned a Chinese official who had been posted at [251] Hami on the subject. He told me that the reason why Hami melons are so much prized is because they retain their flavour even when dried. There is, or was, a regular trade in dried melons between Hami and China Proper. Presents of fresh melons were, however, sent to the Emperors of the late Ching Dynasty every year by special camel caravan across the Mongolian Desert. Ten times as many as the number intended for presentation used to be sent, each packed in a box separately with cotton wool, as only about ten per cent. of those sent used to be fit for the Emperor's table when they arrived.

244 We grew all our own vegetables in the garden, of which D. was in charge, except potatoes, which were good and cheap in the bazaar and took up too much room in the garden. Beginning with spinach in March we were well supplied throughout the season with asparagus, green peas, cabbages, red tomatoes, French beans, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts. D. also introduced broad beans, yellow "Golden Queen" tomatoes and *brinjal* or egg-plant (the French *aubergine*) from India; all did very well and were greatly appreciated by our Chinese guests.

251 As we had no greenhouses, owing to the prohibitive cost of glass, it was necessary to store vegetables throughout the winter by burying them in deep pits. Owing to the intense dryness it was possible to do this without first drying the vegetables, and we thus got cabbages, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts fresh daily right through till March, when the spinach (sown the previous autumn) was ready. The mouths of the

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251 pits were filled up with a layer three feet thick of branches, matting, straw and leaves, a small hole closed with straw only being left for the gardener to get in and out by.

245 With regard to fruit, nearly everything that is found in a south of England garden grew well in our garden; most of the fruit indeed ripened too quickly so that there was a good deal of waste. We used to get two crops of green figs, but the trees had to be well covered up in winter to protect them from the frost. Grapes also grew wonderfully, the base of the vine-stem being similarly covered up in winter. Strawberries (known locally as "Russian mulberries") grew in profusion, but never became very sweet or large because they ripened too quickly. Apples and pears were poor, for lack of good European varieties, but peaches, nectarines, black mulberries, greengages and damsons were all as good as could be; the greengages, indeed, were almost too sweet. And yet our orchard was not a good one, compared for instance with those of the chief Andijani merchants. Besides all the above, they grew magnificent cherries, quinces and pomegranates, none of which were good in our garden. Among flowers, most annuals did very well, and roses too if the bushes were carefully buried in winter. D. started a most successful rose-garden with several varieties imported from India.

574 I have already mentioned the frequency with which we were entertained by the hospitable Chinese officials. This was particularly the case when Chu Tao Tai, as he was generally called, was Taoyin or Prefect of Kashgaria. From the social point of view, apart from everything else, it was a great blow to us when after a long term of office at Kashgar this universally-respected official was transferred to Yarkand in the autumn of 1922. Beaming all over with humour and good-will, he was one of the best hosts I have ever seen, and we always looked forward to his parties. He got over the language difficulty at the more polyglot meals by the simple method of seating all the guests of one nationality together, so that there was always a subdued hum of conversation, if no more; besides which he himself was always an interesting and interested talker and kept the available interpreters fully occupied. What appealed to us most, however, was his consideration for his foreign guests' likes and dislikes. He had evidently made a special study of European tastes and manners, and as far as possible he tempered the wind of Chinese hospitality to the shorn Western lamb.

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574 Our first dinner-party at the Taoyin's Yamen was a memorable affair. To begin with, our kind host insisted on sending round for us his landau and pair of spirited Russian bays. In we climbed at the Consulate gate, off went two of our uniformed orderlies and four Chinese troopers in front and next moment we were galloping through our outer gate and down the narrow, uneven lane leading to the Yarbagh Gate at a most alarming rate, hotly pursued by our other orderlies on their horses and more yelling Chinese cavalrymen. Arrived at the city gate I thought we would slacken speed through the crowded streets, but not a bit of it; on we tore, grazing fruit-stalls and missing street-corners by inches, the outriders clearing a lane for us with shouts and yells, until we came to an unimposing mud gateway above which towered a tall mast with a curious kind of crow's nest half-way up it. Above hung the five-coloured flag of the Chinese Republic—yellow for the Chinese themselves, red for the Mongols, black for the Manchus, white for the Mussulmans and blue for the Tibetans. As we alighted and entered the Yamen precincts a primitive fife-and-drum band struck up from a gallery on our left, and we were further startled a moment later by loud shouts of *Pao!* (salute) from our escort, followed by three deafening bangs. A moment later we found ourselves walking past a row of Chinese soldiers in baggy blue uniforms presenting arms with antiquated-looking rifles, and a black-clad Chinese major-domo was bowing before us with our own huge red visiting-cards—sent on ahead for the purpose—clasped in both hands. White-bearded Turki Begs in long cloaks conducted us through an inner gate into a beautiful garden full of every kind of flower and fruit and containing three large ponds covered with pink-blossomed lotus. In the middle was a raised platform with a pagoda roof over it and white-clothed tables spread with fruit and sweets; beyond it, a long single-storied pavilion of painted wood, one end of which with its verandah overhung one of the lotus-ponds like the broad stern of a houseboat. Our genial host and his "Foreign Secretary" met us near the gate with many polite Chinese speeches and hand-shakes both Chinese and English, and led us to the summer-house where we found gathered most of the other guests, including the leading Chinese officials and representatives of the Swedish and Russian communities. It was now three o'clock and we had not lunched, so that we were glad to keep up our strength with tea and fruit at intervals throughout the hour and a half which

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followed, during which we all sat talking in the pavilion or walked about the garden admiring the lotuses. Dinner when it came at last was served in the houseboat-like pavilion, the interior of which consisted of one long, airy dining-room tastefully decorated with flowers in pots and Chinese paintings. 574

The Taoyin, as I have said, was always merciful to his European friends, and the dinner was much shorter than the average Chinese repast. There were only some twenty-five courses, and these were eaten with the full complement of knives, forks and spoons; not a chop-stick to be seen, though I, for one, as soon as I had learnt the knack of using them, always used chop-sticks on the exotic Chinese food rather than banal Western cutlery. It may be of interest to record the menu, so far as I was able to identify the courses. Hors d'œuvres including, in addition to the usual items, slices of hard-boiled egg which had been buried for some years and had turned quite green, were eaten during as well as before the meal. 264 262

MENU

Tea and Dessert
Hors d'œuvres
Syrup dumplings
Shark's fin with shredded chicken
Pigeon's eggs
Pork fritters
Traveller-fish soup
Bamboo-root stewed in syrup
Roast chicken
Mince dumplings
Dried Chuguchak sturgeon
Sea-slug soup
Tinned oranges
Stewed chestnuts
Cold roast pork
Veal fritters
Fish tripe
Cabbage soup
Stewed pears stuffed with rice
Pastry dumplings
Baked mutton
Roast pigeon
Mutton fat fritters
Seaweed soup
Lotus seeds in syrup
Boiled rice
Tea and dessert

The Taoyin's chef was a master, and many of the above dishes were excellent, both European and Chinese; but I

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262 must confess that the three or four favourite Chinese *plats* leave me cold. Shark's fin consists of a tangle of absolutely tasteless pieces of white elastic, stewed with shreds of chicken; sea-slugs are dark grey gelatinous substances with an unpleasant dead sort of flavour, swimming in a salty gravy; bamboo-root in slices has a nutty flavour and is not so bad, but very indigestible; another delicacy which is, I believe, a kind of seaweed tastes of—well, of seaweed. I can quite believe that all these things have a quite different flavour when fresh, especially the marine products which seem to appeal particularly to the Chinese; the trouble is that in Sinkiang, five months' journey from the coast, they can only be obtained in the dried form, and yet the Chinese like or pretend to like them better than the best-cooked fresh local products. The fact is, I suppose, that the exiled Chinaman has the palate of faith and to him even a dried sea-slug tastes of home.

574 What was almost always a trial at Yamen banquets was the drink. Except on great occasions when one or two bottles
273 of a sticky brand of French champagne were produced and administered in small quantities, there was nothing to drink but a peculiarly evil-smelling kind of brandy. One was seldom pressed to eat, for which one was thankful enough, but it was impossible to avoid at least sipping the brandy between every course. A Chinese host talks much more about his cellar than about his cook; to refuse to drink with him
574 means that you do not like his wine, an imputation which causes him much loss of face. Apart from the conventional
524 politenesses, which one soon learns to give and take as a matter of course, there is nothing stilted or ceremonious about Chinese conviviality, even on official occasions. The etiquette seems to be for a guest to behave as if he were in his own home, lolling about on his chair, getting up from table in the middle of dinner and walking about for a few minutes, and so on. When conversation flagged at our own parties it was generally safe to start the Chinese off on a kind of "fingers-out" game which was very popular. In this, two players put out their right hands at the same time, either closed or with one or more fingers outstretched, at the same time shouting a number which they guess will be the total number of fingers out for both hands. Whenever one of the players shouts the correct number, he makes the other drink his health. The fingers go out and the numbers are shouted with amazing rapidity, and when three or four such contests are going on at the same time

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the effect on the gaiety, or at any rate noisiness, of the party and on the circulation of the liquor is remarkable.

The manners and customs of the table-servants were a never-failing source of delight to D. and myself. I have mentioned in a former chapter the staid Chinese butler at Yangi Hissar who clapped his master's bowler on top of his own Homburg and stood solemnly wearing the two hats throughout the tea-party. Often at dinner-parties in the open, when we had left the table and were sitting over tea and dessert in another part of the garden, I noticed the waiters going round the table and pouring back into the bottle any champagne or brandy left by the diners in their glasses. After one of our own dinners on the terrace, I happened to go back suddenly to the table to fetch something and found two attendants who had come with Chinese guests similarly occupied—but it was not into my bottles that they were pouring the remains of the drinks. At a certain ladies' dinner-party at Khotan D. was electrified to observe one of the waiters take away a guests' cup, drink off the cold remains of the tea and, without washing it, fill it up from the tea-pot and hand it back to its owner. After that, she said, she took care to drain her cup to the dregs every time!

Harding and I (D. fortunately was not invited) attended during our first week in Kashgar another meal which was very different from the civilized banquet described above. This was a lunch given by General Ma, Titai (G.O.C.) of Kashgaria, one of the worst scoundrels in Central Asia. This person was a Muhammadan of Yunnan province, aged over seventy yet full of vitality, who had held the chief military command south of the Tien Shan for seven or eight years and had taken advantage of his position to enrich and aggrandize himself by the most brutal and oppressive methods. He made everybody call him *Padshah* (king) on pain of death; he had a whole harem full of the prettiest Turki women in Kashgar, and his armed agents roamed the country-side "looking for new cows to milk," as the Titai facetiously put it. The only person in Kashgaria of whom he was afraid was Chu Tao Tai, and after the latter's transfer his extortions quadrupled. He had a pleasant way of trumping up charges against people whom he did not like, or who refused to pay him the blackmail he demanded, and cutting off their fingers or toes, joint by joint, in an immense hay-chopper he had constructed specially for the purpose. In fact, he emulated the exploits of the worst robber-Tuchuns of China Proper, the only difference being

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661 that his army was mostly on paper and he had no real strength behind him.

574 Ma Titai's headquarters were at the New or Chinese city, six miles east of Old Kashgar, and here he kept up great state. Harding and I looked forward with much interest to seeing this ogre; nor were we disappointed, for there was something distinctly ogre-ish about our experiences. Half an hour's ride from the Consulate brought us within sight of the long massive walls of the Titai's citadel. Here we were met by a troop of well-mounted but untidy and apparently only quarter-disciplined Chinese cavalry, who escorted us in a thick cloud of dust through dirty, tumbledown bazaars thronged by a sinister-looking half-breed populace to a huge mud-brick gateway of the *lasciate ogni speranza* type. Here the smell which rose from the dry moat below nearly knocked us off our horses. Within, more gateways, skew-eyed like the first to keep out the devils (in China the devils can only fly straight, so a gateway with a kink in it defeats them) followed by a long street of shops rather more prosperous-looking than those outside. Here and there we had peeps up side-lanes of fantastically-shaped temples and other buildings, some half-ruined, others grotesquely painted and surmounted by symbolical wooden figures of birds and beasts.

344 At last we came to the Titai's *yamen* or palace and found ourselves in a vast square with a pagoda-roofed gateway in front of us and enormous figures of dragons on either side. Troops of soldiers dashed about presenting arms as they ran and fell hurriedly into line with much shouting of words of command, while the salute-guns banged their welcome and horses shied in all directions. Passing through huge painted doors we were welcomed in an inner courtyard by a short, grizzled, monkey-like old man with a long wispy moustache and fierce eyes, resplendently arrayed in a saxe-blue Chinese Field Marshal's uniform several sizes too large for him, complete with plumed hat, several rows of stars and medals and gold lace epaulettes the size of hassocks flapping from his shoulders. With the gold-encrusted tunic hanging about his wispy old frame like a frock-coat on a scarecrow, and the overalls, as usual in the Sinkiang Army, innocent of braces, he looked a regular Chinese Count Hedzoff of Paphlagonia; but there was a sinister feel behind the *opera-bouffe*—or was it only because we knew about the murders and torturings which went on somewhere behind the grim walls of his citadel?

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Behind him we were relieved to see Chu Tao Tai and other official friends from the Old City; the Tao Tai whispered to us that he had made a point of being present as he was the only person who could keep the Titai in some sort of order. 574

The meal when it came was a remarkable experience. We sat down to a table which had evidently been arranged for the old man by Chu Tao Tai, for the seating and appointments were very much the same as at the latter's Yamen; but there the resemblance ended. The first thing our host did was to take off his uniform in front of us all and sit down in a suit of pale blue silk pyjamas, remarking as he did so that it was very hot and he could stand the uniform no longer. He then seized his chop-sticks and began piling our plates with messes from a mountain of mixed garbage in the middle of the table. Then he shouted to the crowd of minions behind his chair to bring his wine, with which he proceeded to fill our glasses, telling me through Fitzmaurice that it was the best wine in China and contained seventy-one different ingredients, including pounded cuttle-fish bones and essence of tiger's claw. From the smell I could quite believe it, while as for the taste, it nearly took the roof off my mouth; it was not wine at all but exceedingly potent brandy. I heard afterwards that the Titai's brew with its seventy-one dopes was famous throughout Central Asia; it was believed that he owed his extraordinary health and strength (in spite of his age, he was drunk every day of his life) to the magic properties of some of the ingredients. Shark's fin and the other usual delicacies followed, and then came the *pièce de résistance*; the middle of the table was cleared and a huge dish with a sheep roasted whole on it was brought in. Scarcely had it touched the table before the Titai fell on it with a large knife and began hacking at it, tearing off with his left hand chunks of meat and of skin with fat adhering to it and giving them to us. This I gathered was a great honour, and I did my best to eat some of the freshly-killed and therefore very tough meat, but without much success. However, as the Titai very soon became too drunk to notice much, my unworthy appetite escaped comment. The occasional remarks fired at me by our host and translated by Harding or Fitzmaurice were generally to the effect that he, the Titai, had the greatest respect for the King of England, about whose name he seemed to be rather hazy, and that he had been a personal friend of my predecessor and proposed to be mine too; also that he was

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574 on the best of terms with the President of the Chinese Republic, with whom he corresponded regularly, and who had recently asked him, as a favour, to take over the governorship of the Province. It was not easy to concoct suitable replies to these statements, and we were all thankful when, the barbaric meal over, Chu Tao Tai nodded to me and we were able to take our leave.

A week later I gave a return feast—a bachelor affair, for obvious reasons—for the Titai at the Consulate. It went off well enough in spite of our fears lest the old man should do something quite impossible; in fact, it was as good as a play. The Tao Tai arrived first, and what with the three-gun salute he received and the grand carriage and pair in which he dashed up to the door and the crowd of bottle-washers which accompanied him, there was noise and bustle enough at his arrival; but it was a quiet and peaceful affair compared with that of the Titai. Not only did the latter receive six guns, not only did he bring with him about a hundred soldiers and orderlies and hangers-on of all kinds, all armed to the teeth, not only did he arrive in an enormous troika at full gallop through the narrow streets, but he was preceded by an entire brass band, which dashed into the Consulate inner courtyard at the double, fell into line with lightning rapidity and struck up an ear-splitting Chinese version of "See the Conquering Hero comes!"

The old man was again wearing his Field Marshal's uniform and the first thing he said to me was, "I want you to take my photograph, to send to the President of the Republic!" Accordingly I had to take him out on to the terrace and pose him against the sundial while I took three portraits, being careful to arrange the lighting so that his face should not be under-exposed and so come out dark in the picture. No sooner had we finished the photographing than he borrowed a measuring-tape from me and set two of his men to work measuring the outer walls of the Consulate. It appeared that his enormous country-house about 16 miles from Kashgar had been burnt down the year before, and he wanted to rebuild it on the lines of the British Consulate General! Throughout lunch his men continued to measure the walls of the dining-room, hall and other rooms.

Before the meal I took the Titai to a private room to change his clothes—I did not want a recurrence of what had happened at his own party. During the meal, following his usual

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custom, the old General was served by his own men with his own arrack and would touch none of my drinks. I would not have minded if it had not been that he kept filling my glass and expecting me to drink his health in the horrible stuff: I had suffered it at his house, but did not see why I should not drink what I liked in my own. He himself had been at it ever since about 8 a.m., Chu Tao Tai whispered to me behind his hand, and I could see for myself that he was about half-seas-over; we were all relieved as well as surprised when suddenly, just before the ices, he nodded to his confidential servant and a second later whistles blew outside, everybody started running, the band struck up, the Titai got up unsteadily from the table, made hurried apologies and departed! He was gone before any of us knew where we were.

The leading households among the Swedish missionaries and the Russian colony, each after the manner of their respective nations, were kindness and hospitality personified, and often did we sally forth in the gathering dusk to take part in polyglot but pleasant gatherings round boards groaning with the products of Scandinavian or Muscovite cuisine. At first we drove to these parties in the tarantass, but after an adventure we had in that ancient vehicle our first winter, after a dinner at the Swedish Mission, we took to riding. D. generally rode her camel Sulaiman and I one of the horses, well wrapped up in furs and sheepskins and our feet encased in high "Gilgit boots" of leather thickly padded with felt. The adventure to which I refer is described in the words of a letter I wrote home shortly afterwards.

7th February, 1923.

"D. and I had a somewhat alarming experience the other night. Of the two Yarkandi horses we bought for the tarantass before our autumn tour we sold the smaller one soon after our return, but kept the other, a chestnut, as it is an exceptionally strong and willing beast. We didn't realize quite how willing it could be until last Friday when we started back from the Swedish Mission after dinner. The horse was always inclined to fidget at the start, but on tour he had long marches to do and gave little trouble. A month of good feeding and very little work, however, makes a lot of difference and on this occasion the nipping and eager air of a February night was too much for him. For some reason best known to themselves Turki drivers, including our coachman Abdulla Akhun, always start their horses from the ground and jump on to the box when the carriage is moving. We had hardly climbed into the tarantass and were waving farewells to our hosts, when we felt the ramshackle old conveyance bound forward under us; Abdulla at the horse's head hung on like a bull-

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dog, as did the orderly, tall Asadulla Khan, on the other side, and all might have been well if Asadulla's mount, infected by the carriage horse, had not seized the opportunity to break away, kicking up his heels at his rival as he passed. Out of the gateway he dashed and after him sprang the infuriated chestnut, brushing off Abdulla and Asadulla like flies against the gateposts. Over the culvert and into the main road we swung on two wheels, then off at full gallop towards the distant Consulate. You probably know what a tarantass is like —a big, roomy affair with a hood and a basket-work body with no seats, in the bottom of which you sit or lie on mattresses while the driver sits in a high narrow box-seat in front. The front wheels are very small and the back ones large; the wheel-base is very narrow relatively to the size of the vehicle, and it is always a mystery to me why the whole affair does not upset far more easily than it does. Anyhow, there we were lurching and swaying like a ship in a storm along the unmetalled and heavily-rutted road, the reins mixed up with the traces somewhere below the shaft and hopelessly out of my reach. There was nothing for it but to sit tight, hold on to each other and wait for the crash. We thought, of course, that the horse was bolting. But he wasn't. He had merely decided to follow the other horse's example and go back to his stable with the least possible delay. The road is awful; there are two right-angled corners between the Mission and the Consulate (a distance of about a mile) and, worst of all, a narrow wooden bridge over a canal set almost at right angles to the road. This bridge is not more than 12 feet broad, is very uneven and has no parapet or railing. We thought the horse, having no one to drive him, *must* bungle it, in which case the tarantass would have overturned into the dry bed of the canal with us under it. Would you believe it, he slowed down *just* enough to take the bridge, our off wheels clearing the corner with about six inches to spare, and sprinted again directly we were over? Further down he took the two right-angled corners fast but with plenty to spare, not cutting them as most horses try to do even when driven. We thus entered the Consulate gateway at the gallop and shot up the drive, hoping against hope that the horse would by force of habit pull up in front of the quarter-guard. He ignored it. He went straight for his stable, rounding two more corners and missing first the office and then a railing by inches. Finally he came to a standstill, panting and sweating, in front of his stall. As you may imagine, we hopped out without undue delay and fell on each other's necks, hardly able to believe that we stood on terra firma. What we are now saying is, why pay a coachman when your carriage horse can drive himself without a mistake?"

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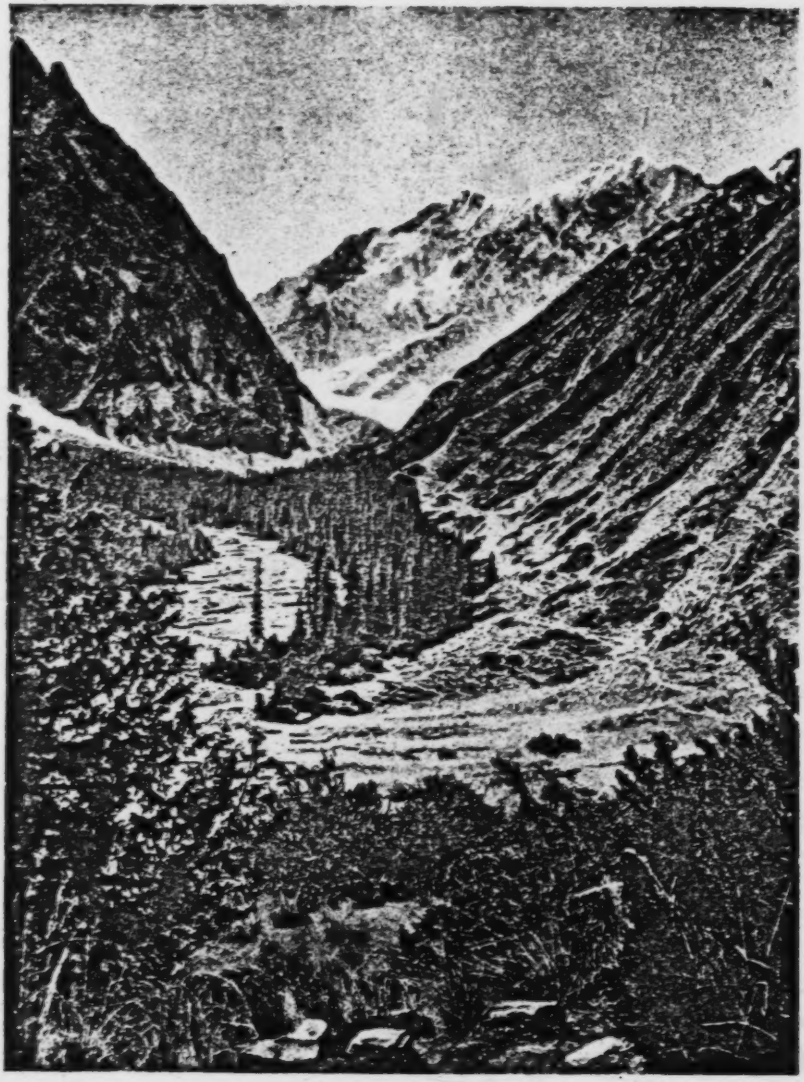

THE HAPPY VALLEY

[Face p. 90]

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CHAPTER VII

THE FINDING OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

ON October 11, 1922, we started on a two and a half months' tour along the south-eastern or Khotan road, on which the large majority of the British subjects in Kashgaria live. Our first long halt was to be at Yarkand, the largest town in Sinkiang and the entrepôt for the Indian and Afghan trade. Other important centres which had to be visited were Karghalik, Goma, Khotan and Keriya, at each of which there was a considerable amount of judicial and other Consular work to be done. Keriya was the farthest point I proposed to reach, 413 miles from Kashgar; the return journey (except for the last five stages) was to be by the same route, for lack of a practicable alternative.

By the direct road Yarkand is 127 miles from Kashgar, and is reached in five flat and perfectly easy marches. Instead of going straight to Yarkand, however, I proposed to indulge in a little amateur exploration among the mountains to the south of Kashgar on the way. It will be remembered that when I consulted Sir Aurel Stein at Delhi in the preceding January, he advised me to visit certain small blank patches still remaining in his map of the Kashgarian highlands. Of these the one which most fired my imagination comprised the eastern flanks of the Qungur massif (25,146 feet) and the peaks immediately to the south-east of it, part of the wall of snows which, as already described, stretches so impressively across Kashgar's south-western horizon. In order to gain access to this region it was necessary to penetrate the gorges of the Qaratash River, traversed in September 1913 by Stein alone among previous explorers.[1] Calculating that the floods

[1] In his "Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kansu," p. 25, Sir Aurel explains the peculiar difficulties confronting the explorer in the Qaratash basin. During spring and summer, he says, the big floods from the melting snow and ice of the Muz Tagh Ata

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

caused by the summer melting of the snows had subsided sufficiently, I now proposed to spend ten days—I could not spare more—in an attempt to penetrate these gorges from below, that is to say, from the opposite direction to that from which Stein had attacked them. I hoped thus to reach the Chimghan stream, the chief affluent of the Qaratash, and reconnoitre up it the eastern flanks of the great Qungur massif as well as the mysterious range to the south-east of it seen by Stein from the opposite (Pamirs) side and indicated in his map under the name "Shiwakte."

My "camp office" in charge of the Mir Munshi was to meet us on October 26, at Yarkand, where my official tour was to commence. For the Qaratash trip I engaged, at one tael (about 3s.) per day, seven shaggy two-humped Central Asian camels in charge of a fair-haired young Andijani carrier whom D. called Brian O'Flynn, because he wore enormous sheepskin trousers "with the skinny side out and the woolly side in." Our party for the mountain trip was strengthened by the inclusion of one of our Russian friends, M. Paul Nazaroff, a geologist of Tashkend who had the distinction of being the only English-knowing Russian in Kashgar. Our retinue consisted of Hafiz, Sangi Khan and the old Lancer, Rahim Khan, as orderlies; Ahmad Bakhsh as butler and valet; Murad Shah as cook and Yakub as "knight of the broom" and odd-job man. There was also a Kashgari lad, whose name I have forgotten, who looked after the horses. All of us rode horses except Yakub and the groom, for whom we hired a joint camel. I had the black Badakhshi stallion which had nearly been the end of me in Astore in June, but which was now much better-behaved, and D. her beloved bay Ferghana gelding. The camels carried three small double-fly tents

range render the extremely confined gorges of the Qaratash River quite impassable; on the other hand, by the time the waters subside in the autumn, heavy snow on the passes at the head of the basin closes the approach from the south. He describes his descent through the gorges as "very difficult and in places risky" with "constant crossings of the river tossing between precipitous rock walls." Our descent of these gorges in April, 1923, is described in Chapter IX. They extend from the mouth of the Chimghan Jilgha to Khanterek, about 18 miles. There is a track, now only used by opium-smugglers, which goes from Little L. Qarakul over the Qaratash Pass (16,338 feet), into the upper Qaratash valley and out of it again by the Ghijaq Pass to Ighiz Yar and the plains. But this route, which has been followed by Korniloff, Stein and one or two others, crosses the Qaratash well above the gorges.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

with bath-room attachment and furniture complete, including comfortable Rurki-pattern camp beds and mattresses, valises containing bedding and "yakdans"—the pack-transport boxes already described—for our belongings, hurricane lanterns and oil to burn in them, an extra table for meals, pots and pans and three yakdans of stores for the kitchen, a camel-load of corn for the horses, a roomy single-fly tent and ten days' bread-rations for the men, plane-table and other survey instruments, shot-guns and cartridges and, last but not least, a tin-lined wooden bath-tub of immense solidity constructed under my supervision by our Kashgari carpenter, with two oil-tins fitted with handles to heat the bath-water in. It will thus be seen that we made no attempt to travel light. Personally, though I have roughed it often enough, I am no believer in what I call the "toothbrush theory" of travel, except where economy of time or money is essential. Many travellers in wild parts, even Government servants in receipt of a fixed and liberal travelling allowance, either pride themselves on dispensing with baths and clean shirts and undergoing all sorts of unnecessary hardships, or, more often, adopt a fatalistic attitude and say "You've got to rough it anyhow; trekking is always uncomfortable compared with home; more kit and servants, more bother; better go the whole hog, travel light and get back to civilization as quickly as you can." Well, maybe mine is not the stuff that pioneers are made of, but I always try to take a reasonable amount of civilization into camp with me. I find that regular and properly-cooked meals, pillows and a real mattress (albeit stuffed with cotton from the bazaar) and daily baths, if only in a canvas tub, make such a difference to my enjoyment of travel that they are worth far more than the extra trouble and expense involved. D.'s views are the same, and she took a legitimate pride in the fact that throughout all our travels, accidents excepted, we invariably had early tea, hot breakfast with tea or coffee, plenty of variety in our sandwich lunches, afternoon tea and a three-course dinner with coffee after it. We were seldom without English bread and green vegetables; we used to start off with a good supply of Daud's loaves and a sack of vegetables, after which the couriers who came out after us weekly from Kashgar with our letters and official mail brought more bread, plum-cake and green vegetables. Spinach and potatoes could be obtained in most towns; chickens and eggs at every village of the plains; mutton and dairy produce

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everywhere, even among the wildest mountains. When out of reach of bread D. set to and baked girdle scones, three or four dozen at a time, also small sponge and chocolate cakes and puff pastry for sausage rolls and jam turn-overs. Some of her most successful puff pastry was made on or near glaciers because, she explained, there was plenty of iced water handy with which to chill the ingredients and her fingers! All this entails what we in India call "bundobust," and makes for an unwieldy caravan according to the standards of toothbrush travel. But it must be remembered that in Muhammadan countries at any rate—I can speak for no others—one's prestige (and therefore that of the country one represents) depends very much upon the size of one's caravan. Nobody gives one any credit for being a hardy traveller and a lover of the simple life; it is merely supposed that one is not a real "sahib" and cannot afford to travel better.

Our first halt was at Yapchan on the main Yarkand road, from which we turned southwards across country towards the mountains, still hidden from us by the dust-haze of summer. At Akhtur Bazaar, where we were interested to find the remains of an ancient fortress of considerable size, we crossed for the first time the Qaratash River, here a wide, shallow stream flowing through meadows and cornfields. Thence the track led for five miles through well-timbered arable land and then emerged on a gently-sloping gravel desert, evidently the alluvial fan of the same river. Traversing this for seven miles we came to the head of the Altunluk ("Golden") oasis at the debouchure of the Qaratash from the foothills. For our adventures during the next nine days I quote from my letters home, which I have cast into diary form.

Altunluk, 13th October, 1922.

Our tents are pitched in a pleasant little orchard gay with autumn tints. I have just been in long conclave with the villagers and old Sabit Beg, who has been sent with us by the Amban of Yangi Hissar. Sabit, I gather, is the Beg of the Qaratash Valley and responsible for the collection of revenue from the Kirghiz; he is a nice old person, though rather excitable. We shall get on well, I think, but in the meantime he is being rather obstructive, having obviously put up the villagers to tell me that we cannot possibly go up the Qaratash —floods, ice, precipices, no paths, no food, etc., etc. Every one is trying to frighten us. However they have to admit that the season is well advanced and the water a good deal down. I fancy that whenever one leaves the beaten track in this country the local people and their Beg take this line; one can understand their point of view, because the Chinese always come down heavily on the Beg concerned

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

if anything happens to a foreigner travelling in the districts, and the Beg takes it out of the local people. Anyhow I propose to push up the river as far as we can get to-morrow. For all we can see of the mountains we might be in the middle of the Takla Makan; the accursed dust-haze which has hidden them ever since July is as bad as ever.

Saman, 14th October.

We have done well to-day, covering some 22 miles up the ever-narrowing valley of the Qaratash. We forded the river without difficulty 8 miles above Altunluk and continued for 9 miles along the left bank among bare, gradually-rising foothills. At only one place, about a mile and a half from here, was there any difficulty; at a point where the river breaks through a ridge of red sandstone the left bank becomes precipitous and we had to cross and recross the stream which was there much narrower, deeper and swifter than at our first ford. Here at Saman the left bank is wide and easy again and the river flows in a broad, straight reach about 5 miles long with steep red hills on either side. This is the first place where we have seen any traces of occupation by the Kirghiz of the mountains; there are two tumbledown crofts and a few acres of arable land, once under the plough but now deserted, and a pleasant little grove of planes and *toghrak* or desert poplar by which we are camped. No Kirghiz have appeared yet.

Bash Kupruk, 15th October.

We started comfortably enough to-day with 4 miles easy marching along flat terraces; then came more "narrows," with the track twisting among boulders at the very edge of the water which raced past us at about 15 miles an hour. At one place we had to "ford" a pool full of eddies where a corner of rock jutted out into the stream. Then the valley suddenly widened out again and we came to a pretty place called Khanterek or Qurghan (*qurghan* = fort, from which I gather this strategic point was once fortified, in the days when the hill people had to defend themselves from the men of the plains). There is a *tām* (lit. wall) or mud-brick farm-house here, with a little orchard of apricots and fields from which crops have only lately been reaped; I am told that there ought to be Kirghiz here, but they evidently think we have come to eat them, for there is not a soul to be seen. This is the winter headquarters, they say, of the Kirghiz of two or three glens above here. Close by the river flows through a deep narrow cut with a high cliff on the further side; here there is the first bridge we have seen, a curious affair of which the nearer end is built out on the cantilever system quite cleverly, while the other ends of the three tree-trunks which form the bridge rest on a ledge of the opposite cliff. Above the bridge is carried an aqueduct consisting of hollowed tree-trunks which takes water to a couple of farms below the bridge on the other side of the river.

A mile further up we crossed the river by a wide and easy ford and kept up the right bank towards what looked like a blank wall of mountain many thousands of feet high. We could not see how the stream came out of it until we were quite close to the mouth of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 Tügene Tar or "Camel's Gorge," so called I suppose because only the long-legged camel is happy in it. In this gorge we had to cross the river nine times, and each time it was more unpleasant doing it on horseback than the last. D.'s old bay horse is splendid in water, as he is well-bred and a high-stepper and so keeps his feet well; but my black is a stumbler on dry land, as I know to my cost, and in the deeper parts of the current he lurches all over the place. Several times he lost his footing and I found myself up to the waist in the cold Qaratash. Luckily the bottom is good at most of the fords and none of the horses were swept down-stream; most Kashgar horses indeed are adepts at crossing rivers, thanks to the practice they get.

A fortnight ago, the Beg says, we could not have got up even as far as this with horses. I asked him how the Kirghiz get through these gorges in summer when the water is too high even for camels; he said that they go on foot, and pointed up to what looked like half a dozen matches spilt over the cliff-face far above us. This, he explained, was a Kirghiz summer "road," *i.e.* thin tree-trunks laid along from ledge to ledge of the precipice, a most terrifying affair.

316 Just before entering the gorge we came upon chikor (red-legged partridge), and I got two or three, much to the housekeeper's delight. On the opposite side of the river we at last saw signs of present human occupation, the smoke of a camp-fire; I was told that there was a coal-mine there[1] which is worked by the Chinese military authorities with local labour. The "mine" appears to be a tiny affair, a mere surface working employing a dozen men or so.

000 It was six o'clock before we came to a possible camping place here at Bash Kupruk and we were thankful for the partial shelter of a thicket of tamarisk and willow in which to pitch our tents. There is a deserted Kirghiz hut, too, for the men. An icy night-wind sweeps down the gorge, which they say is even narrower and more difficult ahead, so as there is plenty of firewood and grazing for the camels I have decided to halt here for a day or two and give the animals a rest. We are 7,000 feet up here according to my aneroid, and the cold dry autumn weather has evidently set in; even at Saman this morning, at 6,000 feet, our sponges were frozen hard. However, dry cold is better than either rain or the thick, hazy summer atmosphere, and there are welcome signs that the air is clearing of dust-haze; this morning when we got up we were delighted with the sight from our tents of a magnificent snow-peak rising dimly but grandly above the river-valley straight in front of us. We soon lost sight of it behind nearer heights as we marched on, but there it is, quite close to us. Can it be one of the Shiwakte peaks?

Bash Kupruk, 16th October.

The mountains here are mostly unclimbable except for a properly-equipped Alpine climbing party, but this morning I noticed, about a mile up-river, a spur coming down from the west which seemed comparatively easy. Stein in his traverse of the Qaratash gorge marks here a side-valley called the Kaying Jilgha, which goes right up into the blank patch to the east of Qungur. I accordingly took Hafiz and a Kirghiz guide whom the Beg has managed to collect from somewhere and set up my plane-table first at the mouth of the

1 [AT BASH KUPRUK — ANALYST]

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STARTING ON THE MARCH IN THE KAYING VALLEY, OCTOBER, 1922

[Face p. 96]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Kaying Jilgha (glen) and then at a point about 2,000 feet up the spur. From here we got a tantalizing and rather hazy view of fine snow-clad peaks not more than 7 or 8 miles away to the west, apparently enclosing the head of the Kaying Jilgha. I drew rays to all the peaks I could see on both sides of the main valley; the only one which looked at all climbable on our side was a high double-peaked mass of dark grey limestone opposite me across the Kaying glen, which I have identified as Stein's "Kaying Beli," the last peak shown in this direction in his map. Though fearfully steep and in places precipitous, I think I can manage it with Sangi Khan to help, and am going to have a try to-morrow. With any luck I ought to see the Shiwakte and the east face of Qungur from the top.

The prospects of our getting through to Chimghan are not bright. I sent Rahim Khan up to reconnoitre to-day, and he has come back with a most gloomy account of the gorge. He says that further up the cliffs almost meet overhead and you have to march actually in the river, which completely fills the gorge. Finally he was held up by deep water. The Kirghiz guide says that it is not possible for animals to get up to Chimghan for another month. Of course they may all be exaggerating in order to prevent us going further, but it is not worth while risking our lives or our animals', so I have decided to give up the Chimghan idea and reconnoitre up the Kaying Jilgha instead. From what I saw to-day the Kaying gorge looks quite practicable, and the Kirghiz say the stream is harmless at this time of year.

D. and Nazaroff sportingly went all the way back with Sangi Khan to the mouth of the Tügene Tar to-day to try and get some more of those partridges, but came back with nothing but wet feet from the crossings.

Kaying Yailāq, 18th October.

Yesterday Sangi Khan, a Kirghiz lad and I did the stiffest rock-climb I have ever been faced with, five thousand feet without a break. Leaving camp at seven, we rode two miles up the Kaying Jilgha to a height of 7,800 feet and then, leaving our ponies to graze, struck up the mountain-side. Loose scree at an angle of 35° led up to cliffs, up which we scrambled laboriously, hauling up the plane-table and cameras from rock to rock. It was hard work and in places really difficult, but so magnificent was the panorama which unfolded itself as we went up that I was scarcely conscious of the fact. Half-way up I could already see away to the south-west, right in the middle of the blank patch on the map, a glittering array of peaks which can be none other than the Shiwakte. Finally at midday we came out on to a splintered pinnacle of rock which formed the eastern summit of Kaying Beli, at a height of 12,750 feet by my aneroid, *i.e.* nearly 5,000 feet above the bottom of the Kaying Jilgha. There was no snow, and it was delicious basking in the sun on the dry rocks on a perfect day, with a most amazing array of snow-peaks round two-thirds of the horizon. We all three ate our lunches, each according to our kind, contentedly, and then, while the men lolled about and talked and smoked cigarettes presented them by D., I perched my plane-table on a slab of rock

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and spent nearly three hours taking rays to all the chief points and a long panorama with my quarter-plate film-camera. Unfortunately the higher peaks, which on the way up had been clear, had already by midday begun to veil themselves in cloud and also to a certain extent in dust-haze, but I could see them well enough for survey purposes and the panorama ought to be some use if it comes out. I am going to develop it this evening. The most exciting part of the view was to the west, where to the right of the dim Shiwakte peaks there was a great accumulation of cloud from which at one point peeped the butt-end of a mighty ridge of ice, beyond and obviously far higher than the Shiwakte, though they were evidently not less than 20,000 feet high. It could be no other than Qungur, and it is just my luck that I should have had so tantalizingly small a glimpse after such a tremendous climb. Right across the southern sky stretch a forest of peaks with huge glaciers coming down from them, not so high as the Shiwakte but going up, I should say, to eighteen or nineteen thousand, beyond which must be the big Chimghan Jilgha indicated (but not explored) by Stein. To the south-east was another range no less fine, that to the east of the Qaratash valley. To the north I could make out the whole lower course of the Qaratash for 30 miles, and beyond its mouth at Altunluk, dimly, the plains.

It was past three when I tore myself away from that slab of rock, too late for safety as it turned out; for the descent (as often happens) proved much worse than the ascent. I wanted to go back the same way we had come, but the guide insisted on taking a short cut. The result was that after being several times in difficulties we found ourselves at sunset on the edge of a sixty-foot drop into the ravine we had ascended in the morning. There seemed no way down, and we were faced with the prospect of a chilly night on the waterless crags of Kaying Beli; for there was not time before dark to climb half-way up the mountain again and find another way down. On our left a short grass slope pitched at an angle of 45° disappeared round the corner, and we crawled round this in the hopes of finding an easier way down into the ravine, but we had to crawl back again; it was worse beyond. On the way, however, I noticed a crack in the rock-face with a small bush growing in it, which promised a possible route; I pointed it out to Sangi Khan, who had kept his head admirably and proved invaluable throughout the climb. He at once took a firm grip of a tuft of grass and let himself over the edge into the crack. Working down it, he tested the bush and reported it strong enough to bear his weight. Peering over the edge, I could see him in the failing light for what seemed an age, hanging on to the bush with his hands and feeling with his feet for further footholds. Finally to my relief he shouted up that it was all right, so I followed, taking the plane-table and other impedimenta from the Kirghiz guide and handing them down to Sangi Khan. Helping each other with foot- and hand-holds we all three worked down the crag, till finally with many *Alhamdu'l illahs* and *Khuda-gha shukrias*[1] we found ourselves

[1] Arabic and Turki respectively for "Praise be to God" and "Thanks be to God."

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

in the bed of the ravine. Even then our troubles were by no means over, for there were two or three "dry waterfalls" to negotiate, and it was quite dark before we at last reached the valley-bottom of the Kaying Jilgha.

It was past eight o'clock when we were met a mile from camp by D. and Nazaroff, who had come out with lamps and a search-party. They greeted me with the interesting news that they had spent the day, as arranged, in a reconnaissance up the Kaying Jilgha; that the gorge was practicable for our convoy, and that two hours' march up it the jilgha widened into a comparatively broad valley, containing firs and rich pastures and encircled by magnificent snow-peaks. The Beg and Rahim Khan, who had accompanied them, had evidently conspired together to put D. off, for at each corner they had gone ahead and pronounced the way hopelessly blocked; but she gallantly insisted on pushing on, and finally was rewarded not only with the above-mentioned view but with the sight of Kirghiz tents with people, even women, in them. These were the first Kirghiz, other than one or two guides impressed by the Beg, whom any of us had seen, and D. and Nazaroff only found them because they had not expected any of our party to come up so far and therefore had not had time to escape to still remoter fastnesses. Evidently the Kirghiz imagine us to be the Titai or somebody out to rob them or make them work in mines. The Kaying Kirghiz, finding that the strangers were not so terrifying after all and reassured by the Beg as to our intentions, warmly invited us all to come up the jilgha, and offered us supplies and tents to sleep in if we wanted them.

Accordingly this morning we moved up here and are camped in three Kirghiz tents in a sunny corner under a cliff at the lower end of a wonderful amphitheatre, about a mile and a half wide. Extraordinary spires of black rock tower four or five thousand feet above us; and away at the head of the valley is a glittering vision, clad in pure white névé and pale-green hanging glaciers, which I recognize as one of the Shiwakte peaks I saw yesterday from the top of Kaying Beli. We have left half our caravan, including the tents, in charge of Ahmad Bakhsh and Rahim Khan at Bash Kupruk in order to lighten our baggage. We are not exactly comfortable, as our kind hosts are very poor and the felts of their tents are full of holes which let the icy wind into every cranny and made the bath problem a difficult one; but what does it matter? The weather is perfect, the Kirghiz are charming, and we are well into the blank patch on the map—what more could one want?

Kaying Yailāq, 19th October, 1922.

The thermometer stood at 10° F. when we woke up this morning, and getting up would have been most unpleasant if it had not been for an admirable invention of my old "bearer" Amar Singh's, which saves the situation on such occasions—the fire-bucket. This simply consists of the kitchen bucket filled with glowing embers and placed in one's tent, which it instantly transforms from an ice-house into an ingle-nook. The length of time it keeps the tent in this desirable condition depends on the kind of firewood; poplar, the universal firewood of the plains, loses its heat rapidly, but juniper, fir, and even

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the brushwood roots of the hills keep one snug for hours. Of course, it is advisable to put the fire-bucket out of the tent before getting into bed, because of the charcoal fumes given off; but if one's bed is as it should be and one starts the night thoroughly warm, it does not matter how cold it becomes later.[1]

At half-past nine the shadow of one of the great aiguilles moved off us and the sun flooded our corner of the valley with delicious warmth. The dust-haze has entirely disappeared and the intense clarity and brilliance of the weather remind us of the Pamirs in July. At the gentlemanly hour of ten we rode off in high spirits to explore the head of the valley. A mile from camp we entered a wood of junipers, fine tall trees some of them like those of Baluchistan, in which there were many hares and partridges. We were filing along through the wood, expecting it to tail off into barren hill-sides, when suddenly we topped a rise and saw before us, filling the whole of the valley right up to the foot of the black precipices, a fine forest of tall firs, their deep shade contrasting perfectly with the brilliant snows of the Shiwakte behind and with the white foaming flood of the Kaying river in the foreground. This forest had been hidden from our camp, from which we had only seen a few firs up a side-glen, and was totally unexpected; it is indeed a find, for we have seen nothing like a forest since we left Kashmir and had no idea there were any on this side of the Karakoram nearer than the Tien Shan. The trees, some of which must be more than a hundred feet high, are like tall, slender Wellingtonias and are different from anything I have seen in the Himalayas.

On a sheltered alpine meadow below the forest we changed our saddles on to riding-yaks which the friendly Kirghiz had brought to relieve our horses, saying that the path became very steep further up. They were fine yaks and took us at a good pace—for yaks—up through the forest glades. Passing two or three more grassy alps, with tremendous aiguilles and cliffs with fantastically-twisted strata towering higher and higher above our heads, we came to wide, sheltered meadows at Kaying Bashi Yailaq, *i.e.* "the summer grazings at the head of the K. Jilgha." More firs, and then at 12,000 feet we came out on to grassy knolls above the highest verge of the forest. Another surprise! There in front of us, curving down in a grand sweep from unknown heights round to the left, was a huge glacier, on the terminal moraine of which we were standing. High above us on our right we could see the ice-fall of another glacier at a higher level; between the two soared the pinnacles and hanging glaciers of the Shiwakte, seven

[1] While on this subject, it is worth remembering that on a really draughty night it is not enough to have plenty of bedclothes on top of one; what is *under* one is just as important. I did not know this when I first started trekking in South Persia in winter; the first night I spent at 9,000 feet I could not keep warm and hardly slept a wink. I piled all my clothes and everything in the tent on top of me, down to the bathroom mat, but continued to shiver. Next night it occurred to me to put a sheepskin under my thin cotton-stuffed mattress, and the difference was astonishing; I was as snug as could be.

IN THE GLACIER "CIRQUE" OF THE UPPER KAYING JILGHA; D. ON HER YAK

"FOLDED" LIMESTONE STRATA, KAYING JILGHA

[Face p.100]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

or eight thousand feet above us and quite close. Determined to climb as high as we could before returning, we pushed up the moraine, which we finally lost at 13,100 feet amid a tumbled waste of boulders covering the ice of the glaciers themselves. Here we sat on the last bit of dry grass for half an hour basking in the sun, with a magnificent array of peaks towering above us on every side. Far below us we could see the forest and the milk-white glacier-stream curving away behind tremendous black pinnacles, which we have christened the "Cathedral Spires," towards the gorge of the Qaratash. Above us, there was only one corner of the amphitheatre of cliffs which was hidden and looked as if it might contain a possible pass out of the valley; I asked the Kirghiz about it and they said that there was a pass but that it was very steep and covered with ice, and could only be crossed by men on foot, not yaks, during two or three months in summer. This was interesting, and the next question was, where did it lead to? To the Chimghan Jilgha, they said. This was positively exciting, for it meant that there was a way by which the Qaratash gorges could be "turned" in summer and the Chimghan Jilgha reached from the Kaying valley at the best time of year. If only we can get up here next summer, perhaps on the way down to India! One thing seems quite certain, and that is that I cannot reach the foot of Qungur by this route unless I cross that pass; for the Kirghiz are quite positive that it is impossible to climb out of the valley in the direction of the "Muz Tagh" (ice mountain) at any other point. They simply do not know what there is the other side of the ice-cliffs to the west.

To-morrow if it keeps fine I am going to do one more big climb in the hopes of seeing Qungur, and then we must tear ourselves away from our "Happy Valley," for we are due at Yarkand on the 26th and are already likely to be late. The Kirghiz say there is a steep but easy pass above our camp leading over into the Chopkana Jilgha which comes out close to Khanterek, so we are going back by it with yaks and sending our tents and camels down to meet us at Khanterek. By this means we shall not only avoid the wearisome river-crossings in the gorges but strike interesting new ground, for they say there are Kirghiz and fir-woods in the Chopkana Jilgha.

Kaying Yailāq, 20th October, 1922.

To-day I climbed with Sangi Khan and two Kirghiz carrying my plane-table and cameras to a height of 13,430 feet on a splintered rock-ridge called Nichke Qir, immediately under a high chisel-shaped peak called Kök Döng to the west of this camp, the same, I think, as the beautiful mountain we saw from Saman. The climb, though excessively steep, was not so difficult as that of Kaying Beli, but I did not get quite so high as I had hoped; the summit I was making for proved inaccessible and I had to be content with a lower one. However, I was just high enough to see the upper half of the glittering dome of Qungur appearing like a vast Christmas cake over the jagged top of the Kök Döng ridge. I took a telephoto of it with one of the very few slow plates I have with me, which, if it comes out, will be the only photo in existence of the east side of Qungur. Stein's are all from the Pamirs. The panorama I took from Kaying Beli came out

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

600 very well, and the negatives of it which I took up with me to-day were most useful in enabling me to identify the various peaks. Again I spent three hours on the top, mapping and photographing, but this time there were no contretemps on the way down and we returned to camp before sunset. D. and Nazaroff have had a good day too. They went out shooting rock-pigeons this morning and got two each, and in the afternoon D. gave a tea-party to the Kirghiz women and children of the valley. This has caused great excitement. Seven women and two children came, all there are in the valley, bringing their own wooden bowls like school-children their mugs to a treat. D. had plenty of bread baked for the occasion in one of the *aq-ois* and had also made some drop-scones herself; she bought quantities of rich yaks' milk in the morning and used up in the tea most of our remaining supply of sugar, which the ladies with squeaks of delight scooped with their fingers out of the bottom of their bowls.

Khanterek, 21st October, 1922.

All the Kirghiz, including D.'s guests of yesterday, came to see us off this morning and seemed genuinely sorry to bid us adieu, begging us to come again next year. The Chopkana pass proved 11,500 feet high and fairly easy, though loaded camels could not have crossed
136 it. At the top, under the crags of Kaying Beli, I went after a covey of snow-cock, which the Kirghiz call *ulai*, but they were far too wild. This bird seems to be the same as the *rām chikor* of the Himalayas, and is the size of a bustard; he is a true partridge and is marked like a chikor, but, living like the ptarmigan on or near the snow-line, he has more white about him. His bill is curved like a hawk's, very
361 curious in a partridge. Just below the pass on the north side is the highest summer *yailāq* or camping-place of the Kirghiz, a pretty "alp" with firs; there was nobody there, but a mile further down at Ui-chi we found small crofts and tents and three or four families
291 of Kirghiz. Two of the women wore most wonderful head-dresses, peaked fore and aft and garnished with red embroidery, quite different from the flat-topped turbans of the ladies of the Pamirs. Apparently only the richer ones wear this curious head-dress. All the Kirghiz
600 crowded round D. for medicine; her daily "sick parade" has become quite an institution and is probably the chief reason of our popularity.

The Chopkana people have brought down an *aq-oi* for us to the little apricot grove by the bridge. We have come down 3,000 feet from Kaying and 5,000 from the top of the pass, and the warmth in this sheltered spot is delightful. To-morrow the caravan goes to Saman only, as we want to reconnoitre the Achiq Jilgha, a side-glen at the top of which I am told there is a pass leading over the Gez River and the main winter road between Kashgar and the Pamirs.

The problems of travel in the wilds have been enormously simplified for us on this pioneer trip by the admirable behaviour of our men, all of whom work splendidly so that everything runs with clockwork precision. Our programme on an average march is as follows. At seven Ahmad Bakhsh brings tea to our respective tents, shortly followed by Yakub and the tub. Yakub has had the bath-water simmering in its oil-tins on his own particular fire since the night before; the same tins provide the hot water required in the kitchen. By

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

8.15 we are both dressed, our bags and basins packed and (with the help of the orderlies) our beddings rolled up. Meanwhile the breakfast-table has been laid in a sunny corner well away from the tents and we sit down to it, while the orderlies strike the tents, take down the beds and other camp furniture and tie the whole lot up into the regular loads. Breakfast over, the kitchen is packed up by Ahmad Bakhsh and Murad while we superintend the loading of the camels by the carriers assisted by Hafiz and Sangi Khan, who are themselves expert loaders by this time. The kitchen loads are tied on last and by 9.30 if not sooner the caravan is ready to start; the groom brings the horses ready saddled and we are off. I always make a point of seeing the caravan off in the mornings, as well as of "nursing" it through difficult places, gorges, river-crossings, and so on. Two orderlies accompany D. and myself each day and the third marches with the caravan; the two who accompany us carry the lunch-bag, guns and cartridges, binoculars, tea-basket, cameras and surveying instruments, if required. Most of these things go into a big camel-*khurjin* (saddle-bags) slung over the saddle of one of the orderlies. We ride within sight of the caravan, keeping it up to the mark as regards pace, until about noon, when we push forward, trotting, cantering and walking by turns till one. Then we have our lunch in some suitable spot, always followed by a piece of chocolate from England (I am responsible for this item in the commissariat) and a cigarette, and wait till the caravan has passed through. The same process is repeated in the afternoon; we ride with the caravan for some time, then go ahead and find a good place for tea-basket tea, during which function the caravan passes through. To expedite the making of tea we always have an "unbreakable" thermos bottle of hot water with us. Sometimes the caravan is in by 5 p.m., but more often not before six or later; on these occasions, wherever we are, the tents are up, beds made and furniture in position within three-quarters of an hour and we are sitting down to dinner in less than half an hour after that. This is because everybody knows his job and does it, including D. and myself; she puts up the lighter chairs and tables while I help with the tents and afterwards with the Rurki-pattern beds, which are rather troublesome to put up though so comfortable as to be well worth the trouble.

At Khanterek we were once more on the road by which we had come up, and our journey from that place to Yarkand does not merit detailed description. The Kirghiz of the glens above Khanterek seemed no less sorry to see the last of us than those of Kaying, an attitude which contrasted pleasingly with the nervousness and distrust with which they had watched us penetrate their fastnesses. We took a particular liking to these unsophisticated folk, none of whom probably had ever seen a European before—certainly none of the women. They were friendly, hospitable, cheerful and above all *natural*—unselfconscious and unspoilt. Most travellers who have come to Kashgar by the main routes have had little to say

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about the Kirghiz, and that little uncomplimentary; this is probably because the Kirghiz living on main routes become sophisticated by contact with the outside world, and in their dealings with travellers of all kinds and with their Chinese masters develop qualities such as greed and untruthfulness not usually found in those inhabiting almost inaccessible valleys off the beaten track.

We carried out one more small reconnaissance before leaving the hills, exploring a side-glen a mile below Khanterek called the Achiq Jilgha, so named from a copious spring of water impregnated with carbonic acid which it contains. We found an excessively steep but not dangerous pass at the top leading over to a side-valley of the Gez River, a discovery of some interest as it meant that we could, if necessary, reach Kaying in the high-water season by going by the "Nine Passes" route up the Gez Valley and then crossing over into the Qaratash Valley above the Narrows. We stayed too long basking in the sun on a grassy hill-top near the summit of the pass, with the result that we were overtaken by darkness while still five miles from Saman and had an unpleasant experience picking our way in the dark among rough boulders under cliffs at the very edge of the foaming river which gleamed white and hungry in the starlight. Next day we had an uneventful march to Kampar, a pleasant village gay with autumn tints on the southern slope of a range of gravel foothills, from which we had a magnificent view of the mountains we had left behind us. The needle peaks of the Shiwakte were there and chisel-shaped Kök Döng, and towering away behind, dwarfing them all, the great white dome of Qungur.

Here Nazaroff left us, as he had to return to Kashgar. After a day's halt to rest the animals, we marched in one day 33 miles to Ighiz Yar by an unsurveyed but perfectly straightforward route. Another march, this time of 16 miles only, brought us to the dusty village of Kizil Bazar on the main Kashgar-Yarkand road. Next day we had another long ride of 28 miles across gravel desert to the first oasis of the Yarkand District, Kok Rabat, 22 miles from the city.

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CHAPTER VIII

YARKAND, KHOTAN AND BEYOND

FOR variety, charm and old-world interest the road to Khotan and Keriya is perhaps unsurpassed in Central Asia, and I would like nothing better than to be able to devote half a dozen chapters to it. But it is relatively speaking a well-beaten track, and I must confine myself to impressions and experiences which differ from or supplement those of other travellers.[1] Yarkand and the Khotan road have changed little since Sir Aurel Stein's first journey in 1900, and still less since 1915, when Miss Sykes visited the latter place with her distinguished brother. D. and I sampled most of the same inns, rest-houses and private "gardens" as they, sat through the same endless but usually amusing Chinese banquets, sipped tea and made polyglot conversation at the same frequent wayside receptions, gazed on the same kaleidoscopic bazaar crowds and revelled in the same rich-hued countrysides and limitless desert horizons.

Owing to the lateness of the season our stay at Yarkand was limited on the outward journey to eleven days, to the disappointment of the numerous British subjects of different races to whom a visit from their Consul-General is a great event. We were not so fortunate as Sir A. Stein, who resided in what had once been the palace of Niaz Hakim Beg, last indigenous ruler of Khotan; that interesting relic of past times had, we were told, fallen to ruin, and we occupied a pleasant though somewhat draughty little country-house in a garden known as the Bar Gah, just far enough from the bazaars to be quiet and "countryfied." Bryan O'Flynn and the camels were paid off here and carts engaged for our 200-mile journey to Khotan along the edge of the Takla Makan Desert. This

[1] For a description of the Kashgar-Yarkand-Khotan road, see Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan"; Miss Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia."

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occupied nine marches, besides which we halted six days at Karghalik and one at Goma, 41 and 98 miles respectively from Yarkand. At Khotan we stayed four days as the guests of Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan, an old friend and assistant of Sir Aurel Stein's in his archæological work in the Khotan and Keriya oases. The following extracts from diaries and letters cover the period from our arrival at Yarkand on 28th October to our departure from Khotan for Keriya on 28th November 1922.

Yarkand, 29th October, 1922.

Our arrival at Yarkand yesterday was obviously an event of the first importance. The excitement was far greater and the reception preparations more elaborate than when we came to Kashgar last July; I suppose they are comparatively *blasés* about Consuls at Kashgar. The Aqsaqal, Tilla Khan, actually met us on the Kashgar side of Kok Rabat the day before, twenty-five miles from the city; he is a Maulai of Wakhan and speaks no Urdu, only Persian. Fifteen miles from the city a large party of Hindus and Muhammadans met us on the road, chiefly, I gather, gentlemen with axes to grind. The real "British Subjects' *Chah-jan*" or tea-drinking was by the side of a canal 3 miles from the Kashgar Gate of the city. Here we found about a hundred people, representing thirteen or fourteen different races, awaiting us, Hindus and Muslims, Punjabis and Afghans, Kashmiris and Sindhis and Chitralis, and even one Armenian, a most respectable gentleman in a Homburg hat!

Among them was a charming, youngish, rather shy, obviously intelligent and well-educated Yarkandi called Murad Qari, to whom I have already taken a liking; he is the son by a Turki mother of a famous former British Aqsaqal, Khan Bahadur Mulla Sabit. We all partook of tea and the usual fruits of the earth in large quantities, and then, after a suitable speech in my best Persian, a remarkable procession formed up for the march into Yarkand. Except for some of the fatter Hindu *bunnias* (traders) who came in Chinese carts, all the British subjects were mounted, the poorer ones on donkeys and the rest on horses, and some of the steeds borrowed for the occasion were barely manageable. I was not surprised, therefore, when our Head Clerk, Nasir, begged me in a stage whisper to refrain from exceeding the pace of a slow trot, because once when a Consul-General had cantered on such an occasion half the horses bolted and several loyal British subjects bit the dust! Accordingly D. and I set a safe pace and though, even so, miniature cavalry charges threatened occasionally to engulf us from the rear, no unseemly contretemps occurred as we "processed," smothered in dust, for two miles along the dusty willow-fringed highway. The first sign of further excitements was a parade of what, in the distance, we at first took for the Chinese army but found on closer inspection to be a row of beggars in conical hats with sheepskin rims and almost incredibly filthy rags. These greeted us not only with wailing invocations of Allah and cries of *Padshah! Zakat!* (Alms, O King!) but with a fusillade of Chinese crackers which

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very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress. 000

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shriveled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand. 142 291

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the 361 [736] [136] 312

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312 town by canals, and the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of semi-stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

361 The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars [343] are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English [231] farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

162 Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

000 We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

133 A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

631 Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

704 We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of
533 them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

704 533 lowest note, like the dying moo of ten thousand stricken kine, the one in front would be finishing with its highest, which resembled a similar number of nails being drawn across a gigantic pane of glass. Each note went on for about two minutes, in an irregular diminuendo and crescendo as the various trumpeters lost their breaths and found them again. We have christened this performance "Ma noises" after the gallant Commandant, Captain Ma, a son-in-law of the Titai.

704 Apart from the dust they raise and the excruciating sounds they emit, the Karghalik Cavalry and their band are a pure joy. Yesterday as we rode past the guard of honour the *beau sabreur* in command gave us the "officer's salute" with the utmost smartness. I was much impressed and rode past wreathed in smiles, my hat raised with due civilian humility. The effect, however, was somewhat spoilt when, the officer's charger becoming restive, he whacked it soundly on the quarters with the flat of his sword several times before returning to the correct position! On another occasion, coming suddenly round a corner upon the cavalry, we caught the "Ma noise" merchant who led the band napping without his trumpet. Frantic shouting and hurrying to and fro, and all seemed lost, until the small street-boy who had been practising with the trumpet across the road dashed over and handed it to its rightful owner, who blew his first ear-splitting C just in time to make our horses shy as we passed. The situation was saved!

The presence of so many mounted troops here must have something to do with the fact that the grazing in the mountains above Karghalik is very good and it is a great horse-producing country, witness the thousands of ponies working on the Leh route which are owned by Karghalik carriers. The Amban here is a Manchu, the only Magistrate of that redoubtable race we have in Kashgaria; one notices at once the difference in type, the upper part of his face being almost like a European's, not flat like that of a Chinese.

Karghalik, 15th November.

000 The dinner with which we were entertained to-day at the Yamen was unique in that three Chinese ladies were present, including our Manchu host's wife, next whom I sat just as if she had been a "foreign devil" like myself. It was most interesting. The ladies were shy at first, but when D. and our Chinese secretary had succeeded in putting them at their ease they thoroughly entered into the joke and the party went very well. There were also some children present, one of whom, a girl of ten, was as pretty as a picture, and knew it; sad to say, she was painted up to the eyes. An amusing interlude was when an old and battered tin of asparagus was produced and our host asked me to read him the instructions. He explained that it had been given him by a former English traveller who had dined with him, but he had not been able to have it for dinner as no one in his household could read the instructions. We are now wondering how long it will be before symptoms of botulism appear.

Goma, 18th November.

Owing to the extreme knottiness of the points raised by the Amban, I had to extend our stay at Karghalik from three days to six; this

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[Face p.108]

34b

IN THE SHRINE OF HAZRAT PIR, YARKAND; GATEWAY OF MOSQUE SCHOOL.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

necessitated a double march of 35 miles to Chulak Langar, mostly over desert. To make matters worse the Amban, whose private amiability was as excessive as his official stubbornness, insisted on our *dining* with him at 8.30 a.m. on the day of our departure, a most trying business. What with this and the various farewell tea-drinkings we did not finally escape from the Karghalik neighbourhood till past noon. D. rode with me for eighteen miles, and then we packed her with a mattress and plenty of bedding from our valises in the tarantass. Sunset, and with it an icy wind from the desert, found us still twelve miles from the lonely rest-house for which we were bound. This last lap was the heaviest going of all; the tired horses were unable to drag the tarantass at more than about three miles an hour, and time after time I had to help the two orderlies to push it out of a sand-dune, thankful for the exercise which kept me warm. We were both dead tired when at last, at 9 o'clock of a freezing starlit night, we pulled into the big stone *serai* constructed in the sixties by that public-spirited tyrant, Yakub Beg "Bedaulat." Chulak Langar is situated at one of the coldest points on the whole Khotan road; standing on a slight rise facing the desert, its very name commemorates a tragedy of cold; *chulak* means "lame," and refers to a poor man who stumbled into the *serai* many years ago with his arms and legs frost-bitten and remained there a beggar until he died. To the south, the rolling gravel hills stretch away up to the blue snow-capped Kunlun; after heavy rain, and when the snows melt in the early summer, a trickle of water comes down a little valley and replenishes the big square reservoir from which the inn draws its water. In the valley are also a few poor little fields and some acres of grazing belonging to the innkeeper. To the north in the clear dawn the view is inexpressibly awe-inspiring and sinister; the yellow dunes of the Takla Makan, like the giant waves of a petrified ocean, extend in countless myriads to a far horizon with here and there an extra large sand-hill, a king-dune as it were, towering above his fellows. They seem to clamour silently, those dunes, for travellers to engulf, for whole caravans to swallow up as they have swallowed up so many in the past.

19th November.

Goma is a thriving little town of wooden houses surrounded by orchards and groves of mulberry. A flourishing local industry is the making of coarse paper from pulped mulberry-bark—a link with the past indeed, for the process is much the same as that by which the Chinese made paper towards the beginning of the Christian era. Another link with the past, of a different kind, was a debtor I saw this morning in the Yamen wearing a "cangue" (Turki *shal*) or heavy square yoke of wood padlocked round his neck. This ancient Chinese method of making debtors pay has long been officially abolished both in China Proper and in Sinkiang, but it evidently survives in out-of-the-way places; the cangues, I am told, vary in weight from 20 to 60 lb. or more, and are left on the neck of the debtor until he pays up. He can move about as he likes inside the Yamen precincts, but has to be fed by his relations as he cannot reach his own mouth.

Goma is on the very verge of the Takla Makan, of which we had such an impressive glimpse from Chulak Langar. It is a great place

for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi" —the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

told us that Great Old Father Ch'en, who had been for six years Magistrate of Khotan, was responsible for the edifice—a kind of mausoleum of his official ambitions. The inscription told of the mighty deeds of Ch'en, how he had built schools and temples and repaired roads, how he had girdled Khotan New City with walls and acted justly in the sight of men. Finally the names were given of those who had sent petitions to Urumchi praying for the retention at Khotan of the said Great Old Father. Within the building as we sat drinking ceremonial tea provided by our absent host in a room decorated with pleasing frescoes, Chu translated to us a Chinese poem which adorned one of the walls. It told how a certain Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty summoned his Prime Minister, one Hsü, and said to him, "Hsü, thou art the most faithful and the most honoured of my counsellors, yet there are men who speak ill of thee, and complaints have reached mine ears. How is this?" Hsü prostrated himself and replied (but in far more flowery terms), "Sire, the floods of spring are welcome to the farmers, but travellers speak many hard words of them; the moon of autumn is loved of lovers, but robbers like her not." The Emperor, understanding, bade his minister arise, and Hsü basked once more in the full radiance of the Imperial countenance.

I am told that Ch'en was a strong and severe Magistrate; he had a habit, among others, of hamstringing thieves which resulted, towards the end of his time, in the almost complete boycott of Khotan by the light-fingered fraternity. Officials of this type are unpopular the world over, not least among the very classes whose property they protect. Town walls, again, are not appreciated by the inhabitants of Sinkiang as they ought to be, owing to the fact that forced labour is used exclusively in their construction; they are in fact "public works" in the fullest sense, in that the public has to work, and work hard, to make them. One can guess that complaints began to reach the ears of the Governor at Urumchi and eventually resulted in the replacement of Ch'en, who has doubtless ever since regarded himself as the victim of intrigue—hence the little story which adorns the walls of his drawing-room.

Khotan, 25th November, 1922.

Khotan is not a large town, but it is busy and prosperous and makes the most of itself to the traveller. You come first to the "New" or Chinese city, which is square and measures about half a mile each way with massive walls in good repair and bastions crowned with pagodas along them. Here are the Yamens of the officials, the barracks and magazine, the Taoist temple and several streets of shops. Then, passing under a gateway in the walls in the middle of the main bazaar, you find yourself in the Old City, which, unlike Kashgar and Yarkand, consists of one long, winding, up-and-down bazaar, well-roofed throughout, with an irregular fringe of town on either side all mixed up with private gardens, mosques, cornfields, open market-places and cemeteries. Old Badruddin's house where we are staying is right in the middle of the most crowded part of the bazaar, and yet you can escape through the orchard into a lane among cornfields leading into the open country. I am ensconced in a grand room looking on to the garden, with numerous real glass windows and shutters to them, a fireplace and a Russian stove as well. D. chose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

343 a cosier and more private apartment; she has but one lattice window, but that looks down on to the roof of a carpenter's house, on which the women sit spinning and sewing in the sun all day long; cocks and hens peck about amid heaps of shavings, and children clad in long boots, greatcoat and nothing else peep over the edge into the street, tumble down the ladder into the shop and otherwise enjoy themselves without anyone minding. Children are cheap in this fat, easy-going land.

Khotan, 27th November, 1922.

574 We have just returned (8 p.m.) from an interesting but arctic dinner-party at the Yamen. Our hosts, the Amban and Commandant, had arranged a theatrical performance for the occasion, a great honour. D. and I were met within the Yamen by two parallel processions headed by our hosts and their wives respectively; I was led with much ceremony to one dinner-table and D. to another separated from the men by a low partition. The travelling company's stage was set in the open courtyard opposite us.

353 The prevailing note of the decorations was red; the walls of the Yamen building behind were covered with fine scarlet embroidery and scrolls of the same colour inscribed with Chinese characters in gold; under-foot were red Khotan carpets, while from the roof of the portico and the branches of the trees in the courtyard hung scores of red Chinese lanterns. Most of the latter were of paper, but several of them were of the beautiful and fantastic hexagonal pattern with panels of embroidered silk and long coloured tassels. Major Ma told me that most of the embroidery had been done by Turki women in Khotan, but he hastened to add that the Khotanis had learnt embroidery from the Chinese.

574 The dinner lasted some four hours, and the theatrical performance went on all the time.[1] After sunset the temperature sank to several degrees below freezing-point, and I nearly froze to death. The Chinese never mind how cold it is, for their winter clothes and boots, lined with fur throughout, are as admirably designed to withstand cold as their summer costume is to keep its wearers cool. D. says she was better off, thanks to large braziers which were kept under the table well stoked with wood-embers. She was charmed with the little Chinese [291] ladies, who wore the regulation black satin tunic and trousers and their hair scraped back and twisted into small buns lavishly decorated with ornaments of jade and precious stones. By far the loveliest of her hostesses, however, was a Turki girl from the Titai's household at Kashgar, who was married to one of the military officers. She had, according to D.—I missed this vision—a perfect profile and small oval face, a complexion like a wild rose and large limpid dark eyes; her voice, like those of the beauties of Kashgar, had a kind of uneven tone with long, full, liquid notes.

The ex-Amban's mother, with whom D. exchanged calls yesterday, was not at the dinner. She, according to D., might have stepped straight out of a fairy-story. She looks about a hundred and fifty, wears a black silk handkerchief tied round her head like a pirate, and owns an enormous woolly black cat which adores her and sits all the time licking her hands and face.

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[1] For a description of a Chinese theatrical performance, see pp. 245–7.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Khotan, 28th November.

The name of Stein is well remembered in these parts among Turkis and British subjects alike, and all antiquities other than gold brought in by the "Taklamanchis" or treasure-seekers of the Takla Makan are regarded as his property and to be kept for him. I heard many stories about the great explorer; how in the dreaded Qaranghu Tagh or "Dark Mountains" south of Khotan he bridged an abyss with wire and thus pulled himself and his party across; how in the same mountains he was laid up with frost-bite and would have perished if help had not been obtained from the Leh road, and so on. One episode, probably trivial enough if it occurred, appears to have particularly impressed the Khotanis. It is related that a domed tomb was discovered by Stein completely buried in sand, only one small aperture giving access. This was too small for Stein himself to enter, so he called for volunteers, but none of his local men dared to go in. Finally the Indian surveyor, Ram Singh, stepped (literally) into the breach. He squeezed himself in, and when he came out again some time later he was blind!

Our journey from Khotan to Keriya and back was of the nature of a dash on business, and my letters contain little of interest to the general reader. The second time we visited this remote part of the world, in the spring of 1924, we were able to spare some time for seeing the country and studying its people; on this occasion we travelled straight to Keriya (103 miles) in four marches, stayed there three days and returned to Khotan in another four days. We used pony transport for this trip, the desert road being too sandy for carts. We marched the first day 35 miles to a lonely desert inn called Beshtoghraq Langar, or "The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars," passing, twenty miles from Khotan, through the headquarters of the flourishing new district of Lop.

The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars proved a grubby, desolate little collection of mud hovels islanded in the sand-dunes of a belt of desert 25 miles wide; but our next halt, Chira, was a pleasant township positively buried in orchards. At this half-way house between Khotan and Keriya we were met by the British Aqsaqal of the latter district, a charming, courtly Afghan of great local prestige and considerable substance called Ghulam Muhammad, who insisted on our staying in a comfortable house belonging to his Turki wife, a Chira lady. Next day, near Domoko, an amusing and instructive little incident occurred. We were hacking peacefully along with Murad Qari and a couple of orderlies, when we noticed a crowd of people in the fields a couple of hundred yards from the road, and thought we would go and see what was happening.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

600 When some of the crowd caught sight of our small party trotting quietly over the fields, to our surprise they turned and ran like rabbits; the alarm spread, and the next moment the whole crowd was scattering helter-skelter in all directions. Only a few fierce-looking dogs remained to receive us. Qari quickly realized what the matter was and informed us that we had broken up a dog-fighting meet. I sent Hafiz after the fugitives to tell them not to be frightened of us; gradually they trickled back and soon we were surrounded by a hundred or so sheepish-looking villagers, some of whom led heavily-built crop-eared dogs of the chow type. I thought at first that dog-fighting was forbidden, and that the sportsmen of Domoko had taken us for the arm of the law; but Qari assured me that this was not the case, and that the bolting of the crowd was due to nothing but pure funk. They saw five strangers riding towards them, and their instinct was to run. No wonder a handful of Chinese with a paper army keep perfect order throughout Kashgaria!

I was particularly anxious while at Keriya to obtain a view and if possible a telepanorama of the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a range belonging to the Kunlun system and extending from the south-east of Keriya 800 miles in a north-easterly direction. We were indeed vouchsafed a glimpse of the object of our desires, but a tantalizingly premature and inadequate one. In the late afternoon of the 30th November, on the road between Domoko and Qarakir Langar, we caught our breaths at the distant vision of two mighty peaks of the Mountains of Gold, both over 21,000 feet high, 65 miles away over the desert; but the next morning the fatal dust-haze which is far worse here even than at Kashgar had blotted them out, and we did not see them again.

133 A peculiarity of the Keriya district outside the cultivated area is the coarse grass which covers the country for hundreds
312 of square miles. As there is practically no rainfall at all in this part of the world, these savannahs must be due to comparatively plentiful subsoil water percolating from the distant Kunlun. Chira and Gulakhma and other oases on the road to Keriya owe their existence to this water, which appears in frequent springs after an underground passage of forty or fifty miles beneath the belt of absolutely barren desert between the main road and the villages at the foot of the Kunlun.

600 There is an end-of-the-world feeling about Keriya which

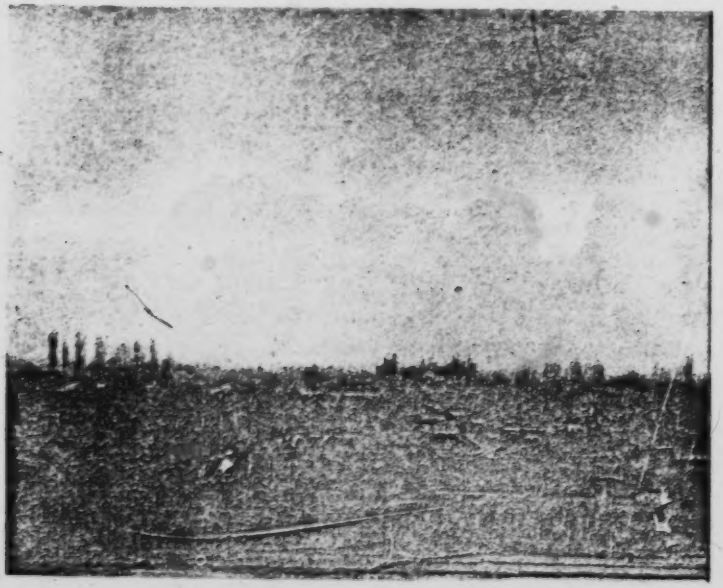
3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133

S.W.

PANORAMA FROM NEAR CHĀT, UPPER QARATASH
Elevation 12,500 feet

S.S.W.
ALPS ↓ OF QUNGUR QUNGUR II (25,200) QUNGUR I (25,146)



TELEPANORAMA OF KASHGAR RANGE FROM ½ MILE S.W. OF KASH(
Elevation *circ.* 4,300 feet. Distance 58-66 miles

[Face p. 116 A]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

MUZ TAGH ATA (under cloud)

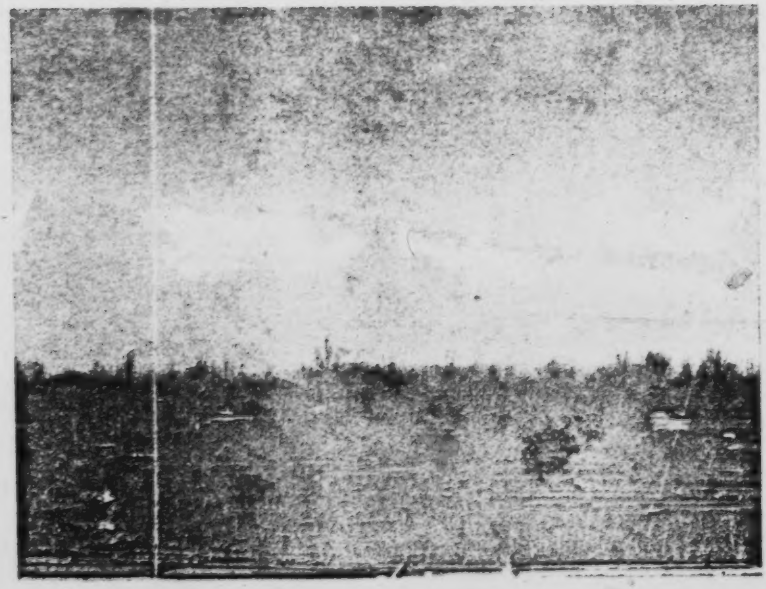
123

UPPER QARATASH VALLEY

ATASH

NGUR I (25,146)

CHAI



.W. OF KASHGAR OLD CITY

MOUTH OF
(To

[Face p. 116 B]

W.

133

S.W.

CHAKRAGIL | MASSIF (22,070)

QARABOKTOR (20,570)

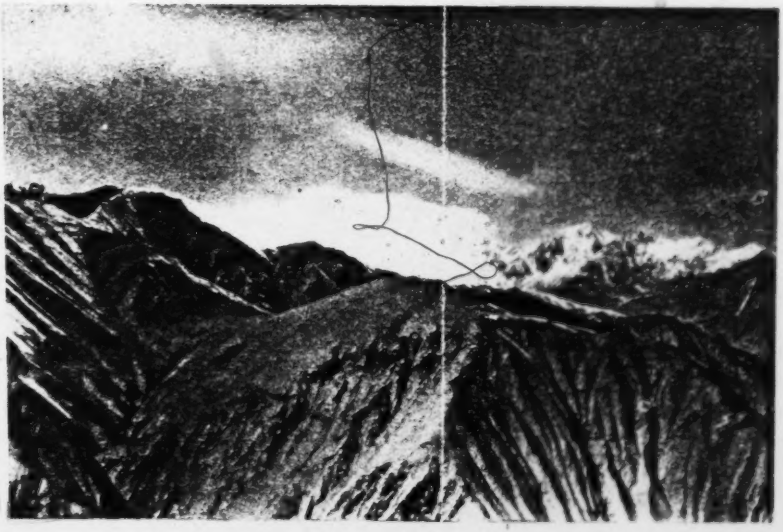
MOUTH OF GEZ DEFILE
(To Pamirs)

[Face p.116 C]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

QUNGUR II (25,200) SHIWAKIL GROUP

133

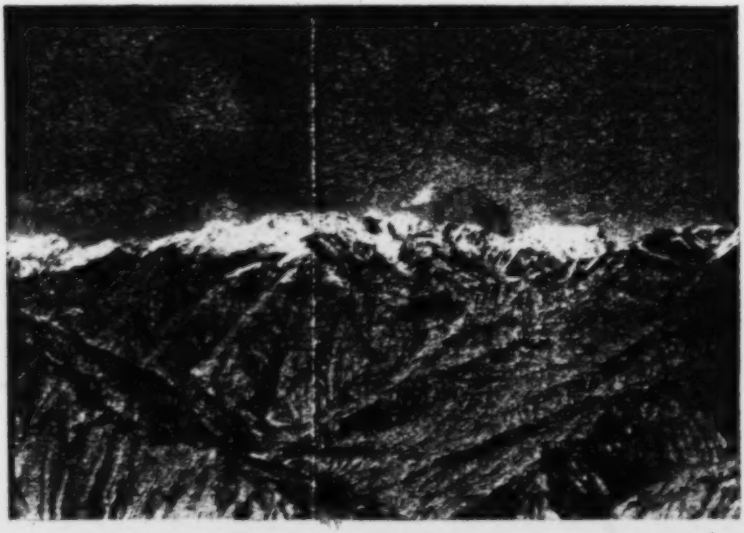


ULUGH ART P. (16,610) W.

[Face p. 116 D]

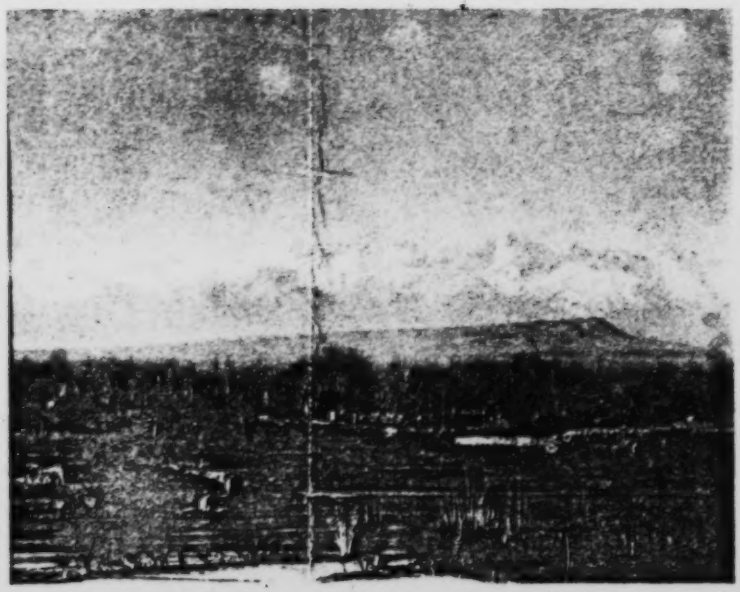
133

GROUP N.W. CHINGHAN RANGE



JUNCTION OF CHINGHAN AND QARATASH RS. JUNCTION OF GHIJAQ AND QARATASH RS.

510) W.S.W. BOSTAN TEREK MTS. (18,560)



[Face p. 116 E]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

is quite distinctive. Most of the other small towns in Kashgaria are on main routes, and witness a continual flow of through traffic; they have at least two roadside tea-drinking pavilions, one on each side of the town. Keriya on the other hand is almost, though not quite, a *cul de sac*; it is the *Ultima Thule* of Kashgaria in this direction. With the exception of the insignificant desert settlements of Niya, Charchan and Charkhliq, there is nothing but desert for 860 miles between Keriya and Tunhwang (Shachow), the westernmost town of Kansu province. The journey to Tunhwang, or Dukhan as the Turkis call it, is only practicable in winter when water can be carried by camels in the form of ice across the terrible Lop desert, which occupies most of the 450 miles between Charkhliq and Tunhwang and includes 150 miles of the salt-encrusted bed of the ancient Lop Sea. Occasionally, perhaps twice a year, a camel-caravan brings silks, tea and porcelain from China Proper to Khotan and Yarkand by this route, and returns with Khotan carpets, jade and Kashgar cotton cloth; individual traders pass to and fro between Keriya and Charchan, but on the whole it may be said that regular traffic stops at Keriya. A fine road leads into the town from the west, with an exceptionally good reception pavilion by its side; to the east, a mere country lane leads to the farms on the left bank of the Keriya River, and beyond them degenerates into a narrow track across the savannah. On this side there is no reception pavilion; no official, foreign guest or other visitor worthy of a tea-drinking ever comes to Keriya from the east.

While in Keriya we stayed at the Aqsaqal's comfortable house in the middle of the town. My work with the Amban left little time for sight-seeing. Judging by the behaviour of the inhabitants, indeed, the chief sight to be seen in Keriya while we were there was ourselves. One soon becomes accustomed to gaping crowds of onlookers in the remoter parts of Central Asia; but the curiosity of the Kerialiks passed all bounds. The place appeared to kave knocked off work for the duration of our visit and to be engaged in nothing but looking at us; or rather I should say at D., for she drew ten times as good "gates" as I did. It must be remembered that with the notable exception of Mrs. Littledale in the nineties no European lady had ever been within a hundred miles of Keriya before. The inhabitants in crowds followed our every step, in the town and out of it; so that we, who objected to being butchered to make a Keriya holiday, stayed at home.

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000 Ever hopeful, the populace took up positions on the surrounding roofs, waiting for us to show our noses outside. It is absurd to complain of the " bad manners " of the inhabitants, as some travellers do in similar circumstances; their curiosity is perfectly natural, and must be put up with. What Londoner would not stare, if he saw a Keriya Beg strolling down Piccadilly in full costume with an eagle on his wrist and the ladies of his harem following him at a respectful distance?

Winter was now upon us, and I was far behind my original tour-programme. Leaving Keriya on 5th December, we accomplished the return journey to Kashgar with almost undignified rapidity under the stimulus of icy winds from the desert. In spite of halts of two days at Khotan, three at Karghalik and four at Yarkand we were back in the Consulate by 27th December, in time to give belated Christmas parties and the official New Year dinner. Except for pilgrimages to two of Sir Aurel Stein's sites, at Khadalik near Domoko and Yotkan, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Khotan, we had little time for anything but travelling and official business.

485 As on the outward journey, we slept each night either (at the larger centres) in private houses, or in the Chinese timber-and-mud-brick rest-houses reserved for officials. Whereas the native *serais* are often very dirty, these *langars* are usually fairly clean, though bare and dusty, as they are seldom used. The buildings generally consist of a gateway of the Chinese type, with a wall built across the front to keep the devils out, and a courtyard on three sides of which are servants' quarters, kitchen, store-rooms and stables, while on the fourth, opposite the gate, are the *chambres de maître*. These are either three or five in number and open into one another, all except the middle one being provided with fire-places. Their windows are not glazed, but consist of light wooden lattice-work frames pasted over with white mulberry-bark paper.

000 The day we double-marched from Karghalik to Yarkand was one of the most strenuous I have ever spent. D. started with the caravan at nine, in the tarantass, while I proceeded to the Yamen, intending to finish off my business with the Amban in two or three hours and catch D. up in time for lunch somewhere about Posgam. Alas for my optimistic programme! I might have known my Manchu Amban. So many and knotty were the points he raised as a *bonne bouche* to our lively and prolonged discussions, and so loath was he (so he said) to part with me, that although I parried all his attempts to keep me

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for dinner I did not finally escape from Karghalik till 3 p.m. I was then faced with a 41-mile ride to Yarkand, including all the ceremonies involved in arriving at and departing from the town of Posgam as well as an hour or two's work with the Amban of that district. Attended only by Hafiz on his sturdy Kalmuck pony I called upon the black horse to rise to the occasion and galloped practically the whole way to Posgam (24 miles) in 2½ hours. At the British Subjects' tea-drinking, a mile short of Posgam, the poor old Aqsaqal and his friends had been waiting for me ever since noon, so I had to give them a good innings and hear all they had to say about their various lawsuits and other business. It was pitch-dark when I mounted again and trotted on into Posgam, and in view of this and of the gallop he had just done the black horse may perhaps be forgiven for coming down on a perfectly smooth bit of road and throwing me on my left shoulder rather heavily. The Amban, I was thankful to find, had abandoned the idea of a road-side reception hours before, and awaited me in his yamen; he was more considerate than my Manchu friend of Karghalik, and compliments, small talk, business and farewells were all successfully packed into an hour.

By seven o'clock I was again on the road, riding my other horse which had been waiting for me all day at Posgam. I had hoped to be able to trot and canter all the way into Yarkand (17 miles), but my shoulder, which had been wrenched by my fall, was somewhat painful and would not stand jogging, so I had to proceed the whole way at a walk. A hospitable British subject called Haji Turab Shah was ready for me at his house, a mile out of Posgam, with a good square meal for which I was extremely thankful. Crossing the Yarkand River a mile beyond this was strange experience. I was surprised to find that there was considerably more water than when we had forded this river early in November, and that some of the ferry-boats which had then been laid by were now again in use. I was told that this was due to the fact that in November the water of the river can still be drawn off for irrigation, and is used for flooding the fields which have been sown for next spring's crop; later, when the hard frost comes to the plains, the sluices of the canals become blocked with ice and it is no longer possible to draw off the waters of the river. I was escorted by the Aqsaqal of Posgam and two of his men, one of my own orderlies, and four of the Amban of Posgam's runners, who dangled at the end of poles monstrous

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red paper lanterns inscribed with strange characters. With our five horses we occupied the whole of the big flat-bottomed ferry-boats, in which we were poled across the two main channels of the river by morose ferrymen in enormous sheep-skin hats. It was a wild dark night, no stars, no moon; by the light of a yellowish glow from behind heavy clouds in the western sky we could see, spinning past us in endless procession on the swift but shallow flood, floes and fragments of ice, which glanced harmlessly off our sides as the ferrymen kept the bows of the boat up-stream. The dim glow in the west, the fantastic lanterns, the strange-hatted ferrymen, the horses whinnying nervously in the bows and stern of the barge and the swift procession of the ice-floes on the dark waters, combined to produce an effect of unreality; we seemed to be crossing some river of Hades in company with a boat-load of lost souls.

The remaining 15 miles into Yarkand were very long. What with the darkness and my painful shoulder we could not hurry, and it was midnight before we at last turned wearily into the courtyard of the house at Yarkand in which D. had been anxiously awaiting me since sunset.

Our Christmas lunch on the road between Yarkand and Kashgar was one of the chilliest meals I have ever eaten. Dismounting at a ruined farm-house we collected some fragments of green thorn-bush and tried with only partial success to make a fire behind a wall. When we came to "lay the table," we found that our drinking-water (not that we wanted to drink much) was frozen in the thermos, the hard-boiled eggs were also hard-frozen (D. thought the first one she broke was bad and threw it away), the cold chicken emitted a ringing sound when tapped and the juicy Kucha pears had to be thawed before we could get our teeth into them!

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CHAPTER IX

DESERT, RIVER AND MOUNTAIN

ABOUT the tenth of February the grip of frost upon the land began to relax noticeably, the surface of the ice on the skating-ponds became day by day more slushy and the sun's rays developed a hitting power which surprised us so early in the season. A fortnight later, amid general jubilation, the first muddy water appeared in the irrigation-channels, forerunner of the life-giving floods which in another two months would be sweeping down from the great ranges. Kashgar awoke and stretched itself after its winter sleep. All at once, it seemed, the poplars and willows put out their buds, the soil became soft and moist and the garden resounded with the chatter of starlings, the twitter of martens, the cooing of ring-doves and the hoo-hoo-hoo of the courting hoopoe. Spring was upon us, and at the Consulate our fancy lightly turned to thoughts of the Road. We planned a most attractive ten weeks' tour which would take us first to Merket, on the Yarkand River four marches to the east, thence down-river to Maralbashi and to fair Aqsu, 300 miles along the ancient Silk Road from Europe to Cathay, and back by Uch Turfan and the Mountains of Heaven. In the event, this programme had to be postponed to the autumn, except as regards Merket, but the spring tour that we did manage to carry out, though short, was interesting enough. 132

Sending our baggage-ponies and all our retinue except the indispensable Hafiz and Sangi Khan ahead the day before, we left Kashgar on 21st March and reached Yupogha, 51 miles east-south-east, the same evening. Our way at first led through a flat country of trees and reedy canals and old farms on the banks of quiet rivers; but the second day the cultivation became gradually more sparse and the country drier as we approached the Takla Makan. That night we slept at a thriving little market-village called Tarim Bazar, where 487 346

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there is the much-frequented shrine of one of Kashgar's many lady-saints, Bu Mariam. It is a simple affair; a grove of ancient desert-poplars, two or three single-storied buildings on a little hill, a tall conical mound of faggots and sand surmounted by a bundle of long poles, and all round in serried ranks the tombs of the Faithful. Escaping with difficulty from the idly curious of Tarim Bazar we made tea for ourselves under a scented tamarisk-bush near the shrine. In a corner under the ancient poplars some families of pilgrims from Khotan were encamped with their ponies, donkeys and goats around them like a nomad tribe on the move; an incredibly old beggar in his elaborately-ragged, almost theatrical patchwork costume and mediæval sheepskin-rimmed extinguisher hat doddered about among the graves; and all the while, incongruously, every tree and every bush was loud with the chorus of Spring.

Next day we crossed the westernmost and narrowest section of the Takla Makan, 24 miles broad, to the tiny settlement of Langar among the first jungles of the Yarkand River. It was not a pleasant march. Though there were no high dunes to cross, the going was heavy throughout, the sun's heat trying and the endless vistas of tamarisk-cones inexpressibly monotonous. The tarantass had as usual been sent back after our first double march, and we both rode. But the worst was now over. Next morning an exhilarating two-mile canter brought us to the river, across the placid waters of which roomy flat-bottomed ferry-boats were plying to and fro with cargoes of fur-hatted carters, blue-hooded Chinese carts, gaily-decked horses tinkling with bells and villagers in costumes of many colours. Across the river, in a grove of trees from which last year's leaves had not yet fallen (so calm and windless is the winter here), we were met by an unexpectedly imposing cortège. Twenty horsemen escorted a landau drawn by three fine bays, harnessed troika-fashion and skilfully handled by an obviously Russian-trained Turki coachman. In the carriage sat a good-looking, clean-shaven young Chinese gentleman dressed in the regulation black silk coat and white skirt, and wearing the neat black cap of his country instead of the ridiculous bowler favoured by most of his colleagues. It was the Amban of Maralbashi, of which district Merket is a subdivision, and he was actually on tour—the first and last occasion during the whole of our time in Kashgaria on which we met a District Magistrate away from

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his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

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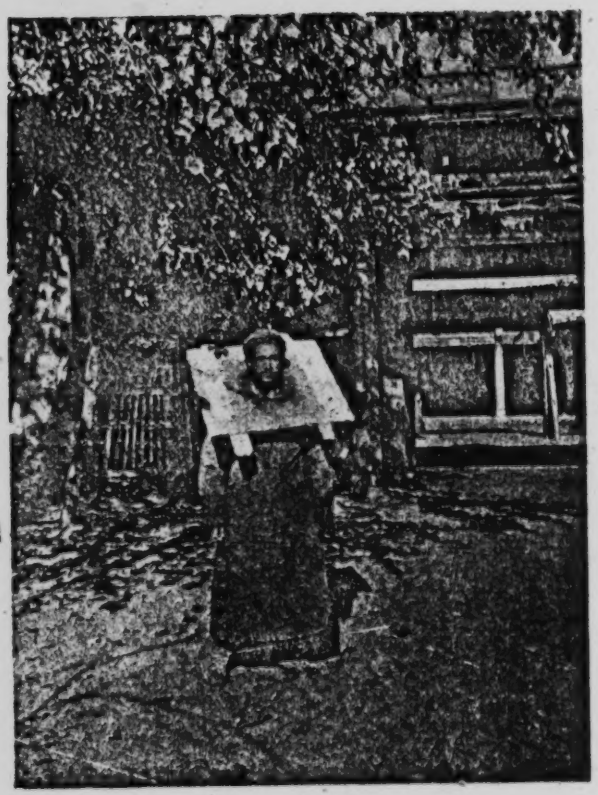
562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured 627 Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"



DEBTOR WEARING CANGUE, MAGISTRATE'S YAMEN, KARGHALIK

DULANI WOMAN WITH SICK LAMB, MERKET [p. 124]

[Face p. 124]

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case arose in connexion with the murder of a British subject by his son at a village in the Yarkand district, and it became necessary for me to confer with the Amban of Yarkand at his headquarters. The march of 45 miles to Yarkand occupied a day and a half and led us through country which alternated between desert-poplar forest, marshes and cultivation. The display of bird life among the marshes along the right bank of the Yarkand River was astonishing. We saw none of the rainbow-plumaged "Shaw's pheasant" supposed to haunt these jungles, but among the reedy lakes and water-channels all along the road there was every now and again a mighty cackling and splashing of duck, geese, teal, cormorants, cranes, terns, plovers, coots, water-hens and many kinds of lesser fowl. A Paradise indeed for the naturalist and even for our ignorant selves, could we but have spared a few days to explore these little-known wilds with gun and camera. The Yarkand oasis was entered at Abad, a village of several hundred families living on land brought into cultivation twenty years before by an Amban called Liu, who used prison labour to dig a canal from the Yarkand River. This was one of several instances I came across in the Yarkand neighbourhood of cultivation being extended by enterprising and ambitious Magistrates. The area of this great oasis must be now at least twice what it was fifty years ago under the indigenous rule of Yakub Beg.

The five days my work occupied at Yarkand passed pleasantly enough at the garden of the Bar Gah, now a mass of snowy blossom, and while I sat in conclave with Amban or Aqsaqal, D. amused herself with shopping in the kaleidoscopic bazaars and exchanging visits with Swedish, Chinese, Indian and Turki friends. Once she was entertained at tea in the grand manner by the entire community of Hindu traders at their big caravanserai in the middle of the Old City, during the course of which a bowing young *bunnia* informed her that he knew the *Generail-Consul-Sahib* (i.e. me) quite well, as he had been a waiter at the United Services Club at Simla in 1920 when I had quarters there! Since then he had given up the job in order to join his brother who represented an Amritsar firm at Yarkand. Her visit to the Yamen to see the wife of the Amban was a somewhat difficult one. She found a child of eighteen, a forlorn, rather pathetic little figure dressed up like a doll, who almost died of nervousness and said through her Turki maid, "Please forgive me, I don't

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know what to do or say!" On Easter Sunday she attended the children's service at the Mission Orphanage three miles out along the Kashgar road. I rode out to fetch her in the afternoon and we were both shown over the establishment. We were immensely struck by the Orphanage, the acquaintance of whose small inmates we had already made at the Bar Gah the previous November. The children numbered thirty-five and ranged in age from ten months to fourteen or fifteen years, and all were happy as sand-boys, apple-cheeked little people, many of them, who might have been, so far as appearances were concerned, English or Scottish children of the same class. The institution, which is situated on an estate appropriately named "Bihisht Bagh" or "Garden of Paradise," included in addition to the usual playgrounds a fair-sized plot of land which the orphans helped to cultivate. Less than half the children were orphans in the ordinary sense, without either father or mother living; the rest were victims of the unfortunate temporary marriage system prevalent throughout Kashgaria—honorary orphans, as it were. Trouble was occasionally experienced from relations who, having kept in the background in the earlier stages, claimed children when the Orphanage had turned them into well-fed, well-behaved potential wage-earners. On the whole, however, the Orphanage was the most respected of all the works of the Swedish Mission, both among the Chinese and among the Turkis, whose religion taught them to regard kindness to an orphan as a *sawab* or merit-acquiring action of the highest order.

While at Yarkand I seized the opportunity of having my teeth seen to by Dr. Nyström of the Mission, who is an experienced dentist. His services are very much in request throughout Kashgaria, for he has an absolute monopoly of Western dental skill. High Chinese officials at Kashgar were always asking me when he would next come to the capital. He did visit Kashgar in January 1923 on Mission duty, when in response to the universal request he took his dental chair and appliances with him and spent a busy fortnight fitting toothless mandarins with dentures. From what Dr. Nyström told me and I heard from other sources I can confidently assert that any enterprising dentist who found his way to Sinkiang with a few instruments and a couple of camel-loads of false teeth would make a small fortune; moreover, he would have experiences with his clients seldom vouchsafed to practitioners in more sophisticated lands. Dr. Nyström once told me of a

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wealthy old landowner of Yangi Hissar district who wrote to him asking for a set of teeth, to be sent by post. The exact wording of the following extracts from correspondence is not vouched for, but the facts are as related to me.

Letter from Ibrahim Beg Haji of Yangi Hissar to Dr. Nyström, Yarkand.

(After usual compliments). . . . May it be known to Your Excellency that from many years of chewing the stale bread of adversity and gnawing the hard bone of poverty the teeth which Allah bestowed on this slave have been worn away, until but one remains. Being well aware of Your Excellency's Galen-surpassing erudition and surgical skill, I pray you to send me by the hand of my messenger a set of teeth such as the Franks use, only they must be teeth that have come from no infidel jaw nor bitten the flesh of any unclean animal. . . .

Dr. N. to Ibrahim Beg Haji.

I have received your letter. Be it known to you that it is not possible for me to fit you with a set of artificial teeth without first seeing and measuring your mouth. Please therefore come to Yarkand and I will be at your service.

Ibrahim Beg Haji to Dr. N.

(After compliments and thanks). . . . I bitterly regret that the multifarious duties and family ties of this slave render a visit to Yarkand impossible. However, I know well that it is only the friendship with which you deign to favour me and the desire you feel for my unworthy company that impel you to invite me to Yarkand in person. I therefore send this by the hand of an aged retainer, Ishak Bai. My mouth resembles his, except that he has no teeth at all whereas my upper dog-tooth on the left side remains. Please make the teeth to fit his mouth, but leaving space for the above-mentioned dog-tooth, and send them to me without delay so that I may once more eat the flesh of sheep and goats to the glory of Allah and in thankfulness for your more-than-Hippocratic learning.

Dr. N. to Ibrahim Beg Haji.

. . . I regret that I cannot comply with your wishes. It would be useless to make the teeth fit Ishak Bai and not you. . . .

The correspondence ceased, but when shortly afterwards Dr. N. went to Kashgar, with his dental chair and instruments, he arranged to stay for a few days at Yangi Hissar on the way, chiefly for the benefit of old Ibrahim Beg Haji. When the Haji appeared and was duly seated on the torture-chair, the following dialogue (or something like it) took place :—

Dr. N. (finding a single very decayed and loose tooth remaining in his client's mouth) : This tooth must come out.

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757 I. B. H.: Impossible. My last tooth! I cannot part with it.

Dr. N.: But you must. I cannot fit the set with one of your own teeth, and that a loose and decayed one, still in position.

I. B. H.: Surely you can make them with a gap into which my one can fit?

Dr. N.: I fear I cannot. You must let me take it out.

I. B. H.: It is the will of Allah. Allow me to take my leave. Farewell.

And that was the last that the Doctor saw of Ibrahim Beg Haji!

My work at Yarkand done, it was too late to turn our steps northwards again and continue the tour we had originally planned. April proved a much hotter month than we had expected, and we feared the notorious gadflies and mosquitoes of the Maralbashi jungles, which before the end of the month would be ravening for our blood and that of our animals. Moreover, about this time it became known to me that I would have further opportunities for the Aqsu tour, the Government of India having decided, for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter, to keep me two years at Kashgar instead of the one for which I had originally been appointed.

It seemed a pity, however, to return to headquarters so soon by the comparatively dull main road which we had traversed only three months before, and in view of the heat I decided to make the experiment of a fortnight's détour among the high mountains. The opportunity appeared a favourable one for attempting the passage of the Qaratash Gorges which had baffled us the previous October; the summer floods were not to be expected until about the twentieth of April, while there was a reasonable prospect of the snow on the high passes which give access to the upper Qaratash having melted sufficiently to allow us to cross. Once in the upper Qaratash I hoped to find the weather clear enough and the water sufficiently low to permit a reconnaissance of the Chimghan Jilgha, which joins the main valley from the west just above the great gorges. This route would also take us across a region known as the Qizil Tagh (Red Mountains) to the west of the Yarkand oasis, which I was anxious to explore. Though the Red Mountains contain alpine pastures and some small patches of fir-forest, and are easily accessible both from Yarkand and from Yangi Hissar, they have only, so far as I know, been visited by Sir Aurel Stein, Col. Shuttleworth and some missionaries from Yarkand who established a summer camp among

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them a few years ago. It was a pity that bad visibility and shortage of time prevented plane-tabling in this region, so that I was unable to supplement Sir Aurel Stein's map by fitting into it a traverse of our route, which except for 14 miles in the Chighmen and Suget Jilghas was one which had not previously been followed by Sir Aurel or any other explorer.

Leaving Yarkand on 2nd April we spent the night at Qaraul Jash, 15 miles to the south-west of the city, as the guests of the British Aqsaqal, who had estates in that neighbourhood. Next day we plunged into the barren foothills of the Qizil Tagh. A long and hot march brought us to the only water in the region, brackish but just drinkable, a spring called Achiq Yusuf Qadir Khan. Here we camped thirstily, leaving at an early hour next morning in order to reach sweet water as soon as possible. It was not till three in the afternoon, however, that we crossed the last range of hills and found ourselves quite suddenly in the Chighmen Jilgha, a long valley which comes down from the inmost fastnesses of the Red Mountains and eventually debouches near Qizil Bazar on the Yarkand-Kashgar road. What a treat it was to come suddenly on a crystal, ice-cold stream and a little mill among willows just showing their spring green! It was too early to halt and we filed up the valley, passing croft after croft of the Kirghiz' rough stone-built huts with steeply-terraced cornfields now just beginning to be ploughed with the help of water carried along the hill-side in narrow channels. For these were "farmer Kirghiz" as we called them, not the pastoral, *aq-oi*-inhabiting Kirghiz of the higher mountains. Here are no great flocks and herds as on the high pastures of the Pamirs or the Tien Shan; only a few sheep and goats nibbling the scanty weeds along the rocky banks of the stream, guarded by tawny, thick-furred dogs. We stopped at a croft slightly larger than the rest to talk to the local Qazi, a typical thin-bearded, high-cheek-boned old Kirghiz, who earnestly begged us to pitch our tents on one or other of his pocket-handkerchief fields and be his guests. We spared the old man and pushed on another mile and a half, camping on a sheltered patch of grass in a bend of the stream-bed, 7,000 feet up.

Next day we contented ourselves with a half-march of nine miles only and camped at the tiny Kirghiz settlement of Suget Ayaghi, near the outlet of the Suget Valley, an upper branch of the Chighmen. The first inhabitants we saw in this valley were four tiny tots of children whom we surprised

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487 toddling down to the ice-covered stream with blackened copper water-jugs to fill, a pretty sight. Later, when our camp was pitched, came three cheerful vast-turbaned, apple-cheeked ladies, with their sewing and their babies, and made themselves comfortable on the grass in front of D.'s tent, chatting with us and among themselves until D. should be ready to receive them inside. Then they crowded into her tent and hung excitedly over her unpacking. Though accustomed to friendliness and naturalness on the part of the Kirghiz, D. was at first a little puzzled at the remarkable lack of shyness of these women, on our very first appearance among them; but the mystery was soon solved. As she was setting out her toilet-table one of them suddenly pounced on a box of *trèfle incarnat* with cries of "Ufpah! Ufpah!" which means "powder-puff." D. was astonished, until they explained. One of them, it appeared, was the daughter of old Ibrahim Beg of Yambulak, and had recently been on a visit to her parents, who had told her all about our stay in their valley last July on our way to Kashgar. Consequently, the Suget ladies knew all that D. had then said and done, how she had given those of Yambulak cold cream for their hands and had initiated them in the mysteries of powder and puff, how she had promised them gloves and had painted a picture of the Beg's pretty daughter-in-law, and many other items of breathless interest. So D. knew what was expected of her, and ere long the camp resounded with their delighted gigglings as they powdered their noses and preened themselves in front of D.'s camp mirror.

Soon after leaving Suget Ayaghi we passed through a remarkable cleft in the high rocky wall and found ourselves in a wide sunny valley with snow-clad peaks at its head. Here, at a height of about 9,000 feet, were the summer pastures of the Suget Kirghiz and two of their cottages. There were no trees, but high up on the flanks of the central peaks we could see patches of fir-forest. This, we were told, was the valley to which the missionaries from Yarkand had come more than once for their summer camp. Leaving the Suget Jilgha by a pass just over 10,000 feet high we descended into a pleasant little valley called the Tam Jilgha, so called from the number of stone houses (*tām*) it contained. Poplars grew in it, remarkable at a height of over 9,000 feet, and there was quite a respectable area of cultivation, chiefly barley. Here we saw three different kinds of animal being used in the plough

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within a few hundred yards; in one field a pair of horses and another of bullocks, on another plot a fine pair of yaks was harnessed to the plough. Crossing another quite easy pass we dropped down into the Sarai Jilgha, a much less fertile valley, with only two very poor families of Kirghiz in it.

On 8th April we crossed our third and highest pass in the Qizil Tagh, the Sarai Davan, 11,500 feet. It was steep and had a regular knife-edge top, but was not difficult and our carrier's ponies which were accustomed to the Karakoram road made light of it. Descending from the pass by a steep and narrow nullah we debouched on the Kinkol Valley at Kichik Qaraul, where we were on the Tashqurghan-Kashgar road up which we had come the previous July. We had thus left the "Red Mountains" behind us.

An attractive feature of the Qizil Tagh is the partridge shooting. We were there at the wrong time of year for it, but we shot a few birds for the pot now and then, and from the number of coveys we saw it was evident that in autumn a party of two or three guns would get a very good bag indeed in any one of the three valleys we visited. The only country in which I have seen as many red-legged partridge (*chikor*) as in the Qizil Tagh is the valleys of the Sulaiman Mountains in the north of British Baluchistan. The pursuit of the chikor or *keklik* (so called in Turki from the noise they make, kik-alik-alik-alik) is one of the most strenuous forms of sport I know. The birds are usually found near a steep, often precipitous, hillside; at the slightest alarm they run for it and climb, and you have to pound up after them as hard as you can. Without beaters, the difficulty usually is to put them up. Shooting for the pot, as I always did on these tours, I usually took a long shot at a runner, in which case the covey would often get up and in their agitation break back over my head, in which case I got a shot with my left barrel. This performance I could hardly describe as a "right and left," so I called it a "ground and air."

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Marching up the Kinkol valley we struck westwards up the Chumbuz Jilgha, a promising glen, of which I had made a note for future exploration the previous July. It led up into another small blank patch in Sir. A. Stein's map, and my object was to survey it roughly and cross by a pass called the Kizmak which I knew led over from its head into the upper Qaratash Valley. Lest the Kizmak should prove really bad—it had never been crossed by European—I decided to send most

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487 of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha 162 seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, com- 181 bining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan [361] went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak [291] Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, 000 dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

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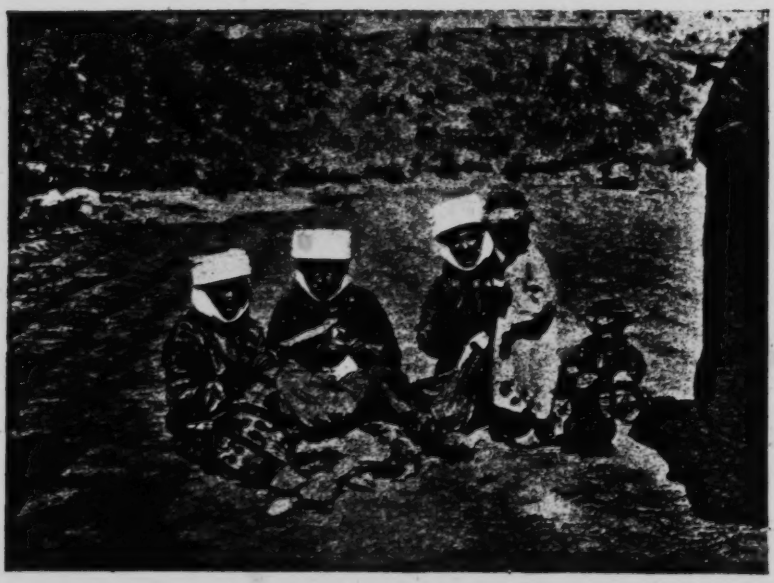

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KIRGHIZ CALLERS, QIZIL TAGH REGION

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A KIRGHIZ WEDDING BREAKFAST, UPPER QARATASH VALLEY

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fire, a man was cooking an entire sheep; in another direction five men were saying their evening prayers; twelve young lambs were tied up in a row in another part of the *aq-oi* and all the rest of the room was taken up by the fat Beg who sat warming his feet at the fire and sipping a bowl of tea!"

The Kizmak Pass next day proved terribly steep and some 14,000 feet high, but the magnificent yaks provided by the Kirghiz carried our loads up it (though with many halts and tremendous puffings and gruntings). They then tobogganed neatly down the still steeper descent on the west side, which contained snow and showed signs of recent avalanches. The glorious view from the top, including the whole mountain-system of the upper and middle Qaratash, kept us there nearly two hours; though unfortunately it was too late in the day for either Qungur or Muz Tagh Ata to be free from clouds, and my telephotographs were not successful. A long day ended with a six-mile canter against a howling north wind down the broad flat bottom of the Qaratash Valley to Chat, where we were relieved to find our caravan waiting for us and our tents pitched. Six inches of snow fell that night, but next morning it cleared up and I decided to halt a day, which I spent in plane-tabling and telephotographing the magnificent snows of Qungur and the Shiwakte from the heights above Chat.

Next day (12th April) we started the march down the Qaratash Gorges, to which I had been looking forward with some apprehension. The worst part does not begin till below the junction of the Qaratash and Chimghan valleys, six miles below Chat, but even in this six miles the valley narrows considerably and the river has to be forded seven times. Four miles below Chat, at a place called Bek Targhak, we had the unexpected pleasure of assisting at a Kirghiz wedding feast. Forty or fifty Kirghiz, including several women, were gathered at a mud-walled enclosure in which four *aq-ois* were pitched; they invited us through the Beg to come in, and next moment we found ourselves sitting in a crowded *aq-oi* chewing portions of a sheep which was being stewed at the fire in the middle. Asking which were the happy pair, we were informed that neither of them was present, it being the custom throughout the *nikah* or wedding feast for the bride and bridegroom to stay in their respective tents in the background. D. was taken in to see the lady and reported afterwards that she was a woman

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585 [587] of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists rolled we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to run the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the crowded Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

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animals, which scarcely allowed their loads to be so much as splashed.

It was half-past twelve when we crossed the last of the four channels of the Chimghan stream at its junction with the Qaratash and dived into the great gorges. The rest of that day's march was a strange experience. The mountain-sides towered up 10,000 feet on either side, with the snouts of occasional hanging glaciers visible far above us. The river dashed backwards and forwards between its rocky walls, high up the face of which we could here and there make out the track, a few inches wide and carried from ledge to ledge on the slender trunks of young fir trees, which in summer forms the only communication between the inhabitants of some of the glens and the outer world. The worst part was a horrible gorge called Arasunde, which we reached late in the afternoon. Here the torrent was quite unfordable, and it took our loads nearly two hours to cover one mile, so often did the ponies have to be unloaded and the packs man-handled between huge boulders or along dangerous sections of the track, which clung giddily to the cliff-face above the racing flood. After this I had to give up hope of reaching our camping-place of the previous October at Bash Kupruk below the mouth of the Kaying Jilgha; darkness overtook us more than a mile above that place, and we were obliged to halt for the night on a narrow strip of land boasting a few small trees and bushes for fire-wood but very little grazing for the animals. Though it was half-past seven before the loads were off and the temperature of the wind blowing up-river 42°, we were sitting down to a three-course dinner in D.'s tent at half-past eight, with beds made and everything ship-shape for the night, and all the men (except Ahmad Bakhsh and Murad who served us and supped later) laughing and talking over their evening meal round the camp fire.

After that day's march even the Tügene-tar gorge below Bash Kupruk was plain sailing, and we camped at Saman in comparative comfort next afternoon. Here we were met by a consignment of grain for the horses and food for the men, which I had arranged to have brought up from Yangi Hissar, also by D.'s camel Sulaiman, which had been sent there by the plains route from Yarkand. He was a useful addition to our caravan, as my horse and D.'s had exactly five shoes between them by the time they reached Saman. D. rode Sulaiman and our spare riding-pony alternately the last 57 miles between

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487 Saman and Kashgar, which we did between 9 a.m. on 14th April and 2.30 p.m. on the 15th. Not bad going considering that all but the last five of the 34 miles between Saman and Akhtur Bazar were over rough, stony tracks and included three more crossings of the Qaratash River.

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CHAPTER X

A MURDER CASE AND A DIFFICULT JOURNEY

EARLY summer in Kashgaria is a time of crystal-clear mornings and noonday skies of indigo flecked with argosies of creamy clouds. But the weather is by no means monotonously perfect. Every week or two comes a thickening of the atmosphere and an increasing sultriness which leads up to a *buran* or storm of dust and rain. Compared with those of South Persia or Upper India these *burans* are mild affairs, though further east round the edges of the Takla Makan they can be bad enough. A high wind, a pale brown sky, a consciousness of fine loess dust collecting in one's eyes and gritting on one's teeth; this goes on for some hours, perhaps the whole day, and then comes a drumming and a sputtering of warm rain which passes in an hour or two and leaves the air clean and sweet, the garden full of scent and the landscape of colour. Colour—that is the note of Kashgar in summer. Not only is Nature a rich mosaic of emerald and turquoise and ochre, but Man decks himself—and herself—in every colour of the rainbow. Accustomed to the dirty white or dust-coloured raiment of Upper India and Baluchistan, the effective but monotonous dark red of the women of Rajputana and Central India, the dead white or coal black affected by their sisters in Persia and Mespotamia, I did not know what the "gorgeous East" could be until I saw the bazaars at Kashgar on a summer's morning. The 'Id festival which comes at the end of the Ramazan fast happened to fall in May our first year. This is an occasion on which every one who can afford to do so, man, woman and child, comes out in new clothes—and almost every one can afford them, for the dyed silks of Khotan are dirt-cheap and even the superior products of Ferghana and Bokhara far from dear. To the many-hued cloaks, dresses and pork-pie hats

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291 of the ladies are added the long striped *chapans* of purple, green and yellow sported by their husbands. But the prettiest pictures of all are the merry groups of little girls who roam the streets hand-in-hand clad in rainbow-tinted silks and cottons, their curls decked with red roses thrown to them from the flower-stalls. Many of the colours are crude enough, green and yellow, magenta and vermilion, mauve and peacock blue; but even the gaudiest contrasts somehow blend under the blue sky and against the warm-toned background of wooden houses and loess bluffs. Of many a vivid picture one perhaps stands out in memory. It is of the sun sinking in glory over the Tien Shan, its level rays bathing farmstead and foliage in gold; at the door of a farm-house where there has been a party, a group of departing women guests stand gossiping, their cloaks, dresses and caps making an exquisite pattern of orange, maroon, apple-green, rose-pink, purple, indigo and lemon-yellow all enriched and blended by the golden light; beyond, the long brown walls of Old Kashgar.

000 Midsummer approached, the cooling showers became rarer, and there came a suspicion of sultriness in the nights. The Chinese officials retired to the seclusion of their yamen gardens, the Swedes in relays to their "hill-station" at Bostan Terek, and the Russians to their favourite camping ground at Salarma, ten miles from the city. As for the better-class Turkis and British subjects, they had already deserted the town for their country gardens. It would be disingenuous of me to convey the impression that we at the Consulate-General suffered from the heat and that a trip to the "Hills" became advisable on hygienic grounds. But prevention, we told ourselves, was better than cure; I had one or two long reports to write which would be the better for the seclusion of a suitable *villégiature*; and altogether there were cogent reasons for a short sojourn among the mountains. In truth, of course, it was the Happy Valley that called us, and there was no stopping our ears to its call. Whether we would succeed in reaching it or not was another question. The Tümen and Qizil Su rivers were in full flood and several bridges had already been carried away, including the big one between the Old and New Cities; I had visions of the lower Qaratash valley brimming with turbid waters and our caravan struggling hopelessly in their grip. But I knew that even if the direct route proved impossible, we could still as a last resort reach Kaying Bashi by a three days' détour across seven of the "Nine Passes" in the Gez

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KASHGARI CHILDREN IN GALA ATTIRE FOR THE QURBAN 'ID FESTIVAL

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000 Valley and over the Achiq Davan to Khanterek on the Qaratash. Brian O'Flynn and his camels were not available this time, but Zakir Haji, the carrier whom we had employed on our spring tour, had served us very well in the mountains, and we were glad to be able to secure him and his ten ponies once more. Our retinue included the same well-tried orderlies and servants who had accompanied us the previous autumn, except that the ex-Lancer Rahim Khan, who was really past his work, was replaced by our sturdy, wise old Ladakhi Jemadar, Ghulam Muhammad. Another notable addition to our caravan was the fine grey donkey we had acquired in the spring for the sweeper Yakub to ride, in order to save the hire of a special pony for him. Tooty (short for Tutankhamen) cost us the equivalent of 25*s.* 6*d.* at the Thursday live-stock market outside Kashgar, which we visited in person to buy him, and he carried Yakub right staunchly over hill and dale throughout all our subsequent wanderings. D. regarded him as one of her pets, and if on the march he led laborious days, at the Consulate between tours he lived on the fat of the land. He had one drawback, and that was a frequent and most stentorian bray. Echoing among the precipices of the mountains, Tooty's bray would have awakened the Seven Sleepers, and every night we had to see that he was tied up with plenty of lucerne at least a quarter of a mile from our tents.

692 682 On the afternoon of the 19th June we rode to Yapchan, and next day we lunched at Yangi Hissar. My presence at this town, which is some miles to the east of the mouth of the Qaratash, was required for the joint trial with the Amban of an interesting murder case in which a Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh was accused of killing a Chitrali traveller. The murdered man being a British and the accused a Chinese subject, the case was a "mixed" one triable by the Chinese authorities, with myself as British Consul-General "watching" it on behalf of the Government of India and the murdered man's relations.[1] The details of the case are not without dramatic interest and are worthy of record.

In February 1923 I received a letter from the Assistant Political Agent in Chitral, in the North-West Frontier Province of India, enclosing a petition from the relations of one Muham-

[1] If the nationalities had been reversed, with the accused a British and the deceased a Chinese subject, I would have tried the case at Kashgar in my Consular court with the Taoyin watching it on behalf of the Governor.

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mad Shah. This was to the effect that the said Muhammad Shah, a trader of Chitral, had left Yangi Hissar in the province of Sinkiang in the previous December but had never reached his home. I requested the Taoyin to make inquiries, at the same time calling for a report from the British Aqsaqal at Yangi Hissar. The latter replied that Muhammad Shah had indeed left Yangi Hissar two months before, travelling alone, and had been traced as far as Ighiz Yar on the Tashqurghan road, but had not been seen or heard of since. Nothing happened and I had almost given up hope of the mystery being cleared up, when towards the end of May the Taoyin informed me that a man had been arrested on the charge of murdering Muhammad Shah at a wild spot called Sasik Tika in the Qizil Tagh two marches from Yangi Hissar along the Tashqurghan road, and that in due course he would be tried by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar, Mr. Chiang.

According to Chinese judicial procedure, the Magistrate of a district in which a murder has been committed is held responsible for this breach of law and order, and incurs a degree of disgrace inversely proportionate to the distance from his headquarters of the place where the crime was committed. He must proceed at once to the spot and view the corpse, no matter where it is or how long it has been buried, and hold an inquest in person. The result is that corpulent Mandarins, who never stir from their Yamens if they can possibly help it, take the greatest care that no murder be committed within their borders, not only because of the black marks they receive, but also on account of the irksome journey that may be involved. As has happened more than once of recent years in Kashgaria, when a murder takes place near the boundary between two districts, the Beg and local headmen know what is expected of them and take good care that the body is not found within *their* master's jurisdiction. The people in the next district feel the same about it, and thus the unfortunate corpse is bandied surreptitiously backwards and forwards until its relatives succeed in inducing one set of authorities or the other to take up the case. The system has at any rate the advantage of keeping down violent crime, which is liable to cause so much trouble to everybody concerned, from the District Magistrate downwards; and certainly during the two and a quarter years I was at Kashgar, out of all the hundreds of British Indian traders and other nationals travelling about the country with goods or money or living on

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their estates, only one was murdered. That was Muhammad Shah, the victim in the present case.

Poor Mr. Chiang did not at all like having to drive and ride forty miles up into the mountains to hold an inquest upon the four-month-old corpse of the Chitrali, but he did it, and one of my Assistant Aqsaqals accompanied him. As a result of the inquest a Kirghiz of Sasik Tika was charged with the murder and the case referred to the Taoyin of Kashgar for orders. I was informed, as already stated, and it was arranged between myself and the Taoyin, in order to save the delay and expense involved in bringing the case to Kashgar for trial, that I should visit Yangi Hissar on my way to the mountains and assist at the hearing of the case by the Magistrate. The trial, which took place on the morning after our arrival (21st June), was short, as the accused had confessed and it was only necessary to examine, besides the man himself, the Beg of the circle and the *yuzbashi* (headman) of the valley. The prisoner, a man of about 30, was of an unmistakably criminal type with low, receding forehead, eyes set close together, and a violent squint. The story he and the witnesses told Mr. Chiang and myself, as we sat at a huge table in the open inner courtyard of the Yamen, was as follows:

Muhammad Shah was an opium-smuggler and had sold a consignment of Afghan opium profitably in Yarkand the previous autumn. Early in December, that is to say about as late in the season as he could reasonably expect to cross the high passes safely, he started alone from Yangi Hissar for his home in far Chitral across the Roof of the World. He rode a wiry little Yarkand pony, and in his sadlle-bags he carried the balance of his profits in the shape of a few taels' worth of silver and a couple of bales of gaily-dyed Khotan silks; for the greater part of the proceeds of his opium-running had doubtless been spent in the oiling of necessary palms and in obtaining from the Yamen a permit to leave the country.

On the evening of his second day on the road Muhammad Shah found himself at Sasik Tika and asked for shelter at the solitary hut occupied by the prisoner, Yakub. The Kirghiz came out and looked at the traveller and his bulging saddle-bags. "We are the poorest of the poor," he said, "and have no food, but we will put you up for the night. Only, you must sleep outside the tent as my wife and three children are all ill inside." Accordingly Muhammad Shah, having hobbled his pony and muttered Mecca-wards his evening prayer, ate two

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of the little round shiny loaves he had brought with him and threw himself down on the felt mat which his host spread in front of the tent for him. For pillow he had his saddlebags and for bedclothes his sheepskin cloak, and he was soon fast asleep in spite of the icy breath of night which now and again passed down the gloomy valley like a sigh.

Two hours later, when the moon had set, Yakub crept out of the hut and peered stealthily at his guest in the faint starlight. Then he went to a heap of stones close by and selected a big slab which he could just carry shoulder-high. Staggering with it to where Muhammad Shah lay, he heaved it on the unfortunate sleeper's head. As Yakub himself put it: "He just gave a little kick and moved no more." Dragging the body on the felt mat as it lay, he hid it behind a boulder and went back to bed. Early in the morning he rose and went out, telling his wife (who knew nothing of what he had done) that he was going to work at the coal-mine.[1] Going to where the body lay he wrapped it up in the felt and heaved it first on to a boulder and thence on to the back of the dead man's pony, which he proceeded to drive in front of him up a steep and narrow side-glen into the snowy fastnesses of the Qizil Tagh. Up and up he went, to the verge of the winter snows, and there he threw the corpse down into the dry bed of the torrent and buried it by tumbling rocks on it from above. He would have liked to keep the pony, but it would have been too dangerous; so he tied the poor beast's legs together and pushed it over a precipice. The dead man's money he hid in a secret place and the silks he stored in the hut, telling his wife that he had received them from a trader in exchange for the skins of some stone-martens he had trapped.

Weeks passed and nothing happened, so that gradually Yakub plucked up courage to go to Yangi Hissar on market day and spend some of his new fortune. A wedding took place in a neighbouring valley to which he and his wife, with all the other Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, were invited; every one noticed the beautiful new silk clothes of Mrs. Yakub, and word went round that her husband had somehow become rich. Then one day the inhabitants of the Kinkol valley received an unexpected and unwelcome visit from their Beg, who brought grave news from Yangi Hissar. The British Consul-General, it appeared,

[1] A shallow surface-working on a seam recently discovered in the neighbourhood and exploited by the Chinese military authorities, who claim a monopoly of all minerals.

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had formally requested the Taoyin, and through him their Magistrate, to make inquiries into the whereabouts of a British subject last heard of in Yangi Hissar district. This meant that unless they, the Beg, headmen and people of the Kinkol valley, could either find the fellow or prove that he had crossed the passes into Tashkurghan district, unpleasant things would happen to them. 692 682

It was not long before the suspicions of the headmen fell upon our friend Yakub. The latter at first strenuously denied all knowledge of the missing man; but he failed to explain how he had become so wealthy all of a sudden, and eventually he confessed. Let us not inquire too closely into the methods by which the Beg and his minions persuaded Yakub to be frank with them. Suffice it to say that according to the old Chinese law still in force in Sinkiang no one can be convicted of any crime, no matter how strong the evidence against him may be, unless he confesses it; so that those responsible for the suppression of crime become experts in the fine art of eliciting confessions from recalcitrant prisoners. From the point of view of the British Consulate-General, all that mattered was that Yakub gave Mr. Chang and myself a detailed and even graphic account of how he did the deed, so that Chinese justice could take its course, the claims of Muhammad Shah's relatives in far Chitral be duly honoured and the bonds of amity between two great nations further strengthened through their local representatives. True, the said relatives of the deceased not only received no blood-money, as they would have done if he had waited till he reached his own country before getting himself murdered, but had to be content with a mere fraction of his estate—for the local people who had had so much trouble and anxiety over the matter, from the Beg down to the prisoner's (more or less) innocent wife, could not be expected to disgorge more than a reasonable percentage of the spoils. But then, Muhammad Shah had no business to indulge in opium-running in Chinese territory. With my concurrence, the Magistrate found Yakub guilty of murder and condemned him to death; six weeks later, when the necessary confirmation had been received from the Governor at Urumchi, the murderer was duly hanged in the presence of the British Aqsaqal of Yangi Hissar. 696 000

To return to our own journey. Soon after midday, when the trial was over, a cloth was laid on the Court table and the Magistrate and I seized our chop-sticks and set to work on a regular Yamen dinner of about twenty-five courses which

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000 lasted till four. Meanwhile, lest worse should befall (for there was talk of another feast the same evening *chez* the Commandant of the Garrison) I had sent word to D. to push the caravan off and be ready to start as soon as I could escape from the Yamen. Within half an hour of the disappearance of the longed-for bowl of rice which terminates all Chinese feasts I had joined her on the road and we were riding westward on a golden evening. Our first march was necessarily a short one, and our destination appropriately Altunluk, the "Golden Village" at the mouth of the Qaratash Valley. As we mounted the long, gentle slope on which the village and its orchards stand, the sun set right over the south-western Tien Shan beyond which lies Ferghana; it was so clear that we could see the whole plain of Kashgar, sixty miles broad, and the green villages which stretched up to the foot-hills of the great ranges on three sides of it. But, alas, ominous banks of cloud enveloped the Alps of Qungur which had been so clear in the morning; once more, by a curious fatality, the mountains for which we were bound hid themselves from our sight as we 487 approached. That night I held conclave with the greybeards of Altunluk and old Sabit Beg, who again came with us by order of the Amban, as to the route to be followed on the morrow. All were agreed that loaded ponies could not possibly reach Khan Terek owing to the volume of water in the river. I was prepared for this, and after long argument I elicited from them an admission that the river *could* be crossed not far above Altunluk, if you took it at the right time of day, and that for the rest the only really bad place was the "Narrows" below Saman, where it would not be possible to ford the Qaratash and we would have to hug the left bank, which is precipitous and difficult. This was better than toiling round by the almost waterless Nine Passes route and losing two precious days at Kaying, so I decided to try the direct route up the Qaratash.

Next day (22nd June) at noon, when the daily fall in the level of the water had taken place,[1] we forded the river success-

[1] It may be explained that among these mountains, as elsewhere in High Asia, the volume of water in the rivers increases and decreases daily at definite hours which depend at any particular point on the time taken by the water of the snows melted by the noonday sun to reach it. When arriving at a river, the first question the experienced traveller asks of the local people, if any, is "At what hour does the water reach this place?" or, if the daily flood is in progress, "When does it go down?" At Altunluk the Qaratash is at its highest between midnight and 10 a.m.

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fully four miles above Altunluk, where its stone-grey waters raced over a pebbly bed several hundred yards wide in seven channels. Three of these were so swift and deep that it was only with the help of ten sturdy lads of the village, who kept their feet in the flood with a skill born of long practice, that our animals managed to flounder across without mishap. One of the ponies, indeed, was carried some way down-stream with his load, but a party of villagers joined hands and succeeded in pulling him into shallower water. Besides Tutankhamen, we had seven donkeys laden with forage, and these had practically to be carried across bodily, loads and all, by two villagers apiece.

For the next three hours we made good progress and fondly imagined we would make Saman easily by nightfall. When, however, at three o'clock in the afternoon we reached the lower end of the Narrows, we met a funny, wizened little old Kirghiz who told us that the path had been carried away by the recent heavy rains and that it was not possible to get through even on foot, much less with loaded ponies. He was on his way home, he told us, from Yangi Hissar to the grazing-grounds of the upper Yapchan Jilgha, and had been held up by the wash-out in the Narrows. Fortunate it was for us that we happened upon the old Kirghiz at this juncture, for he knew of a pass away up among the barren ridges to the west, by which the Narrows could be circumvented, and offered to guide us over it. We afterwards came to know and like old Samsaq Bai, for that was his name, very well; but at first we suspected him of being slightly mad, for not only was his Turki almost unintelligible to us but he punctuated his remarks with strange bursts of elfin laughter. I thought it best, therefore, not to commit the caravan to his care at once, but to camp where we were on the banks of the Qaratash and spend the rest of the afternoon reconnoitring. The alternative, a depressing one, was to return to Altunluk and go round by the "Nine Passes."

Accordingly while D. and Sangi Khan went off on foot to reconnoitre the path through the Narrows on their own account, I mounted Samsaq Bai on one of our ponies and off we went up into the forbidding-looking jumble of hills to the west. For six weary miles we toiled up waterless and absolutely barren defiles. Then, turning a corner, my companion pointed up to a sharp backbone of rock on the sky-line, cleft at one point only by a narrow and forbidding couloir which led up to a

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487 small gap in the ridge. This "pass," which he called the Aqsai Davan, looked impossible at first, but when I climbed up to the foot of the couloir I found that there was a well-marked track straight up it between perpendicular walls with a gradient of about one in two. I came to the conclusion that by unloading the animals and man-handling them and the loads up to the top we could get the caravan over, while as for the descent on the other side, Samsaq assured me that it was not nearly so steep.

D. reported that night that the track up to the Narrows was good for a couple of miles, but then dwindled away until it became a red-clay slide going straight down to the river a hundred feet below. Apparently the recent heavy rains had washed away what track there had been. We made an early start next morning and reached the foot of the final *col* at half-past ten. The first animal to achieve the ascent was D.'s horse, which scrambled up with Sangi Khan at his head and D. hanging on to his tail. Next came the camel, Sulaiman, hauled in front by Yakub and propelled behind by Samsaq and an Altunluk man, one of the funniest sights I have ever seen. Though we expected every moment that his lanky, loose-jointed legs would collapse, he behaved admirably and reached the top intact. The riding-horses, donkeys and baggage-ponies followed one by one, mostly without their loads. Unlike donkeys and camels, horses can never quite be relied upon on such occasions, and two of the baggage ponies at different points in the ascent suddenly lost heart and backed down the hill, in spite of all that four men reinforced by myself could do to stop them. In each case the animal quickly lost its footing, became wildly excited and rolled itself and the men off the path into the bottom of the couloir, fortunately only a few feet below the track. There, boulders prevented the struggling mass of pony and men from sliding further down the hill. Neither of the ponies received more than a few bruises and scratches, and they eventually reached the top safely. The descent proved, as Samsaq had said, less breakneck than the ascent, but it was steep enough, and we were all immensely relieved when the loads and animals were safely over the pass and filing down long winding gorges which led back to the main valley above the Narrows. The whole détour occupied seven hours, including more than two hours spent in getting over the *col* itself, i.e. five hours longer than it would have taken us to go by the direct route had the track been practicable.

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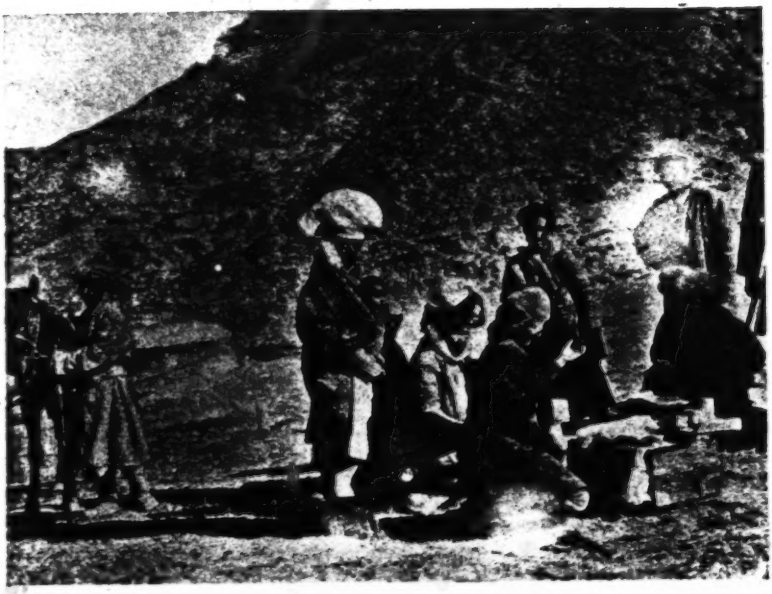
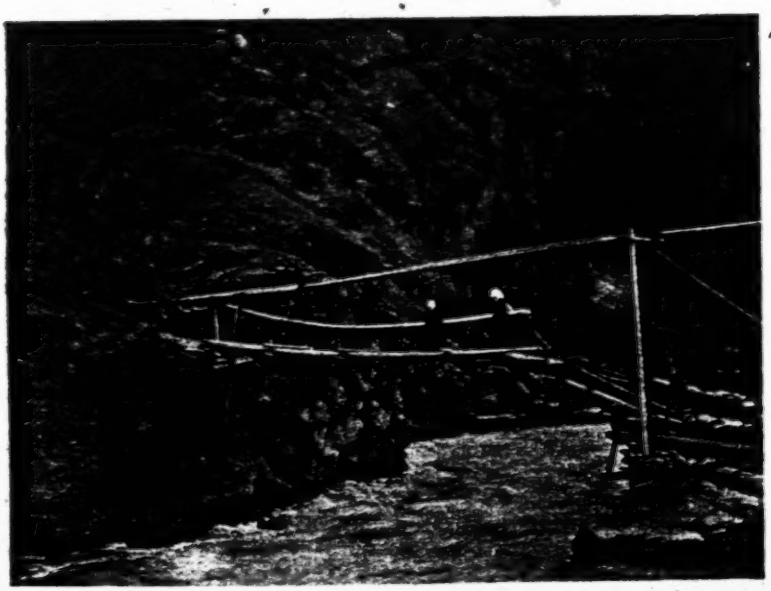


DISPENSING MEDICINE TO THE KIRGHIZ, CHOPKANA JILGHA

491



A KIRGHIZ BRIDGE BUILT ON THE CANTILEVER PRINCIPLE, KHANTEREK. THE FOREMOST OF THE LADIES CROSSING IS CARRYING TWIN BABIES

[Face p. 146]

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487 We did not halt at Saman, as there was one obstacle still to be negotiated before our entrance to the Promised Land was assured. This was a corner of rock which juts out into the stream at the rapids below Khan Terek. At this point the track passes round the rock and is under water even in winter, and I knew that the only chance of getting round it at this season would be at low water in the evening. We came to the place at half-past four, when I found to my relief that there were only about three feet of water off the end of the rock and that the current was not strong, though few feet farther out the cataract roared past like a gigantic mill-race. The loads splashed through without mishap, and half an hour later in the little orchard of Qurghan we were being warmly welcomed by a dozen beaming Kirghiz men and girls.

574 The only permanent inhabitant of Khan Terek was a little old woman who lived alone in a tiny shanty. Each of the previous occasions on which we had passed her hut she had bustled out with a large copper jug and a wooden bowl to give us tea. She saw us coming this time and hobbled over to our camp where, for once, she had tea with us. Afterwards D. returned her call; she found the old lady living in a room about five feet square off a yard about twice that area, in which she kept one aged cock. Her husband had long been dead, she told D., and her children scattered, but one son occasionally came and cultivated a couple of fields near by, while she stayed in the hut all the year round and made tea for passing Kirghiz.

The humble hospitality of even the poorest of the Kirghiz in these parts warmed our hearts to them. Next day three miles up the Chopkana valley we were overtaken by heavy rain and took refuge in an *aq-oi*. A pretty girl and her one-eyed old father insisted on making up a blazing fire for us and a bowl of tea, chatting politely to us the while. On an exposed meadow at the very top of the pass, 11,500 feet above the sea, we found a solitary *aq-oi* with a girl in it whose husband was away on the hill-side tending the flocks. She had weather-beaten red cheeks and a flat nose, but she was charming and joined us in the tea-basket tea with which we warmed ourselves while waiting for the caravan to struggle up the last 262 steep ascent. Meanwhile, in a large pot on the central fire of fir-logs, she brewed *mach*, a kind of soup of milk, barley-meal and water with a little meat in it, and when our men arrived at the top she ran out and administered it to them IN WOODEN BOWLS.

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574 in wooden bowls. Just before we began the descent another lady in an immense and complicated turban arrived panting after us from an encampment far down among the fir-woods on the north side; she brought with her seven hard-boiled eggs and a paving-stone of bread which she insisted on presenting to us. We found afterwards that she was the only person in either the Kaying or the Chopkana valley who kept one or two hens. The Kirghiz are not poultry-keepers, as we knew, and on this visit to Kaying we took a coop of hens up with us for the table. One of these distinguished itself by laying an egg every morning in or near the bathroom of D.'s tent, so it was spared from the pot and presented on our departure to the lady of the hard-boiled eggs.

580 Arrived at Kaying Bashi, we pitched our tents in a spot which we had marked down the previous October as an ideal site for a summer camp, at the edge of the fir-forest two miles above the *aq-ois* in which we had then stayed. Here was a meadow of rich grass by the side of the glacier-stream, 10,400 feet above the sea, sheltered from below by a ridge covered with juniper and barberry and from above by a long tongue of tall firs stretching down from the main forest, with one grand tree, tallest of them all, standing out proudly at its tip. We were all merry as sand-boys when we had settled into camp that evening; D. and I because a dream had come true and we had gained our Happy Valley in spite of all obstacles; the servants because an enormous *aq-oi* was produced by the Kirghiz from the encampment a mile further up the valley, so that they had a palatial kitchen and servants' hall in which to gossip round the fire, in addition to the tents we had brought for them; Zakir Haji the carrier because of the luxuriant grass which carpeted the whole valley-bottom, on which his ponies were to graze free of charge for an indefinite period.

In this secluded Paradise of forest and river, of towering crag and pale-green hanging glacier, of woodland glade and lush meadow, of natural rock-gardens filled with a hundred different kinds of alpine flower, we spent a never-to-be-forgotten three weeks' holiday. It was extraordinary to think that a little Switzerland like this should have existed unsuspected among the very mountains through which, by several different routes, sportsmen and officials and explorers had travelled to and from Kashgar since the seventies. At first the weather was unsettled and rain fell most afternoons and sometimes all night. But we were snug enough in our

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double-fly waterproof tents and had plenty to do "indoors"; moreover, it was nearly always brilliantly fine in the mornings. During the latter part of our time the weather improved and we had several perfect days.

There were so many delightful things to do that the time passed only too quickly. My primary object was, of course, exploration, and in particular the discovery of a way out of the valley to the west or south which would enable me to map and photograph the Shiwakte group and the eastern face of Qungur. With this in view I first made a large-scale plane-table sketch of the Kaying Jilgha and tributary glens, and then when the weather improved set to work trying at various points to climb the knife-edged ridges which enclosed the valley. The only pass of any kind that led out of the Kaying Jilgha in the direction of Qungur or the Shiwakte, I found, was a lofty *col* which the Kirghiz called the Kepek Pass, above the main Kaying glacier and to the south of the magnificent snow-peak, 19,400 feet high, which stood at the head of our valley. The Kirghiz told me that this *col* led over to grazing-grounds called Aghalistan in the upper Chimghan Jilgha, but that it could not be crossed even by unencumbered climbers until August when the worst of the ice had melted off it. Personal reconnaissance confirmed this statement. There was in fact at Kaying Bashi a young Kirghiz from Chimghan who had come by the route through the Qaratash gorges on a visit to Kaying in April; the water had come down before he was ready to go back, and he was thus cut off from his own valley only a few miles away until August, when he proposed to cross the Kepek Pass. I managed, however, to reach the top of the encircling ridges at two other points, each time after one or more preliminary failures. On these climbs I used to leave D. in charge of the faithful Hafiz and start off at 4 a.m. with Sangi Khan and a couple of Kirghiz carrying my plane-table, clinometer, cameras, sheepskin overcoat and lunch. We would set forth quietly, so as not to disturb the camp, into a night of velvety purple. Above us would tower spires and domes of blackness, but the snows would be scarcely visible in the starlight. Then slowly the purple would pale and a vision would take shape in the south, where the twin peaks of the great mountain at the head of the valley rose half-way to the zenith; at first it would be grey like a cathedral of granite and then, as the dawn touched it, glowing golden yellow against a pale luminous blue, clear-cut like a jewel fashioned of topaz and enamel. Then, as

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we rose out of the valley, the sunlight gilding the heights would come down to meet us, and our first halt would be on some flowery knoll among juniper thickets or on some cliff-top jutting out into the wide. Here, basking in the sun, we would smoke the matutinal cigarette while scanning the corries for ibex and discussing the climb before us.

Space and the limitations of my pen forbid a detailed description of these climbs or of the marvellous scenes which awaited my men and myself at the top of them. Three times we were held up by dangerous snow or unscaleable crags between 14,500 and 15,500 feet up, but twice we succeeded in reaching the point at which we aimed. Once, without the help of yaks, we attained a col on the Sarigh Yon ridge 15,600 feet above the sea. Here the thick snow cornice literally overhung a deep trough-like valley on the farther side, which I found to be the Tigarmansu Jilgha, a branch of the Gez Dara. It was a great disappointment to find that even from here the clear view of the whole eastern face of Qungur which I had confidently expected was still denied me; all except the top of the long massif was masked by a nearer range: But the mountain panorama which stretched round me from north-west to north-east was stupendous enough, and I spent hours perched on a small rock in the snow, working at my plane-table and taking panoramic photographs right round the horizon.

A week later, after two preliminary failures and a climb of 6,000 feet, I attained an even more commanding position, on the summit of the razor-like Zumurrat ridge three miles south-west of camp and 16,200 feet above the sea. It was the aiguilles of Zumurrat that overhung the Kaying forests so impressively and had been dubbed by us the "Cathedral Spires" on our first visit to Kaying. We rode or were towed by yaks most of the first half of this climb, but the last 2,000 feet were up the side of a most terrifying couloir filled with snow. It was one o'clock before we reached the col, and then I was rewarded by the finest mountain-view I have ever seen. Right opposite me in the west, only five or six miles away, stood a group of glorious mountains like colossal icebergs glittering in the sun, their sides clothed with hanging glaciers thousands of feet high. It was my first near view of the mysterious and inaccessible Shiwakte, and the sheer beauty of its four 20,000-foot peaks took my breath away. One of my objects was now in some measure attained, for I was able

PEAKS I, IIIa AND III OF SHIWAKTE GROUP FROM TOP OF SARIGH YON RIDGE
(*Telephotograph*)

[Face p. 150]

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during the two hours I could allow myself at the top to fix the summits of the Shiwakte on my map, measure their height with the clinometer and photograph them. As for Qungur, all except the top of one of his 25,000-foot domes was hidden; but though I was once more disappointed of a near view of his eastern face, the observations I was now able to make of the above-mentioned dome proved afterwards of the greatest utility.

Coming down I had a somewhat alarming experience. Crossing a small ice-filled branch of the main couloir my foothold gave way and I shot down like an arrow from a bow for about 40 feet, landing quite comfortably in the deep snow of the main couloir, but receiving some slight bruises and scratches on the way. I may explain that though we carried a rope on these climbs, we hardly ever used it, for the simple reason that the Kirghiz neither knew how to use a rope in climbing nor trusted it when they had one; they knew their own home-made ropes too well and thought mine were the same. On this occasion there was no danger, except possibly of my starting an avalanche; this might have been serious the week before when we first tried the climb, but now there was not enough snow to make a dangerous avalanche. Two came down the couloir later in the afternoon, but they were not very serious affairs.

Besides these major climbs of mine, D. and I reconnoitred on yaks four or five different glaciers to a height of 14,000 feet or more, besides other expeditions. On these occasions we generally took the tea-basket, and each picnic-place that we found was more beautiful than the last. Scrambling up among the loose boulders of the lateral moraines was often very hard work indeed, but except when clouds shut down on us, as they sometimes did, it was always worth while. A side-valley called the Ghorumda which we ascended is typical of the region. You follow the stream up among picturesque clumps of tall firs and find unexpectedly that more than half of it bursts out of the ground from the midst of a fir-coppice at the foot of the ancient terminal moraine, which rises steeply above for a thousand feet or more covered with alpine flowers and juniper-scrub. At the top of the rise are pastures with two or three Kirghiz huts, and away behind curves the glacier-filled valley up to the great ribbed and fluted ice-walls of the main range. One of our favourite picnic-places was a glen whose crystal-clear stream issued from narrow "gates" in the steep hillside a couple of hundred yards from our camp.

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Clambering one day up its bed through a short winding gorge we found ourselves in a small park-like valley with grassy lawns, tall firs like church steeples and little firs like Christmas trees, junipers, willows, alders and actually the rowan-tree of Scotland. We christened the place " Glen Scotland " at once, for there were other Scottish things in it too; ferns, wild currants, bluebells (known to the Sassenach as harebells), huge thistles, billowing mosses and rain. Somehow, it rained twenty-five per cent. more in Glen Scotland than anywhere else, but when the sun shone it was more than twenty-five per cent. more beautiful. For there were flowers, flowers everywhere, filling every nook and cranny, anemones, larkspurs, columbines, dragon's head, vetches, primulas, gentians, campanulas, potentillas, violets blue and yellow, rock-roses, clematis, king-cups, blue and white forget-me-nots and hosts of others; and in the inmost recess of the glen, a lovely waterfall, a pure white column of water pouring over a fifty-foot cliff which said " Thus far shalt thou go and no further."

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CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yaïlāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

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[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

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horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000. 438

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty. 342

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does [374]

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes. [435]

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

342 duty as a chimney, open during heavy rain is solved in an ingenious fashion. The felt cover is pulled almost but not quite over it; the corner of the felt opposite to the direction from which the rain is coming is then lifted on the end of a forked pole away from the rim of the "chimney," thus making a kind of vertical ventilator facing away from the rain. The other end of the forked pole is held firmly in mid-air by means of guy ropes attached to the sides of the tent. *Aq-ois* stand a gale very well, their shape being such that the higher the wind the more firmly the structure is pressed to the ground; I never heard of one being blown away. To make assurance doubly sure, however, a large stone is sometimes placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof anchored to it by a rope.

The putting together of the *aq-ois* is always done by the women, who are remarkably quick about it. I have seen a large one put up by two girls in half an hour. A middle-sized *aq-oi* forms three camel- or yak-loads when taken down. For short distances it can be moved bodily by ten or twelve men, who range themselves round the *inside* of the structure and lift it at a given signal. As they cannot see where they are going, they have to be steered by some one outside.

353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq-oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. [534] [411] There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door. 352

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion. 161 [165] 164 [513] [356]

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns. 562

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

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562 the exception rather than the rule, and most of them simply treat the men as their equals, though perhaps finding them a little stupid!"

In the Chopkana Jilgha there was a Turki girl from Yangi Hissar married to a Kirghiz. D. noticed at once how different she was from the others, more sophisticated and not nearly so efficient. She was a fish out of water, poor girl, and not at all happy. The only specimen of a Turki-Kirghiz hybrid we came across was a youngish, unhealthy-looking little man called Tash Mulla who attached himself to us in the Yapchan Jilgha. He was rather too clever and pushing, and we did not like him as well as some of the pure Kirghiz.

462 The strength and hardiness of the women are astonishing. They are splendid workers, not only doing all the household work but milking the yaks, cows, sheep and goats, weaving the rugs and other woollen articles, making the rope, pitching and striking the *aq-ois* and performing many other duties. The men are inclined to be lazy and are fond of twanging the guitar until a late hour and lying abed of a morning. But they are wiry and capable of great exertions, and they do not by any means leave all the work to the women, as is usually said of the men in other Kirghiz communities. They are responsible for the cultivation of the barley-fields, as well as for the safety of the flocks and herds on the mountain-side. Anyone who thinks that Kirghiz men enjoy a sinecure can try looking after thirty self-willed yaks or a couple of hundred sheep on a grazing-ground 5,000 feet from top to bottom and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

136 There could be no more interesting hunting-ground for the naturalist than these narrow but well-watered and sheltered valleys, islanded between the belt of utterly barren foothills on one side and the snowy wastes of the great ranges on the other. There must have been many interesting local variations, possibly even new species, among the plentiful fauna of the Kaying Valley alone, had we but possessed the knowledge and skill to collect them. Snow leopards exist, but fortunately for the Kirghiz are uncommon; one killed a yak calf and ten sheep just before we arrived in June 1923. I saw several herds of ibex; it was hard not to be able to go after them, but a man cannot serve two masters and I had to choose between the delights of the chase and the sterner but more fruitful cult of the plane-table. Wolves exist in some of the valleys, but the Kirghiz had cleared Kaying of them. Red foxes, as I have already mentioned, are occasionally trapped,

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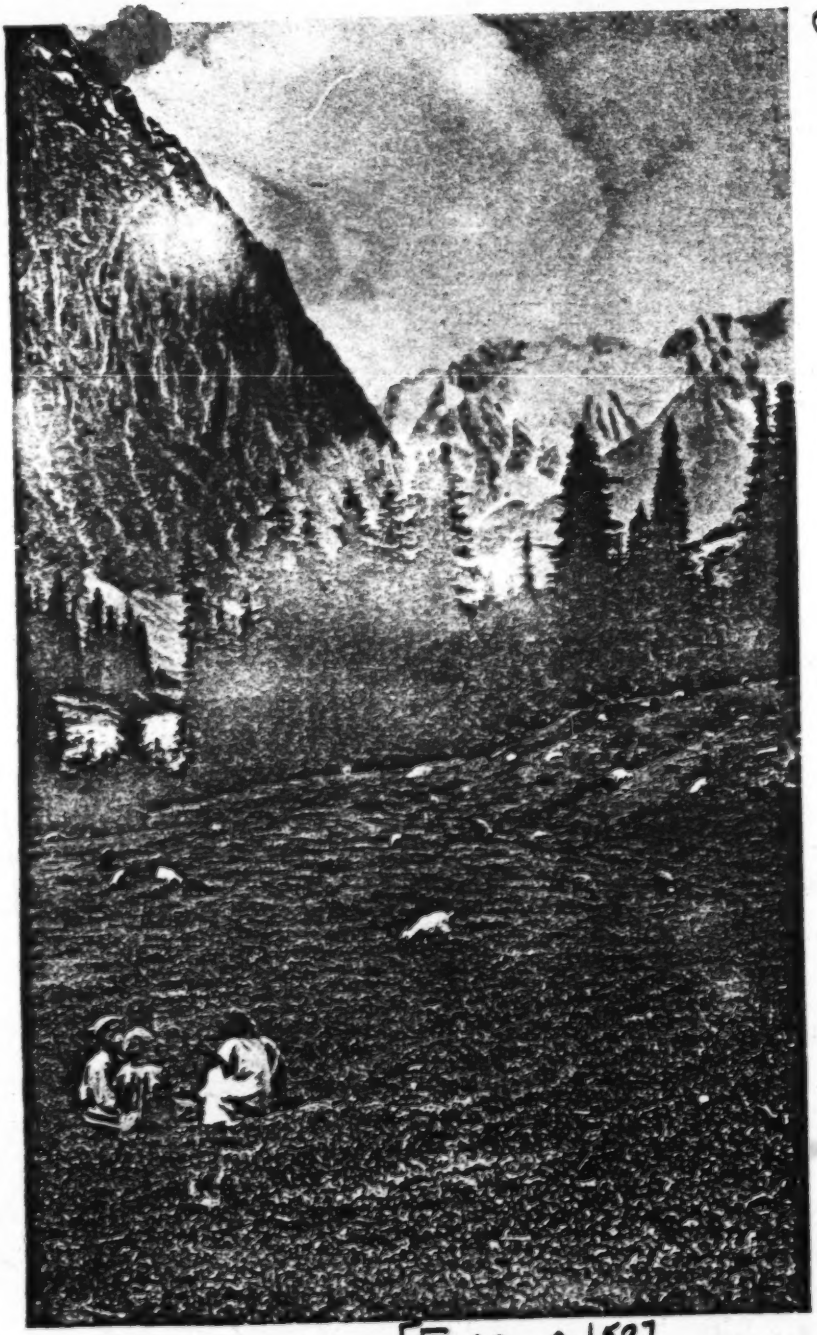

SUMMER AT KAYING BASHI

[Face p. 158]

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136 and we saw plenty of golden marmots at a height of 12,000 feet. A curious rodent about the size of a guinea-pig lived in the fir-forest at 11,000 feet, also a very small red stoat. Hares were plentiful among the juniper woods at 10,000 feet. The highest point at which I found animal life was 16,000 feet, where I saw running about on the snow a small eight-legged spider which is probably the same as that seen by the climbers of Mount Everest at an immense altitude. I also noticed a minute animal like a lizard about an inch long on the moraine of the Torbashi Glacier at 14,500 feet. Birds also are well represented, and include the black eagle, several kinds of hawk, red-legged partridge, Tibetan snow-cock, chough, raven, long-tailed magpie, rock-pigeon and many of the common small birds of northern Europe.

137 I have already spoken of the amazing profusion of wild flowers which in June and July turned the terminal moraines of the glaciers, as well as the marshes, meadows and forest glades into veritable gardens. We did as much amateur botanizing as our other pursuits and our total ignorance of botany permitted. In the course of our two summer visits to Kâying Bashi we pressed some thirty-seven varieties and secured the seeds of seven or eight. D. also painted most of the prettier ones in water-colours. The flower that excited us most was a sweet-smelling kind of crawling purple stock, which grew only in small isolated patches among the loose stones of glacier moraines between 13,000 and 14,000 feet above the sea, by far the highest-growing flower we found. On our return to England we presented our small collection to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. To a layman, the interesting thing about it, according to the Kew experts, was that it belonged to a distinctly Central Asian rather than a Himalayan type, although the valleys in question are only about 180 miles as the crow flies from similar regions in Northern Kashmir, the flora of which is Himalayan. Like most of the flowers, the conifers of the Alps of Qungur belong to the Tien Shan rather than to the Himalayas; with the exception of the small fir-woods seen by us in the Qizil Tagh and heard of in one or two places in the Yarkand River valley, they mark the extreme south-eastern limit of the Tien Shan fir (*Picea schrenkiana*). For twelve hundred miles eastward, the whole length of the great Kunlun and Altyn Tagh Ranges, not a fir-tree is to be found; then come the forests of the Nan Shan, which flourish under moisture-laden winds from the far Pacific.

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526 A week before the end of our stay we proclaimed a *jour de fête* and invited all the Kirghiz of the Kaying and adjoining valleys to a feast. About twenty women came, some of them carrying babies over dizzy heights and through roaring torrents, and a similar number of men. The proceedings were opened by eight of the men playing an exhibition game of *oghlak* in our honour on the wide meadows half a mile below our camp. This game, also called *baigu* and (by the Afghans) *buzkashi* or "goat-pulling," is a kind of Rugby football on horseback played "all gainst all," with the headless carcase of a freshly-killed goat as the ball. It is seldom played except in honour of some distinguished visitor, who acts as umpire and pays for the goat. The umpire indicates a flat-topped rock or a mark on the ground as the goal; the players struggle among themselves for possession of the "ball," and whoever is successful dashes off with it across his saddle. The others chase and jostle him until he drops it; one of them, leaning right out of the saddle, succeeds in picking it up and the process is repeated. The object is to throw the "ball" on to the goal, and whoever does this oftenest wins the game.[1]

During the play we noticed that our lady guests sat by themselves in a picturesque group on the hillside some distance away; it seemed that according to Kirghiz custom women and children are not allowed to watch *oghlak* being played. After the game we all trooped back through the woods to camp, led by the winner with the goat as the prize of victory
000 at his saddle-bow. Since the previous afternoon the Kaying Bashi women had been baking bread in their tents at our expense; three sheep—one for the ladies and two for the men—had been stewing half the morning in big cauldrons brought down from the encampment for the purpose, and tea by the kerosene-tinful had been brewing on our kitchen fire. The ladies and children sat in a ring on mats and felts near D.'s tent, while the men under my charge formed a separate circle on the grass thirty yards away. D. had cornered all the tea-cups and wooden soup-bowls in the valley for her guests, but the men did not mind; each one whipped off his waistband and spread it in front of him as his *dastarkhwan* or tablecloth, and waited for one of the orderlies or myself to heap upon it his share of the savoury contents of the cauldrons. Mean-

[1] For a detailed description of this game as played in the Chinese Pamirs, see Miss Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia."

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while the ladies were already tucking into the liberal helpings of bread and mutton handed round by D. and Ahmad Bakhsh, washed down by bowl after bowl of tea rich with sugar and the milk of yaks. Some of them had brought special contributions to the feast in the shape of strange fried pastries, which they shared with their friends. One good lady from Chopkana amused us by unfolding a large handkerchief full of a kind of small fried buns; the others were about to fall upon it, when she snatched it up and said, pointing to the men's party, "No! This is for the *other* guests!" So the fried buns were borne off in triumph for the men, to the delight of the proud donor. When all was finished except the titbits which some of the ladies tied up in their red handkerchiefs for the children they had left at home, photographs were taken and the women adjourned in a body to D's. tent for medicines and initiation into the mysteries of the toilet-table. The men, after cigarettes and a suitable interval for digestion, spent an uproarious evening running wheel-barrow and three-legged races, cockfighting and competing in various other novel sports.

The marriage customs of the Kirghiz inhabiting these remote and secluded valleys of the Kashgar Range differ in some respects from those described by previous writers in connexion with the less isolated and therefore probably less primitive Kirghiz of Russian Central Asia. It may therefore be of interest to record the information I obtained regarding them, both at Kaying and at the wedding party which, as already described, we attended in the upper Qaratash valley the previous April. The position as regards marriage among these mountain people is exactly the reverse of that found among the Turkis of the plains. At Kashgar women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorce even cheaper. Among the Kirghiz, on the other hand, girls are at a premium and a would-be bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy bride-price, which usually varies between ten and thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of live stock. Ordinarily, when a boy has reached the age of six or seven and may therefore be expected to survive till manhood (infant mortality is no lower among the Kirghiz than it is among the Turkis) his parents betroth him to some neighbour's daughter of about the same age. This transaction, known as the *qalam*, is usually the result of long haggling about the bride-price, in which the female relatives of both parties play a leading part. Suppose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

584 the price is fixed at ten yaks; the boy's father pays a first annual instalment of one yak, the girl's father gives the boy in return a shirt or a coat as a token of the betrothal, and the *qalam* is complete. It may, however, be broken off at 585 any time before the *nikah* by mutual consent, in which case the instalments paid are refunded. When all the yaks have been paid and the young couple have reached the ages of, say, fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbours to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom do not attend this "wedding breakfast," remaining in their tents in the background all day. The 591 feast and announcement, known as the *nikah*, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. The bridegroom, 585 however, cannot yet take his bride away to his own home. She continues to live for a period varying from two to five months with her parents, during which time the latter make and furnish an *aq-oi* with its felts, rugs, wall-hangings, screens, pots, pans, cushions, milk-bowls and other appurtenances complete for the young people. During this period the bridegroom lives at his own home if near, otherwise in an *aq-oi* lent him by the bride's parents, and visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposed to be kept secret from her father, who must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving the bride's tent. During the whole of this period the bridegroom must never appear before his father-in-law unless he is wearing his caps and boots and has his stick in his hand, as if he were a stranger from afar. At this stage if the bride is unfaithful (but not otherwise) the bridegroom's father can demand the price back and break off the match. When the *aq-oi* is finished, the bridegroom takes it and the bride away to his own place, on which occasion some show of resistance is made by the girl's relations—an obvious survival of the marriage by capture idea. After a year (not before) the wife can "give a divorce" to her husband by returning him the price paid for her—exactly the reverse of what happens in the plains, where it is the husband who (if he likes) "gives" a divorce to his wife.

600 At last the time came to bid the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends a sad farewell; for we did not expect to be able to visit it again the following year before going down the road to India, as we eventually did. We did not, however, return to the plains by the way we had come. Old Samsaq Bai, the Kirghiz who had come to our rescue on the way up and

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had guided us over the Aqsai Pass, came one day to Kaying Bashi and invited us to his camp at Bozarga in the Yapchan Valley, which he said was a more beautiful *yailāq* than Kaying. I did not believe him, nor could I quite make out where his place was, but the chance of breaking new ground was too good to be missed. Sending our caravan down to Khanterek to wait for us, we took with us two orderlies and four yak-loads of baggage and set off on 15th July across the Chopkana Pass with our old friend. The march was an arduous but most exciting one. After crossing the pass, instead of descending the Chopkana Valley we kept round to the left, diving into a deep glen and climbing out of it again. Then we traversed for several miles the steep northern face of Yelpaktash, the three great crags of which, 13,000–14,000 feet high, towered above us on the left. We were now climbing along the back of the knife-edge ridge which shuts the Kaying Valley in from the north. In some places the trail crossed unpleasant rocky outcrops, in others the muddy tracks of recent landslides, where the whole mountain-face, forests and all, seemed in a state of unstable equilibrium; elsewhere again the path, level and well engineered, led through pleasant forest glades for all the world as if we were among the Simla Hills. At last we came out on the beautiful "alp" of Yapchan Yailāq,[1] where grassy knolls knee-deep in flowers jutted out from the steep fir-clad flank of Kök Döng. Below, a deep and narrow gorge wound away down to the invisible Qaratash. This gorge, they told us, was impassable by man or beast, the only access to the head of the Yapchan Valley being by the roundabout way we had come. Right opposite us towered almost perpendicular crags of deep-red sandstone 1,500 feet high, crowned with fir-forest. Further progress on our side was impossible, for the woods ended abruptly in an abyss a thousand feet deep and about half a mile broad, the gash made by an immense landslide in past ages. But Samsaq took us down a steep zigzag track among dense thickets of briar rose into the depths of the gorge till we came to the meeting-place of two white torrents; fording one and scrambling up the boulders at the side of the other we found ourselves opposite a cleft in the apparently overhanging red sandstone cliffs. The place seemed a perfect cul-de-sac; if we had not known that Kirghiz lived up there and that this was the only route, we

[1] Nothing to do with Yapchan village on the Kashgar-Yangi Hissar road.

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would not have believed it possible to go further. Samsaq took us across the stream and we crawled up a muddy zigzag path, hanging on to the tails of the yaks, right up to a kind of immense alcove in the precipice. Here surely, we thought, must be the end; but our cunning old guide led the way along a ledge, invisible from below, by which we traversed the overhanging cliffs and found ourselves in a steep and narrow but fairly straightforward gully. Further up we came to masses of wild rose and clematis with clumps of fir and a spring of sweet water, until at last, 2,000 feet above the bottom of the Yapchan gorge and 11,500 feet above the sea, we saw the *aq-ois* of Samsaq and his large family above us on a grassy knoll against a background of forest.

The ladies made us welcome and D. was soon installed in the *aq-oi* that had been vacated for us. While she set to work preparing the dinner on a couple of spirit-stoves, I took my plane-table out (I had made a rough "route traverse" the whole way from the Chopkana Pass) and fixed the position of the camp from the top of a neighbouring ridge. Opposite me, to the south, was the sword-point of Kök Döng, nearly 17,000 feet high; around and below, a beautiful Alpine country of green ridges and fir-crowned red sandstone crags enclosing wooded glens; to the east, vistas of grey-brown peaks and hills descending, tier after tier, to the plains which stretched away to the north-east, flecked with patches of cultivation like the desert with cloud-shadows. That evening in our *aq-oi* D. proudly served a dinner consisting of soup, fricassee of chicken and a sweet omelette, while round us in the warm still air sheep bleated, yaks grunted, ponies whinnied and a Kirghiz in one of the tents above twanged his guitar and sang an endless song.

Hearing that an easy pass called the At Bel ("Pass of the Horse") led over the ridge behind the camp into the Tigarmansu Jilgha—the same trough-like glen filled with forest into which I had peered from the top of the heights above Kaying Bashi—I decided to halt a day at Bozarga and reconnoitre it. That night, however, a tremendous storm of wind and rain came on which put surveying and photography out of the question and kept us prisoners in our leaky and draughty *aq-oi* the whole of the next day. It was disappointing to have come so far for the pleasure of sitting wrapped up in rugs and waterproofs all day, but knowing the climate we did not despair. While I pored over

PEAK I OF SHIWAKTE GROUP, FROM 1,600 FEET COL BETWEEN TORBASHI GLACIER (UPPER KAYING JILGHA) AND HEAD OF TIGARMANSU JILGHA

[Face p 164]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

my map on the plane-table, plotting-in elusive mountain-peaks and struggling with recalcitrant contour-lines, D. conjured happily with saucepan and spirit-lamp, producing meal after meal with the most praiseworthy ingenuity. She also held her usual " sick parade " outside the hut in spite of the rain, dispensing her three or four stock medicines, rubbing sore infants and advising anxious mothers on the subject of diet. Peering once with a shiver through the doorway I saw her walled in by a picturesque crowd of women in many-coloured costumes and immense turbans, marshalled by the good-humoured Hafiz, and hoped at least that they were keeping the rain off her. Nothing would induce her to come in until something had been done for everybody. One lady had come all the way from the Qaratumush Jilgha, beyond Kaying, carrying a child ; in two days she had crossed three passes, one of them a snow-clad knife-edge of rock 15,000 feet high, and had forded four torrents—all in order to consult D. as to how she could be sure of having some more children !

As we had expected, next day (17th July) was brilliantly fine with the air washed clear as crystal and the colours of meadow and flower, red crag and dark green fir-coppice positively startling in their vividness. It was cruel to have to leave it all and plunge down into the barren maze of foothills which lay between us and the plains. Before starting for Saman where our caravan awaited us we climbed 1,500 feet to the top of the Zor Qir (" Great Ridge ") behind the camp, from which we looked down upon the grassy saddle of the At Bel (12,000 feet) and caught a glimpse of *aq-ois* on green lawns far down the further side. The beauty of the scene was indescribable, and we longed to bask in the sun on the top of the " Great Ridge " till evening. But though I secured some most useful " rays," I was disappointed to find that the view I sought of Qungur's eastern face was still denied me ; only the top of his eastern dome peered at us over the 17,000-feet ridge which encloses the Tigarmansu Jilgha from the north.

It was past noon before we tore ourselves away from our mountain-top, and in order to make Saman before nightfall we had to hurry along the switchback trail to the Chopkana jilgha. Here we found our riding-ponies awaiting us by arrangement and sent back Samsaq's yaks. The old man had begged us not to take them the whole way down to Saman ; the Kirghiz never bring their yaks below about 9,000 feet in summer if they can possibly help it.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Next day when we crossed the Aqsai Pass—a much easier task from the north than from the south—it was again brilliantly clear. While the loads were being man-handled down the breakneck north side of the col I put up my plane-table for the last time. Though we were but 9,400 feet up, as against 13,000 the previous morning, we enjoyed a better view of mighty Qungur and its satellites, as well as of Chakragil, than we had had from Zor Qir. There, we had been too close to the high mountains to see them properly; here, at a distance of 24 to 26 miles, intervening hillocks of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet sank into insignificance. The Shiwakte group with its sheaf of needle peaks pierced the sky like the mountains in a fairy story; in bulk, indeed, though not in beauty, they were dwarfed by the gigantic mass of Qungur, which for nearly 10 miles of its length is nowhere less than 23,000 feet high.[1]

In the evening we forded the seven channels of the Qaratash above Altunluk and slept the sleep of the just in the apricot-orchard of the same Yuzbashi who had tried so hard to dissuade us from our mad attempt to reach Kaying Bashi in the high-water season. With the help of the tarantass, which met us at Akhtur Bazar, we made short work next day of the remaining 35 miles, and the same evening we were revelling once more in the green glooms and luscious fruits of Chini Bagh.

[1] For the fine telepanorama of the Qungur Massif secured on this occasion, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XII

ARCHÆOLOGY, ART, LEGENDS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Nous admirons l'Asie bien que sa sagesse ne puisse rien nous apprendre, pour la même raison qui pousse les Américains à visiter l'Europe; parce que nous avons besoin de retrouver, d'admirer, de sauver les restes des vieilles civilisations qualitatives, que nous détruisons impitoyablement tous les jours pour augmenter notre richesse et notre puissance.

C'est la tragédie du monde moderne; on ne le répétera jamais assez. Les vieilles civilisations qualitatives, qui avaient pour but la perfection et non la puissance, sont notre paradis perdu.

'. . . On trouve encore en Asie ce qu'on ne trouve presque plus en Europe, des restes *vivants* de ce grand passé: mœurs, traditions, méthodes d'éducation, vertus.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO

THE traveller who enters Chinese Turkistan for the first time from the south cannot fail to be impressed by the fairness of complexion and almost European cast of features displayed by many of the inhabitants, compared with the populations he has left behind him in Kashmir and Upper India. It has, indeed, been proved from the anthropological materials collected by Sir A. Stein that the race which inhabits the Tarim Basin still retains a large proportion of the fine *Homo alpinus* type.[1] This, it is true, is found in its purity only in a few secluded mountain regions, notably among the Tajiks of the Sarikol Valley and the Taghliks or "mountaineers" of Pakhpo near the head-waters of the Tiznaf River.[2] On the plains, and especially in districts such as Kashgar and Aqsu which lie on the "highway of the nations," there is a noticeable admixture of Turkish and Mongol blood. Still, on the whole it may be said that the prevailing type among the dwellers in the oases on the western

[1] "Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 495.
[2] Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 150.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

144 and southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert is the same as that still found among the valleys of the Italian Alps and the Caucasus—found, too, by Stein in the third-century graves of Loulan at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.

I have already referred in Chapter V to the illustration afforded by Kashgaria of the racial continuity and persistence of a population firmly rooted in the soil, especially when the extreme fertility of that soil depends entirely upon an elaborate system of irrigation. This permanence is in striking contrast with the state of perpetual change and flux which has through the ages characterized the history of Central Asia as a whole. Throughout the vast spaces of Mongolia, Dzungaria and Turkistan the winds of migration and conquest have swept to and fro; from the Gobi Desert to the Euxine, from Châlons to the Yellow Sea, the great nomad peoples, Hun and Turk and Mongol, have ransacked the world in the lust of dominion and the search for new grazings. Over the Tarim Basin, too, they have passed time after time, but they have left little impress upon it. The reason is not far to seek: With a rainfall of but two or three inches per annum, the grass that pastoral peoples need scarcely exists.

> "Nature" (says Stein) "by denying grazing-grounds to the vast basin between Kunlun and Tien Shan, has protected it against ever becoming the scene of great migratory movements and of such upheavals as are bound to accompany them." [1]

It is the aridity of its climate, then, as well as the seclusion afforded by some of the greatest mountain ranges of the planet, that has preserved the population of the Tarim Basin relatively intact since the dawn of its history in the second century before Christ. But it is not this continuity alone that lends such exceptional interest to the history of the
177 region. There are people with as high a lineage in other secluded parts of Asia and Europe. The peculiar feature of the history of the Tarim Basin is the fact that throughout a vast period of historical time it served as the channel through which the ancient civilizations of China on the one side and of Persia and India on the other maintained contact and to an appreciable extent reacted upon each other.

176 From the second century before Christ to the eighth century of our era there flourished in these oases a civilization in which, though it was predominantly Indo-Scythian, cultural

[1] "Geographical Journal," May, 1925, p. 403.

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influences from the China of the Han and Tang Emperors mingled with those transmitted through Iran and North-West India from the great world of Hellenism in the West. It was through the channel of the Tarim Basin and the medium of its settled populations that the fame of the "silk-weaving Seres" and the fine products of Chinese looms reached the Mediterranean and became known throughout the Roman Empire. It was by this same route that the elements of Indian as well as of Græco-Roman art and culture reached China's western borders. More important still, it was along the Khotan road that Buddhism, in Stein's words "India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of mankind," found its roundabout way in the first century of our era to China through the Central Asian kingdoms.

It would be presumption for me to attempt even the briefest survey of the immense field covered by the archæological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein among the sands of the Takla Makan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan and Kansu. I can but refer the art-loving reader to those monuments of fascinating if recondite erudition, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," "Serindia," and the rest. Here will be brought vividly before his eyes the splendour of Khotan's Græco-Buddhist civilization, in the days when that ancient kingdom was culturally an Indian colony.[1] He will discover for himself how exquisitely that civilization was tinged by the classic art of China; he will see, on the other hand, how in the east of the province and along the great Silk Road the powerful influences of Græco-Buddhist and even of purely Persian art modified the work of Chinese masters. The frescoes of Miran, the classical seals of Yotkan, the relievos of Khadaliq, the wood-carvings of Niya, the amazing painted silks, brocades, tapestries and embroideries of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas—these and many other beautiful things appeal to the lover of art, and not to him alone. They appeal even more strongly to the Western student of *les vieilles civilisations qualitatives*, as Ferrero calls them, which aimed at perfection rather than progress or power—the old civilizations which we have so ruthlessly destroyed in our pursuit of wealth and our conquest of the earth, and which now, too late, we find to be our lost Paradise.

My few excursions into this field of research may be dismissed briefly. In the course of long tours on Consular duty, when our programme had to be thought out carefully beforehand

[1] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 290–91.

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172 and the time spent on the road and at towns reduced to a minimum in order that the ground might be covered, it would have been impossible for me to attempt any excavation or systematic clearing of new sites, even if I had wished to disregard Sir Aurel's injunction not to "dig up tombs." North of Domoko on the Khotan-Keriya road, in the wilderness of tamarisk-cones on the edge of the great desert, we found after a long search Sir Aurel's "Khadaliq" site, and photographed it in order to ascertain the extent to which it had been silted up by drift-sand since excavation. On our second visit to Keriya, in April, 1924, a British subject called Abbas Khan brought me two fine specimens of ancient weaving-combs, heavy wooden instruments with a row of short teeth with which carpet-weavers "pack" the pile on the warp, also a recumbent angel in stucco in excellent condition and some very fragmentary leaves of Kharosthi manuscript. He said he had taken these from an ancient site he had discovered the previous year one "potai" (2¼ miles) north of Stein's Khadaliq site. He described a loess mound or hill "a hundred *gaz* high" (200 feet—an obvious exaggeration), in which he had dug to a depth of about 12 feet, with great difficulty, as the earth was continually collapsing on top of him; he had then come to a chamber with plaster frescoes on all four walls and the roof supported by wooden columns. As he worked three of the walls collapsed and the frescoes were destroyed, but the fourth remained in position. It contained a picture 3 feet by 2 feet showing men on horses, etc. Other finds were a large mill-stone, too heavy to be turned by hand, and a big earthenware pot with two handles, full of bones, some charred. This latter was found in the mound 3 feet outside the chamber. Abbas Khan's measurements were probably very far out, but there is no reason to suppose that his story was an invention, for he was very anxious that I should go with him and see the place on our return journey. Unfortunately we had already arranged to go home by another route, so that I had no opportunity of examining Abbas Khan's new site.

At Khotan our Armenian friend, Mr. Keraken Moldovack, and the ex-Aqsaqal Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan allowed me to take for presentation to the British Museum a selection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts, Greek plaster masks, terra-cotta figurines and appliqué ornaments, intaglios, vases, paintings on wood and stucco, wooden household implements, coins and other objects collected by them from "Taklama-

PLASTER HEAD OF WOMAN FOUND UNDER SANDS OF TAKLA MAKAN DESERT NEAR KHOTAN [p. 171

(About ⅓ actual size)

SOAPSTONE FIGURE OF SARASWATI AND HER PEACOCK FOUND IN RECENTLY EXPOSED CULTURE-STRATUM AT YOTKAN (Actual size)

[Face p. 170]

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172 kanchis" who had brought them back from various desert sites.[1] Our most interesting excursions, however, were in November, 1922, and May, 1924, when we visited the site of Yotkan, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Khotan, some five miles south-west of the modern town. A few months before our first visit a great mass of loess bluff some 20 feet high had fallen away owing to erosion by irrigation water, and had laid bare a new section of the Yotkan "culture stratum" from 2 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 4 inches thick, lying at an average depth of 15 feet below the upper level of the fields. The composition of this stratum was of a stiff bluish clay, and its contents consisted chiefly of potsherds, animal bones, lumps of charcoal, coins and small metal objects corroded almost out of recognition, fragments of white jade, red and green glass and so on. But more valuable and interesting objects had also been found by the treasure-seekers who had been washing the clay of the stratum for gold most of the summer. In this place where "trippers" were unknown it did not seem to occur to these people that we might be ready to buy curios found by them during their washings for gold in the stratum, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we induced them to bring along a few articles they had found. Anything containing gold or precious stones, good jade, etc., had of course been sold in the Khotan bazaar long before, but we succeeded in buying from the villagers a few objects of interest. Of these the best were a beautiful little soapstone figure of the goddess Saraswati and her peacock, a couple of carnelian intaglios and some quaint clay animals.

[1] This small collection, including objects bought at the Yotkan site, at Goma and elsewhere, is at present in the Ethnographical section of the British Museum. The most interesting items are: Twenty-six folios of calligraphic paper MS. in Central-Asian Brahmi of the *Saddharma-pundarika*, a Sanskrit text, one folio of which appears in Dr. Hoernle's "Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature"; eleven folios of an eighth-century Buddhist religious work in ancient Khotanese; wooden tablets inscribed with accounts and other documents in Kharosthi; two beautiful plaster masks of female faces in classical Greek style; small intaglios from rings; two square metal seals, one with a classical winged bull intaglio, the other with Chinese lapidary characters similar to the impression of the Chinese official's seal shown in "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, Plate 95 (6); several well-preserved fragments of coloured frescoes illustrating Buddhist legends, similar to those found by Stein at Miran; household implements such as wooden combs, fire-sticks, "hearths," etc., and copper coins of the Han and Tang dynasties.

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531 Turning to more modern times, it must be confessed that Chinese Turkistan is poor in arts and crafts compared with other Muhammadan countries such as Persia, Turkey or Kashmir. The reason is not far to seek. In these latter countries the progressive decay of taste and craftsmanship which marked the nineteenth century has been delayed and in some cases arrested by the commercial enterprise of the West. Close contact with the markets of Europe and America has maintained or renewed the standard, both in quality and in quantity, of the carpets of Persia and Turkey, the ornamental metalwork of Isfahan, the shawls of Kashmir and many other fine products of Oriental craftsmanship.[1] The length and difficulty of the few trade-routes connecting the Tarim Basin with the rest of the world have prevented any such maintenance or renaissance of its arts and crafts, and little of artistic value is produced at the present day. As recently as the middle of last century, however, the old skill survived; and though during the twenty years which preceded the War, Jewish and Armenian dealers did not neglect the bazaars and pawnshops

[1] A striking instance of this is the case of the Persian carpet industry, which towards the end of last century was threatened with ruin as a result of the introduction of German aniline dyes. Modern Persian carpets began to acquire a bad name in the markets of Constantinople and New York for the crude and fugitive synthetic colours used. Had this process been allowed to continue, irreparable harm would have been done, for the secrets of the old vegetable dyes would have been lost. A generation of weavers would have grown up which knew not where to look for the old herbs nor how to decoct them when found. But action was taken in time. Under pressure from the foreign interests involved, the Persian Government imposed a prohibitive export duty on aniline-dyed carpets; the great Armenian and Levantine firms which supply the markets of the West co-operated, and the situation was saved. Nowadays the colours of a Persian carpet are as fast as in the days of Shah Abbas, and it is only necessary when bargaining for one to murmur disparagingly "*rang-i-jauhari*" or "*masnu'i*" (artificial dye) to cause the would-be seller to burst forth into a torrent of indignant protestations. No such measures, alas, have been taken by the Chinese, with the result that the carpet-weaving industry of Yurungkash, Lop and other villages in the Khotan district is hopelessly debased. Not only are the natural dyes used until thirty years ago forgotten, but the beautiful old flower-patterns are seldom used, being replaced by unspeakably hideous modern Chinese designs of mauve tigers and magenta teapots. Only one manufacturer, all honour to him, keeps to the designs and colour-schemes of Persia, and that is Mr. Moldovack, whom I have already mentioned. Even he cannot dispense with aniline, for most of the old vegetable dyes have disappeared.

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of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and even Keriya, it is still 531
possible to pick up beautiful old carpets and ornamental metal-work, embroideries and other *objets d'art.*

In the course of some five years' service between Quetta 286
and Kerman I had collected a number of specimens and 531
acquired a little experience of the carpet-weaving industry of South-East Persia and Afghanistan, and I was therefore specially interested in the corresponding industry which had flourished for centuries at Khotan, or rather at Yurungkash and Lop near that town. Ninety-five per cent. of the specimens brought us were in bad condition, with the pile in many places worn right away, and we acquired only three of the genuine old Khotan flower-pattern rugs, together with about half a dozen pieces of more recent though still pre-aniline weave. Of the former the best, which measures 8 feet by 5 feet, is a fine specimen of the work of a hundred years or more ago. Its design is a most interesting mixture of Persia and China. The whole treatment—conventional flowers symmetrically arranged on a monochrome ground and enclosed in a broad-banded border—is unmistakably Persian; while the *besh gul* or five-rose *motif*, consisting of a straight stalk with three roses on one side and two on the other, though not (so far as I know) found in Persian or Turkish carpets, still belongs to the same *genre.* But many of the other details are Chinese, such as the wave- and key-patterns in the border and the *fleur-de-lis* interspersed in symmetrical groups of four among the roses.

The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan, of which we picked up several good specimens. Here, too, scarcely anything that has been done within the last thirty or forty years is worth a second glance. The stitch chiefly used is the Turkish chain-stitch, which is not found in the embroidery of China Proper and is done with the *ilmek* or hooked needle of the Turki races. Some of the flowers, particularly the single sprigs, as well as the "feel" of the whole composition are Western. But the wave- and cloud-patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers such as the purple iris, are definitely Chinese.

Apart from the silk needlework of Khotan, there is the gold and silver embroidery on velvet for which Kucha in the north has been famous for generations. The industry is still alive, though the materials are imported, the thread from India and the velvet from Russian Transcaspia. Women's indoor

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286 531 caps are the chief article of manufacture. Really old specimens are exceedingly rare, and we were very fortunate in lighting upon six circular medallions, about ten inches in diameter, of green velvet embroidered in gold and silver with a Persian floral design. These, I was told on good authority, once adorned the State robes of the indigenous Princes of Kucha. Here again, though the design as a whole is Persian, there is a touch of China in certain parallel wavy lines, while the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is itself a Chinese device.

It was extraordinarily interesting to find, persisting in the south of the Tarim Basin right up to modern times, that same cultural mingling of Persia and China with the indigenous element which marked the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, when the T'ang Emperors ruled the Middle Kingdom and the last of the Sassanids reigned in Zoroastrian Iran.[1] In nineteenth-century Khotan we have a rug of Turkish weave with a design in which the colours and patterns of China and Persia are closely intermixed. We find also an embroidery with a peculiarly Turkish stitch done on Chinese silk or Bokharan velvet and showing designs in which Chinese and Persian art are represented in almost equal proportions. There could be no more striking illustration of that peculiar feature of the Tarim Basin's history, the cultural mingling of East and West, to which I referred at the beginning of this chapter.

326 But carpet-weaving and embroidery were not the only arts in which bygone Khotan excelled. Among the most attractive products of its craftsmanship were brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work. This is another lost art, for though teapots and water-jugs of graceful shape are still made, their only decoration is a rough chasing of lines following the curves of the pot. The old pierced metal work, four specimens of which we were fortunate enough to secure, is strongly reminiscent of the similar work in silver and copper still done at Isfahan. Here I could detect no Chinese influence, probably because the *chainak* (tea-pot) and *aftaba-lagan* (jug and basin

[1] Cf. the discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein in the seventh-century cemetery at Astana, near Turfan, of fine figured silks both in Chinese and in pure Sassanian style ("Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 492); also the Sassanian embroideries on damask found in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Tunhwang ("Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 208).

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for hand-washing) are "turban-head" utensils in which the Chinese took no interest. 326

The calligraphic art seems never to have flourished in Chinese Turkistan, and no Turki or Persian manuscripts of any merit appear to have been produced locally. Among the masses of "junk" brought to me at Kashgar, however, I was fortunate enough to come upon a genuine fifteenth-century Persian MS., in almost perfect condition. Noticing that the writing was exquisite and that a very early date appeared on the last page, I pointed out disparagingly that the book contained no pictures (this was not surprising) and few illuminated headings, and offered five taels for it. Eventually, after months of desultory bargaining, I acquired it for sixteen. It proved on examination by Dr. Edwardes of the British Museum and Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge to be a MS. of considerable importance, dated A.H. 150 or A.D. 1446, and containing four different Persian works, namely: 212

(1) The *Kulliyat* of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (twelfth-thirteenth century).

(2) The *Fihi Mafihi* of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

(3) A mystical work called *Tarab ul Majalis*.

(4) In the margin, the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

The *Kulliyat* and the two Rumi works are early enough recensions to be of some importance textually, while the *Tarab ul Majalis* is almost unique, only one other copy of the work being known, that in the India Office Library.

As might be expected from the isolated position of the Tarim Basin and the mediæval conditions prevailing, the country is a happy hunting-ground for the folklorist. Quaint customs and superstitions, most of them dating far back beyond Islam and even Buddhism, survive in remarkable profusion. Legends, too, are numerous and widespread; but these are more difficult to disentangle from the mythological web with which Islam has interwoven the mass of Buddhistic and Manichæan tradition. The legends and mediæval history of Chinese Turkistan have been treated very fully by M. Grenard in his work "La Haute Asie," embodying the researches of the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission to Tibet and Chinese Turkistan (1890–95), and I found afterwards that some of the material I collected had already been recorded by that Mission. The subject is of such interest, however, and the work done on it so little known, that I make no apology for recording some of 538

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538 my observations, including particularly those which do not appear in Grenard or other authorities, together with such of Grenard's data and conclusions as are necessary for their elucidation.

In Vol. III of "La Haute Asie" the author discusses the mass of tradition, pre-Muhammadan in origin but "captured" by Islam, of which the chief repositories are the *tazkiras* or sacred books of the various sanctuaries. At Imamlär, among the foot-hills of the Kunlun 45 miles south-west of Keriya, I bought from one of the mullas a modern copy of the *tazkira* of the shrine. With the help of Murad Qari I translated this quite short work, a matter of considerable difficulty owing to the badness of the writing and the obscurity in some places of the Turki. The legend proved to be that of the "Four Imams," Nasir-ud-din, Zahur-ud-din, Mu'in-ud-din and Qawam-ud-din, the last of the twelve descendants of 'Ali who according to local tradition came from Arabia at various times during the ninth and tenth centuries and were martyred in battle for the Faith. The narrative tells how the Four Imams sent one of their captains, Yusuf Qadir Khan Ghazi, with an army of 40,000 men to Kashgar, which showed signs of reverting to paganism. Yusuf Qadir Khan reported by letter that the people of Kashgar refused to believe in the Prophet unless His descendants (i.e. the Imams) came in person. The Four Imams accordingly set out for Kashgar with an army of 140,000 faithful.[1]

The psalm which the Imams sang at Madain in Arabia before they marched is worth repeating:

539 PSALM OF THE FOUR IMAMS WHO SET OUT FROM BAGHDAD TO CONQUER THE LAND OF KASHGAR

Ai igizlärni qelghuchi pasti
Bär-ni yoq, yoqni qelghuchi hasti;
Zikrgha järi qelsäne
Lashkarni qäri qelsäne;
Salmä konglegha ghair yädini
Ber bu 'äjiz til-lärning murädini;
Konglegha 'ilm o 'ishq tushqärghil
Ber 'amal räst, yollgha bäshqärghil;

[1] The method by which they numbered the army is quaint, and is reminiscent of Herodotus' description of the numbering of the Persian host by Xerxes. They took a grain of maize for every ten men, and then weighed the maize, which was found to amount to one *charak* (about 20 lb.); the number of grains in one *ching* (1/16th of a *charak*) was then counted and the total arrived at.

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Būbākam hurmatidin, ai Bārā
Barja mushkil ishigha ber, Yārā;
Hama mushkil-lāreni āsān ait
'Ishq o faiz o futuh ahsān ait.

(Translation)

O Thou who makest high places low,
Who makest Nothingness out of Existence and Existence out of Nothingness;
Make (our mouths) worthy to utter Thy name,
Make our army worthy to read (Thy word).
Put not in our hearts the thought of anything other (than Thee).
Grant the desire of these our humble tongues.
Implant knowledge and love (of Thee) in our hearts.
Grant that we may act aright and guide us in our path;
By the virtue of our Ancestor, O God,
Deliver the infidels to adversity, O Beloved (God);
Make all our difficulties easy;
Grant us Thy love and favour, grant us victory.

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In Bokhara and Ferghana the Imams were joined by further large armies of adherents under the command of local notables. When they arrived at Kashgar "the troops filled the city so full that if anything had fallen from Heaven it would have fallen upon the shoulders of the army, for there would have been no room for it upon the earth." The Kashgaris had therefore no choice but to embrace Islam. Leaving Yusuf Qadir Khan as governor of Kashgar, the Imams set out for Khotan. At Yarkand, which was then quite a small place, the inhabitants became converted at once; as a reward the Imams informed them that one day Yarkand would be the capital of the country. At Goma a body of people were seen on the road ahead; some came to the Imams and were converted, others ran away. The Imams were suspicious of these latter, wherefore the place was afterwards Goma, from *guman*, "suspicion." Pialma (two marches west of Khotan) received its name from the fact that the people brought presents of quinces and apples (*bih* and *alma*) to the Holy Ones.[1]

Meanwhile the princes of Khotan, named Juqta Rashid and Nuqta Rashid, were preparing to resist. The first encounter between the infidels and the Mussulman army was at Qumrabat Padshahim, where in a skirmish the Imam Shakir

[1] Similar explanations are given for the names of Moji and Zanguya on the Yarkand-Khotan road, but I could not elucidate them. Such stories are obviously "etiological myths."

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538 was killed.[1] The luck of the Imams had turned. The princes of Khotan had a very powerful sorcerer, who caused the whole city to become invisible to the Mussulmans just as their attack commenced. The Imams, unable to take a city they could not see, stayed where they were for forty years. At the end of this period, as the invaders would not go, Nuqta Rashid and Juqta Rashid, together with most of their army and the sorcerer, escaped secretly from Khotan and fled to the mountains, leaving an aged champion called Khalkhal[2] in command at Khotan. The city now once more became visible to the Imams, who had no difficulty in entering it and converting Khalkhal after a sharp battle. They then went after Nuqta and Juqta, who had built themselves a city of stone on the top of a mountain.[3] They turned the infidels out of this stronghold by cutting the copper conduit by which water was brought to it from the river. The final battle, which took place further to the east, raged without result for two days. On the night of the second day two men of a village called Ujat, magically disguised as dogs, stole into the Mussulmans' camp and cut all the fastenings of their harness and other gear, so that next day the Imams and all their host were defeated and killed.[4] Only forty believers survived to bring the news of the martyrdom of the Imams to Yusuf Qadir Khan, who proceeded to the spot to bury them and establish the shrine which bears their name. As a punishment for their part in the martyrdom of the Imams, a curse fell upon the people of Ujat; it was decreed that their sons should always be born with four legs and a tail. The only way in which they could rid themselves of this curse was by giving their daughters to the Sheikhs of the Imamlär shrine in marriage and thus purifying the stock.[5]

[1] Two pigeons flew from his body after the battle, thus enabling it to be identified; these pigeons are the ancestors of the thousands of sacred pigeons at the shrine of Imam Shakir at Qumrabat Padshahim. This story does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*.

[2] From a comparison with other *tazkiras*, Grenard thinks that Khalkhal was the king of Khotan and Juqta and Nuqta his ministers—possibly leading Lamas.

[3] Local tradition places this stronghold at Hasha, two marches south-east of Khotan at the foot of the Tikkelik Tagh. Here there are remains of a Buddhist monastery (Grenard). See also Stein, "Serindia," pp. 1320–1.

[4] The date of the martyrdom of the Imams is given as 10th Muharram, A.H. 391 (A.D. 1000).

[5] Grenard gives a résumé of this *tazkira* (Vol. III, pp. 38–41), but does not mention some of the interesting points such as the method

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The author of "La Haute Asie," who collected all the *tazkiras* of the various shrines (a fact of which I was unaware when I acquired and translated a copy of the Imamlär one), shows that in their present form they all date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are Sunni editions of the original Shi'a legends of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Even the Shi'a legends, however, were not original. They were adaptations by the early mullas of pre-Muhammadan traditions connected with ancestor-worship at local shrines. None of the Twelve Imams came to Kashgar at all; the heroes of the legends were almost certainly eighth to tenth century Shi'a adventurers escaping from the persecution of the Ommiad Caliphs and other Sunni authorities. With small bands of followers, these bold Saracens raided Chinese territory in much the same way as their Western brethren raided Europe, and their exploits became legendary, like the eighth-century Saracen raid into the south of France which ended in the Battle of Poitiers. These "Imams" accomplished little, and they were all either killed or taken prisoner by the natives. None of their raids, Grenard thinks, preceded the authentic attempt of Qutaibah to impose Islam upon Kashgaria in the tenth century; it was Qutaibah who led the way, and yet he is not mentioned at all in the *tazkiras* and is entirely forgotten. This is because he was a Sunni.

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The complete conversion of the Tarim Basin to Islam was a slow process. In the tenth century the official religion of the country was Buddhism, with its chief stronghold at Khotan, but it was a debased Buddhism, and a pagan Manichæism was the real religion of the people. Paganism died hard in the Basin; indeed, as we shall see later, it is not by any means dead yet. The destruction of the old Buddhist theocracy at Khotan and the conversion of the whole country to Islam were begun by Qutaibah and the so-called Imams, and continued by Sadiq Boghra Khan, the Uigur Prince who first embraced Islam. Then came the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, and the Faith received a set-back. It was not till the fourteenth century that Islam could be definitely called the religion of the country. In the meantime the Muhammadan element had been evolving its tradition and consolidating its position *vis-à-vis* the pagans.

of numbering the army of the Faithful; the Psalm; the derivations of Pialma, Goma, etc., and the punishment meted out to the men of Ujat (see next paragraph). Prof. Huntington, who visited Imamlär in 1905, mentions this same *tazkira* ("Pulse of Asia," p. 164).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

771 Its method was simply to appropriate the pagan heroes with their local cults and identify them with its own pioneers. The cult of the Imams and other Mussulman saints, as Grenard points out,[1] goes back to religions older than Islam. The Mussulman priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship at certain shrines, adopted those shrines and christened them with the names of Islamic personages.

538 I came across several such survivals of pre-Muhammadan traditions during our travels, though I did not always recognize their true significance. At Chira, half-way between Khotan and Keriya, is the shrine of one of the foremost "Imams," Ja'far Tairan. The local legend is that this Imam came flying through the air from Mecca to convert the Kingdom of Khotan. Now Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century tells of a sacred image at Keriya, 20 feet high and luminous, which at the death of the Buddha flew by itself from Kochambi in India, where it was made, to a place in the north of the Kingdom of Khotan.[2] A still more striking instance is that of the story in the Imamlär *tazkira* about the men of Ujat who entered the camp of the Imams by night disguised as dogs and rendered the arms and armour of the Mussulmans useless, thus helping the King of Khotan to defeat them. This is evidently an adaptation of the legend of the sacred rats recorded by Hsuan Tsang and quoted by Sir Aurel Stein.[3] Khotan was being invaded by a great force of Hiong-nu or Huns, and its king was in despair. One night he was visited in a dream by the King of the Rats, who offered him his help. The King of Khotan accepted the offer, and next night a great army of rats "as big as hedgehogs, their hair the colour of gold and silver," invaded the camp of the Huns and ate all their bow-strings and the leather fastenings of their harness. This altogether incapacitated the Huns, who were easily defeated next day. Thenceforward the rats which lived near the scene of the battle were regarded as sacred and fed regularly by pilgrims. The curious thing is that, according to Stein, the scene of this battle is the same as that of the defeat and death of Imam Shakir where now stands the "Pigeon Shrine" of Qumrabat Padshahim; and Stein thinks that the pigeons are the lineal descendants, as it were, of the golden-haired rats. It will be remembered that the Ujat men assumed

[1] Vol. II, p. 240. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 195.

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animal shape when they entered the Mussulman camp, and the curse which fell upon their village was that all male children in it should be born with four feet and a tail—an ingenious adaptation of the pagan tradition.

Another priestly legend of lineage older than Islam is that which was told me by the Chief Qazi of Opal, a charming village situated some 28 miles west of Kashgar on a plateau of loess between two winding valleys. These valleys, called the Qizil (red) and Qara (black) Jilghas, have been cut in the loess by two streams which flow one on each side of a low hill clothed with ancient planes and crowned by the picturesque shrine of Hazrat Maulam. They join about five miles below Opal, where there is the mausoleum of the Hazrat with another shrine over it. Near the foot of the hill is a cave, and the story is that this was once the lair of a dragon which preyed upon the countryside after the manner of its kind. This went on until the Four Imams came to free the country from the dragons of idolatry and of superstition. They commissioned one of their captains, Hazrat Maulam, to slay the beast, and gave him a magic belt which enabled him to do the deed. Unfortunately the dragon's poison was too strong for the Hazrat, and he died in the hour of victory. The question then was, where should he be buried? The people of the two valleys, the Red and the Black, fought for the honour of providing his burial-place. Finally it was decided to cut the Hazrat in half and inter his head and shoulders in one valley and his legs in the other. But when the Holy Imams heard of this they were angry, and ordered that the saint should be buried at the place where the two valleys meet.

At Lamus on the Duwa stream, twelve miles south of Pialma, I was interested to hear from a delightful old Haji a legend about the Four Imams which does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*. On the day before the battle at Qumrabat Padsha[illegible]m in which, as already described, the Imam Shakir was killed, the Four Imams encamped at a place called Takhtuban in the desert, 20 miles north-east of Lamus. There was no water, and the Imams thirsted; so their followers, 40,000 of them, formed a line, standing side by side all the way to Lamus, whence they passed water in buckets from hand to hand until the thirst of the Holy Ones was quenched. Thenceforward the place was called Olam-su, afterwards corrupted to Lamus, because the water (*su*) was "grafted" (*olamak*) from its spring to Takhtuban.

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778 I was puzzled in the Khotan region by the multitudes of poles with yaks' or horses' tails tied to the ends which were to be seen at every shrine stuck upright in the burial mound of the saint. Grenard explains that these *tughs*, as they are called, are no other than relics of human sacrifice. According to the Chinese chroniclers, the ancient Turks sacrificed human victims on the graves of the great and stuck their heads up on poles as a record of the fact. The Turks of the Altai, at the present day, according to Radloff, sacrifice horses in the same manner at the funeral of a chief, hanging up the skins over the grave with the head facing east. Among the Kazaks, the horse is not actually sacrificed, but its tail is cut off and it is regarded as dead; no further use is made of the animal. The practice of hanging horses' tails on poles at the Khotan shrines is obviously a further stage in the same process, all tradition of the original sacrifice having been lost.

Like the Italian peasant, the Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "Imams" but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries almost always have some superstitious observance attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines where the belief is of the latter type the majority of the pilgrims are, of course, women, and the mullas have therefore been obliged in each case, for the sake of propriety, to invent a female saint, complete with legend, in order to bring the cult into line with Islam. That most of 769 these cults are nothing more or less than ancestor-worship of great antiquity is shown by the popular names of the shrines; the common people seldom refer to them by the name of any particular Mussulman saint, but pray to "Sultan Buwam" (Our Royal Ancestor or Ancestress), "Bu Anam" (Our Ancestress Mother), "Hazrat Pir" (The Holy Sage), and even "Qāra-Sakāl Atam" (My Father Blackbeard). The title "Padshah" or king is very often used *tout court*.[1]

[1] Miss Sykes and Sir P. Sykes give accounts of several interesting shrines and the superstitions attaching thereto. See "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 68–72, 92–5, 205–7, 314, 320. The custom mentioned by Sir Percy on p. 314, of a woman desirous of a child putting her hand into one of the holes in the wall of the tomb, appertains to the shrine of Bu Anam on the left bank of the Tumen 4 miles above Kashgar. The rule, we were told, is that whatever her hand touches in the hole—lump of dirt, beetle, or whatever it may be—she must eat forthwith.

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The fact is that not only ancestor-worship but paganism is still strong in this land flowing with milk and honey, despite a thousand years of Islam, just as it survives all the thunderings of the priests in the backwoods of Persia. At Kerman the "Nauruz" or Zoroastrian New Year is still the most popular annual festival, and you may see the revellers picnicking in their thousands on a March afternoon under the "Ya 'Ali" cliff-shrine or on the sun-warmed rocks of the Kala-i-Ardashir. But the Sunni of the Tarim Basin is even more easy-going and joy-loving than the Shi'a of East Persia. He displays little fanaticism and none of the passionate self-immolation which marks a Persian Muharram, when the naked backs of the flagellants resound and frenzied swordsmen redden the streets with blood from their own scalps. He, too, celebrates the Zoroastrian *Nauraz*, at any rate at Yarkand, where the Jahan Bagh Fair in March is undoubtedly a survival of New Year celebrations. We were unfortunate to miss this fair both years we were in Chinese Turkistan, but I heard a certain amount about it. It is held on the big common to the north-east of the Old City, and goes on for three or four weeks. There are no religious observances and the people give themselves up to feasting and jollity; as might be expected, there is a good deal of immorality. For this reason the priests strongly disapprove of it, and do all they can to induce the Chinese authorities to forbid the holding of the fair. Against them are arrayed all the bakers, sweetmeat-sellers, acrobats, pimps, story-tellers and others who stand to reap a rich harvest; these organize monster petitions to the Amban in favour of the fair being held, and even, it is said, subscribe many hundred taels among themselves for the oiling of the necessary palms at the Yamen. The *pashraps* or police support the Jahan Bagh festival, for they, too, make heavy profits out of it, chiefly by blackmailing unmarried women. Many of the religious festivals, for that matter, are more pagan than Mussulman, especially those which are seasonal and therefore unconnected with the Muhammadan (lunar) calendar; they are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and probably date back thousands of years. At the end of August, for example, greedy pilgrims from all over the province congregate at the fane of "Hazrat Sultanim," Sadiq Boghra Khan, to feast on the luscious figs of Astin Artush. The same applies to summer Saturdays at the beautiful shrine of Hidayatulla Khoja, known

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796 as "Hazrat Apak," most famous of the priest-kings, or "Khojas" from Samarqand, who misruled Kashgar from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. Hazrat Apak is really a kind of country club for Kashgar; the *tawwuf* or "circling" of the shrines is supposed to be performed by every visitor, but the famous apricots and melons of Besh Karim are the attraction rather than the exhortations of the mullas. Even the Ashura (10th Muharram) festival at Ordam Padshah, in the desert east of Yangi Hissar, where is the shrine of Ali Arslan, is little more than a fair like Jahan Bagh with the immorality kept in bounds under the watchful eyes of the Church.[1]

771 It must be confessed, then, that the secular struggle waged by Islam against superstition, paganism and the cult of joy in the land of the Six Cities is an up-hill one. Perhaps the mullas are less zealous than the *mujtahidin* of Kerbela, less eloquent than the *mutakallimin* of Shiraz; for a nation has the priests it deserves. However this may be, their best friends could not call the Kashgaris good Mussulmans. Few perform more than one or two of the five daily prayers, and the Ramazan fast is often broken in private. Observance of the Qur'anic precepts is apt to vary directly with the number of persons present, a fact noted with dry humour by the Chinese in their saying "One Moslem, no Moslem; two Moslems, half a Moslem; three Moslems, one Moslem."

796 Of all their religious duties, the Ramazan fast bears most hardly upon the gluttonous Turki, and all the powers of Hell are invoked by their pastors to frighten them out of eating and drinking during the daylight hours. The following epigram was repeated to me *à propos* of the Dulanis of the Yarkand River valley, but its application is much wider:

Roza tut'um jān uchun;	I fast in Ramazan to save my soul;
Kecha qopdum gāl uchun;	I wake at night to keep my belly full;
Tu ma'e desām qurqaman,	I fear to say "I am not going to fast,"
Gorda tukhmāq bār uchun.	For there's a rod that waits in Hell for me.

[1] Ali Arslan, the "Lion of Kashgar," was an Uigur prince, nephew of Sadiq Boghra Khan, who went down fighting the armies of Khotan. Why, in a Sunni country and in commemoration of a Sunni saint, the exclusively Shi'a festival of the Ashura should be celebrated, nobody was able to tell me.

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A PROFESSIONAL BEGGAR, OLD AQSU

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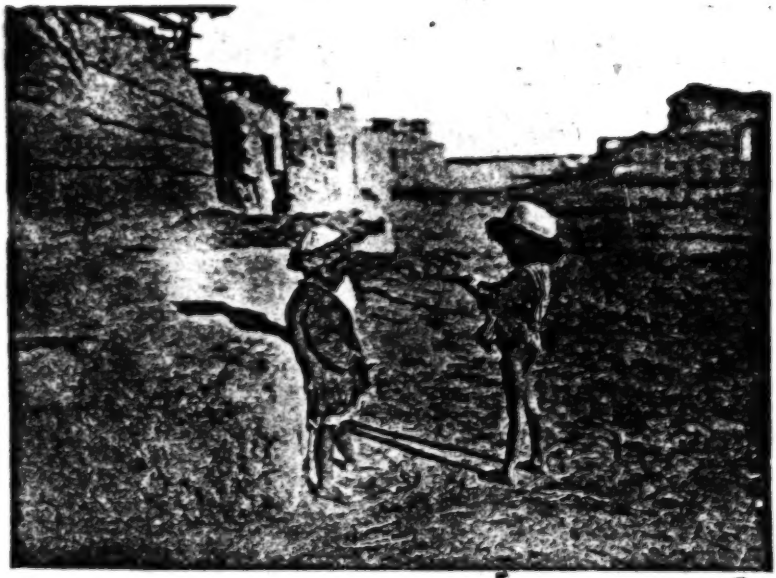

DULANI CHILDREN, MARALBASHI DISTRICT
A GAME OF CAT'S CRADLE

[Face p. 184]

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796 During Ramazan it is incumbent on the good Mussulman to give to the poor the food he denies himself, and children go round singing quaint begging songs, which must be very old. Miss Sykes gives a translation of one she heard ;[1] here is another :

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Song of the Child-Beggars at Ramazan

Ramazan allah bu shahrim Ramazan !	God's Ramazan be to this town, God's Ramazan !
Ramazan aitip keldoh Danduklärdin.	From Danduklär I have come crying Ramazan.
Bizgha birnima qoilär miki qoimaqlärdin [2]	Surely a bit of sacrificial bread has been put out for me ?
Aq tukhe, appaqtukhe qamghaqda dur.	There's a white fowl, a nice white fowl on your perch.
Bizgha qoighan kakcha [3] *nän sanduqda dur.*	There's a round of bread stored in your cupboard for me.
Oining ärkasi taining izi, taining izi ;	Behind your house there are the hoof-marks of a foal, of a foal ;
Bizgha mu nan biredur, Baining qizi ? [4]	Won't you give me a little bread, O daughter of a rich man ?
Ramazan-ning untörtida buz ala qoi	Let *me* have the brown piebald sheep on 14th Ramazan ;
Kalc pächakini Mullagha qo'e ! [5]	Its head and feet you may keep for the Mulla.

It is not only at the nocturnal "Mi-Carême" of 14th Ramazan that a sheep is sacrificed. I well remember how under the old régime the streets of Constantinople used to swarm at "Qurban Bairam" with *hamāls* staggering under great fat sheep destined for the sacrifice ; and this festival is similarly celebrated at Turki Kashgar, though the slaughter is much less than in rich Stamboul. Sheep are only sacrificed at the houses of the well-to-do ; those who cannot afford one of their own go round in batches to the houses of their wealthier friends for the "salaam" ceremony. Standing

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases," p. 174.

[2] *Qoimaq* is a kind of bread baked in oil, only used for sacrificial offerings.

[3] *Kakcha* is a sort of large round biscuit-bread always put before guests. It is seldom eaten and the same *kakchas* turn up at party after party. Some glutinous substance is mixed with the flour of the *Kakcha* to make it durable.

[4] The possession of a yearling or two-year-old horse (*tai*) is a sign of wealth in Turkistan.

[5] i.e. "Don't try to palm off the customary mosque offerings on *me*—I want something better."

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796 before the owner of the house they bow with a sweeping movement of the arms and a stroking of the beard intoning a sonorous "*Amīn*" the while, after which each person is entitled to a sup of sacrificial mutton. On the first of the two days of Qurban only men perform the salaam; the second is the women's day, when separate tables are spread in the *andarūn* for the fair visitors. The skin of each sheep sacrificed goes to the Imam, the head and feet to the Mu'azzin, the neck and offal to the butcher and a portion of the meat to the beggars.

755 Turning to superstitions, the field for research is so wide that it was scarcely possible for me to do more than reconnoitre it in the time at my disposal. Witchcraft in particular flourishes exceedingly. I had it on good authority that at Yarkand in 1924 there were between 25 and 30 witch-doctors, who made large profits, chiefly out of the women. These gentry are called *bakhshis* at Yarkand, *du'a-khwans* or *jadugars* at Kashgar. At a meeting of the "real" doctors of Yarkand in 1923—the local General Medical Council, as it were—it was estimated that the *bakhshis* made between them 175,000 local taels or about £2,300 in the year, as against a beggarly £400 made by the poor doctors. The latter have only themselves to thank for this state of affairs, for they are hopelessly inefficient and their methods date back to the days of Hippocrates and Galen.[1] Skilful advertisement, however, contributes to the magicians' popularity; in every tea-house, every meeting-place of the people there are agents paid by them to tell stories of wonderful cures effected by such and such a *bakhshi*. The fees paid to the witch-doctors vary from one *tenga* (2*d*.) to 20 taels (£2 13*s*. 4*d*.) or more. In return for these they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient. I heard them doing it once, and I shall never forget it. One night, as I was sleeping in my verandah as usual, I was awakened at 3 a.m. by loud music and drum-beating from a neighbouring house. The playing was loud and rhythmic and the melody haunting; but there was something sinister about the music, as if it had no soul. One phrase would be repeated again and again, then another would be substituted for it. I was puzzled by the performance; it sounded like some strange Bacchanal,

[1] For a description of the methods of Kashgar doctors, see Grenard, "La Haute Asie," Vol. II, pp. 110–12; Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 317–20.

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but what house would be making merry in the small hours that had been silent at midnight? After a time, sleep being impossible, I went round to the quarter-guard and sent the orderly on duty to try and stop it. While he was yet on his way the music ceased suddenly of its own accord, in the middle of a phrase, and all was silence. At breakfast the orderly came and reported that the *du'a-khwans* had been making magic music to drive away the evil spirits from our neighbour, an old Haji, who was very sick. He had died that morning, I was told, at a quarter to four.[1] 755

Witch-doctoring is by no means the only form of magic practised. There is *jarrakashi* or the casting of the evil eye; there are the spells which induce love, and those which sow enmity between people—these are bought by third parties, who expect to profit thereby; there are the *chumkashchis* or private detectives with magical powers. The belief in the evil eye is very strong, especially among the fair sex. If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the *du'a-khwan*. Even D.'s excellent maid, Aisha Khan, who had been much with Europeans and was distinctly intelligent, was by no means free from this weakness. Once when she had been feeling seedy for some days she came to D. and informed her rather sheepishly—ashamed to admit belief, but evidently believing—that her friends all said it was her husband's other wife who was casting the evil eye upon her. The trouble, she explained, was that the other lady's brother was a professional *du'a-khwan*, which 754

[1] Grenard, "La Haute Asie," pp. 254–7, describes the procedure on such occasions. The patient is taken out of bed and seated on the ground with his back up against a rope stretched tightly from the middle of the ceiling to the floor. While his assistants play on their tambourines and sing continuously, the sorcerer dances round the patient and brushes the latter's face with the body of a cock. Sometimes he takes out the cock's lungs and whips the sufferer on the back with them, or with a willow wand, crying the while "Qach! Qach!" (Avaunt!) Invocations begin with the Prophet, but go on with Chingiz Khan and other ancient heroes. A fire is lighted, and a tambourine is placed in the smoke and then brought close to the patient's ear. All this, says Grenard, appertains to ancestor-worship and Shamanism. The wand, the tambourine, the lungs of sacrificed animals, are all part of the stock-in-trade of the "shamans" or sorcerers of pagan tribes in Siberia. Most curious of all, the rope tied from ceiling to floor represents the tree-trunk, marked with the signs of the Zodiac and other mystical characters, which is placed upright in the middle of the tent after the completion of a "purification."

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754 gave her an unfair advantage. There are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil eye are believed in, portions of the body such as hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wishes to cast a spell upon their late owner; in Chinese Turkistan, by a curious extension of the idea. this property attaches also to a person's shoes, or rather to the *kafsh-massi* or slippers which are worn out of doors over the long boots and taken off on entering a house. If you find your enemy's shoes lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, you turn them upside down or place them one on top of the other; if you want to kill him, you take them up and throw them down haphazard. At Yarkand the shoe superstitions differ somewhat from those current at Kashgar; the effects of meddling with one's *kafsh-massi* seem to be less serious. I was told there that when a caller outstays his welcome, he is apt to find on his departure that his shoes are lying upside down; this is a gentle hint not to stay so long next time. Omens also attach to shoes at Yarkand; if one is found lying on top of the other—whether by accident or otherwise—it means that the owner, if a man, is going to get a new wife, if a woman, a new husband.

A curious idea widely prevalent is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives. A boy was once brought to D. with the statement that he "had been ailing ever since his father died two years ago." This might have been a ruse to obtain alms, for orphanhood is a valuable asset in Muhammadan countries and is apt to be exploited by the orphan's relations; but we found instances of widows in a similar manner suffering in health from the death of their husbands.

775 Ghosts are firmly believed in and much feared, the worst kind being those of dead Chinese. Referring to the city of Qarashahr, a month's journey from Kashgar along the Urumchi road, a woman who had been there said it was "an awful place for Chinese ghosts." The only thing to do if you are haunted by them is to propitiate them by leaving money on your doorstep overnight. In the morning if the money is gone, you know that the Chinese ghosts have taken it.

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The snakes found in the Kashgar oasis are not poisonous, but the people have a certain superstitious dread of them for which it is difficult to account. It is said that if you kill a snake, its mate will follow you about everywhere—haunt you, in fact, like an Indian "sending." As in most Oriental countries, rumours of human sacrifice obtain currency whenever any great building work is commenced. When Major Dockray erected the masts of his wireless station, five miles north of Kashgar, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages spread it abroad that he had kidnapped forty Turki children and had buried them underneath the masts. He supposed that it was the "Hidden Hand" trying to wreck the scheme, but it was not; it was a very ancient and deeply-rooted superstition. At Kashgar it is believed that the great mud wall of the city contains the bodies of the slaves who died under the overseers' whips while engaged in building it; as they fell, it is said, their bodies were built into the wall. This is obviously a variant of the human sacrifice legend, and probably represents a race-memory of horrors that used to take place in forgotten ages.[1]

Since the earliest times the Takla Makan Desert has been the subject of much superstition and legendary lore. The people who live on its verge all believe that great and wealthy cities lie buried beneath its sands, and that it is haunted by demons and the ghosts of the cities' former inhabitants. These are much feared by the "Taklamakanchis" or treasure-seekers who year after year risk and sometimes lose their lives in desert expeditions in search of buried treasure. A remarkable example of the antiquity of the Takla Makan legends is given by Sir A. Stein in *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*.[2] While on his way to the Uzun-Tati site north of Domoko on the Khotan-Keriya road, he heard from some villagers a legend of the Sodom and Gomorrah type about the city which had once existed at Uzun Tati. Its inhabitants, they said, mocked at a holy man who had rebuked them for their sins, whereupon as a punishment God had rained sand upon the

[1] When the Grandpass Victoria Bridge was commenced at Colombo, it was firmly believed that two children had been sacrificed to the god of the Kelani River. As recently as the summer of 1924 serious riots, in which six Sikh taxi-drivers were killed, took place at Calcutta as the result of a rumour that certain Sikh workmen engaged in the construction of a dock were kidnapping and sacrificing Muhammadan children.

[2] Pp. 430, 438–9.

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773 place for seven days and nights until all was buried. Now the great Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang who passed this way in the seventh century of our era stayed at a town called Pi-mo, which Stein has conclusively identified with the Uzun-Tati site; and at this place Hsuan-tsang heard an almost exactly parallel Sodom and Gomorrah legend about another buried city called Ho-lo-lo-kia, still further out in the Takla Makan! A similar story is attached to the shrine of Imam Jamal-ud-Din at Keriya; this saint is supposed to have caused the sudden overwhelming of the city of Ketek because of insults he had received from its inhabitants. While at Goma in 1922 I had occasion to interrogate some Taklamakanchis from Qaratagh Aghzi, the "terminal oasis" of the Kilian River, about a new desert site which they said they had found a couple of years previously. At first they were uncommunicative, but afterwards when their tongues were loosened they told me about their discoveries, and many other things as well. One of them described an experience he had had in the neighbourhood. "I was lost one evening in the Takla Makan," he said, "and had no water. Suddenly I saw before me great walls in the sand and a gateway in the midst of them. I passed through the gateway and found myself in the outer court of a huge *yamen*.[1] I went through more doors and courtyards and at last I entered a great hall (*aivān*) which was full of treasure, gold and coral and pearls. But there was a huge tiger on guard there; flames issued from his mouth and I knew he was an evil spirit. I fainted from fear, and when I came to my senses I was among the sands and there was no *yamen*. Next day I came upon the tracks of wood-cutters and found my way home."

172 Sir A. Stein's researches have proved that none of the buried cities of the Takla Makan which have so far been found were overwhelmed by any sudden catastrophe. All were abandoned bit by bit, owing either to a generally-diminishing water-supply, or to the shifting of particular rivers, or to political causes. The Sodom and Gomorrah legends are probably, therefore, quite baseless. But this does not necessarily imply that the ancient tradition about the "Forty Cities of the Takla Makan"—great and populous centres, now buried under the sands far out beyond the furthest explorations of the archæologists—has no foundation in fact. The dawn of history in the Tarim Basin is relatively late, the second

[1] Any palace or large Chinese house is called a "yamen."

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century before Christ; thousands of years before that dawn the Egyptian, Minoan, Sumerian and other great civilizations existed. Is it impossible that the Tarim Basin, in the heart of that Innermost Asia which is believed by many to be the cradle of the human race, may once have harboured a race as powerful and a culture as advanced as any that flourished on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates or the Indus? 172

All depends on the answer to the question: Was the water-supply ever much greater than it is now? In this connection the conclusions of Sir A. Stein in his latest publication[1] are of the utmost interest. Discussing whether the abandonment of Niya, Dandan Oilik and other sites may be assigned to a supposed climatic desiccation of Central Asia, or to some other cause or causes, he points out that definite archæological evidence forces us to two conclusions. 132 172

"One is that climatic conditions quite as arid as the present ones prevailed within the big trough of the Tarim Basin as far back as ancient remains and available records can take us. The other conclusion is that the amount of water carried by its rivers has greatly diminished during the same historical period."

How can these apparently contradictory propositions be reconciled? As a possible solution of this problem Sir Aurel propounds a remarkable theory which was verbally suggested to him in 1908 by Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, late Surveyor-General of India, and recently also proposed by Dr. von Ficker with regard to similar conditions in the Oxus basin.

"This theory" (he says) "seeks the reason for the diminished volume of the rivers in the shrinkage of the glaciers on the high ranges which are their main feeders. It accounts for the shrinkage itself by assuming that those glaciers comprise great reserves of ice which have been left behind by the last glacial period and have since been undergoing slow but continuous reduction through milder climatic conditions. This continued process would suffice to explain shrinkage in the irrigation resources during historical time without the climate of the basin as a whole having in the course of this period, very short in a geological sense as it seems, undergone any appreciable change."

In other words, the glaciers of the Kunlun may be no other than the dwindling remnants of the frozen cap that Asia wore in the last Ice Age. A link with the past indeed!

Sixteen centuries ago even a small stream like the Niya River flowed far out into the desert, watering a flourishing town 20 miles beyond its present disappearing-point at the

[1] "Geographical Journal," June, 1925, pp. 487–90.

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shrine of Imam Ja'far Sadiq.[1] Four or five thousand years ago, presumably, this river and others like it flowed in greater volume still, penetrating far beyond ancient Chingchueh and Dandan Oilik. Those were the days, perhaps, when the great Lop Sea to the east had not altogether dried up, and the "innumerable laughter" of its waves hid what are now the sharp-edged salt clods of the world's worst desert. It may be, then, that in the days when Sargon reigned in Babylon and Manes on the Nile, wide fertile lands and populous cities with a culture and an art of their own basked in the Central Asian sun, and that the glory and the wealth of a forgotten civilization lie hid for ever under the gigantic dunes of the Takla Makan.

[1] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 351.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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A DESERT LAKE: THE CHÖLL KUL, MARALBASHI DISTRICT, WITH SAND-HILLS OF TAKLA MAKAN

[Face p. 192]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XIII

CUSTOMS, MUSIC, POETRY AND FOLKLORE

"Il est peu de pays où la famille soit plus faiblement constituée que dans le Turkestan oriental et il y a bien longtemps que le mariage s'y conclut et s'y dissout avec une égale facilité. Il n'est peut-être pas une région en Asie où les mœurs soient plus relâchées et où, en même temps, les femmes aient plus d'indépendence et d'influence, où l'on rencontre à la fois moins de dignité et plus de douceur dans la vie privée."

GRENARD.

123 THE conditions of family life in the Tarim Basin and the manners and customs connected with the home are no less peculiar to this remote and isolated land than are its legends and superstitions. Thanks to the extra-territorial jurisdiction exercised by the British Consul-General, I had a considerable number of civil as well as criminal cases to settle according to the law and custom of the country, which were applicable not only when Chinese subjects were parties, but also in civil suits of all kinds brought by or against British Indian nationals permanently domiciled in Chinese Turkistan. In the course of many attempts to do some sort of justice in long and complicated cases concerning succession and bequest, marriage and divorce, chancery, settlement of accounts, and so on, I picked up a certain amount of information about the conditions and customs of family life, especially at Yarkand, whence most of the work came. I am also indebted to my friend, Murad Qari of Yarkand, whom I have already mentioned more than once, for much useful and interesting information relative to his native town.

165 Owing to ignorance and bad hygiene, infant mortality is undoubtedly very high, though it probably does not approach the appalling figures for Calcutta and some other parts of

INDIA.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

India. Infants are fed by their mothers for a couple of months, after which all kinds of food, however indigestible, are administered, in order to "strengthen the stomach" and make the child "as tough as a mill-stone" (*tigarman-mizāj*). In this the Turkis merely copy their masters, for, according to D., a Chinese mother will stuff her baby at a party with anything she eats herself, and I myself have seen an official administer neat brandy to his three-months-old infant. Among the middle and lower classes daughters are more desired than sons, because there is always the chance of a girl bringing a wealthy husband into the family, whereas a boy does nothing for his parents after the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he marries and sets up house for himself. Seven days after birth the christening ceremony is held; the Imam and Mu'azzin of the mosque are invited, together with the *Uttuz-oghle* (lit. "thirty sons"), an assembly of neighbours which corresponds roughly to the Indian *panchayat*; the priests give the child its name and recite certain verses of the Qur'an in return for small fees. Schooling at the *maktab* or mosque-school begins at four or five and continues until about seven if the parents are poor, nine if they belong to the middle class, and twelve or thirteen if they are rich. Besides the *maktabs* there are *madrasas* or colleges, which are very sparsely attended, only about 5 per cent. of the boys being sent to them at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Until fifteen or twenty years ago writing was scarcely taught at all; messages were entrusted verbally to a professional *hafiz* or "rememberer," who acted as postman and could be relied upon not to forget or mix up his "letters," however many he carried at a time from one town to another. Even now scarcely one *maktab* in ten teaches writing. Ordinary children merely learnt by heart certain chapters of the Qur'an, together with the rules of prayer and fasting. The older boys are taught at certain schools a little Persian literature (this is confined to the "Gulistan," the "Bostan" and the "Bedil") and read a few Turki books, such as "Sufi Allahyar" and "Nawai." The fees are not excessive. For the first six months of schooling an entrance fee of two tengas (4*d.*) is paid, after which a fee of one *dachin* ($\frac{1}{12}$th of 1*d.*), called the "Panjshambalik," is paid to the *akhun* or schoolmaster every Thursday (*Panjshamba*). Then when the Qur'an is begun a further six tengas initial payment is made and the Panjshambalik rises to three *dachins*. At each of the two *'Ids*, i.e. at the end of the

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Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster. 871

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years. 584 595 [582] 584

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a 585

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585 wedding, incurred almost entirely by the bride's people (the bridegroom's contribution is nominal), amount to anything from 30–50 taels (£4–£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), in the case of poor people to 2,000 taels (£233) or more, in that of the very rich. The only liability (and that merely a nominal one) incurred by the bridegroom is the *haqq-i-mihr* or settlement on his wife.[1] This varies between fifty and a thousand taels and is usually fixed verbally before the *uttuz-oghle*. It is regarded as a debt which may theoretically be claimed by the wife at any time up to her death; but it never is claimed except at divorce. In many cases the *mihr* is waived; in more than one "divorce case" which came before me the husband claimed that his wife had let him off the *mihr* at the wedding, whereupon she challenged him to produce members of the *uttuz-oghle* to prove it.[2]

From the house of the bride's parents to that of the bridegroom a small party, accompanied by musicians, marches in procession through the streets, with the lady in front either riding a pony or donkey or walking, as the case may be. Arrived at her new home, the bride is not supposed to touch the threshold with her feet; she is lifted over it by her husband and his relations. However thankful she may be to get her daughter "off," the mother of the bride is obliged by custom to weep and wail loudly during the marriage ceremonies; the girl, too, laments (probably with more sincerity) at leaving the home of her childhood. I took down the words of their traditional laments, which are rather pretty:[3]

[1] The *haqq-i-mihr* must not be confused with the maintenance payable for a hundred days by a husband to a wife whom he divorces against her will. Grenard (Vol. II, p. 119) says that the "*mehr*" found in other Mussulman countries is an *institution presque hors d'usage dans le Turkestan chinois;* this is correct so far as it goes, but it should be added that its existence is universally recognized, if only as a legal fiction.

[2] Such disputes, like most civil and many criminal cases, are settled by the parties being sent to the Qazi or Mussulman judge, who hears the evidence and either passes judgment at once or orders one party or the other to take the oath; as a rule, the party on whom the oath comes refuses to take it and loses the case, for it is regarded as a disgrace to swear on the Qur'an. *Qasam-khor* ("oath-eater") is a term of abuse, meaning a greedy or litigious person who sticks at nothing to win his case.

[3] Grenard (Vol. II, p. 250) has the mother's lament, not the daughter's, for which I am indebted to Murad Qari.

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Mother's Song

'Kichik kīna, qāra kuz	Little tiny dark-eyed one
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Tili tātliq, shīrin suz	Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Balam mandin airilde	My child is taken from me
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Uida yālghuz qālārman,	In the house I am left alone,
Wai balam, balam !	Alas, my child ! my child !

Daughter's Song

Man ānāmdin airilip	Torn from my mother's side
Sunde qanātim qāralip ;	My wings are broken and bent ;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun	Who may weep, if not I
Jānim ānamdin airilip ?	Torn from my darling mother's side ?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

" I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

" Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [301]

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585 spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches
[301] of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings.
[302] Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each
[299] plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

"Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of
585 the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some
574 relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her
[576] reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

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changed their beautiful but hot satin dresses for simpler affairs of thin silk and muslin, hurried about refilling the bowls, breaking up the bread into suitable-sized pieces and looking after everybody, while two maids did their best to keep us all cool by flapping a large table-cloth in the middle of the room. When the last of the Wedding Dish had been finished, the *dastarkhwans* were taken out to be shaken and we all had our hands washed Mussulman fashion; copper jugs and basins were brought in, and as each of us in turn held out our sticky hands the ladies of the house poured water over them into the basins. Huge piles of round flat loaves of bread about eighteen inches across then appeared and were placed at intervals opposite the guests. Next came large flat dishes of a savoury stew of mutton and vegetables, which was rapidly spooned up by the ladies with corners of bread. Titbits and succulent little bones with meat on them were handed through the window by fond mammas to their clamouring children. When this course was finished there were still a good many of the flat loaves remaining and these were distributed among the guests. One was rather tentatively offered to me; I accepted it joyfully, which was considered a great joke. Fruit, sweets and tea followed, and when everything had been cleared away and another hand-washing had taken place, the musicians struck up again.

"The women danced and I found myself in conversation with a plump elderly dame, the mother of a leading ice-merchant, who was giving Aisha Khan and myself a graphic description of the illness and last moments of her first husband; I did not notice therefore that most of the older ladies had left the room, and it was only when Aisha Khan whispered 'They've gone to fetch the bride,' that I awoke to the fact that satin dresses and velvet jackets had been resumed and every one was looking expectantly towards the door. A few minutes later, surrounded by elderly relatives and friends, the bride appeared. I gasped, for there in the afternoon sunlight which streamed through the windows stood a tall slim figure clad in glittering gold from head to foot. A long coat of gold brocade hid her satin dress, a veil of golden gauze fell round her face and down her back, great sprays of gold flower ornaments quivered in her cap and long earrings of gold and pearls and a heavy chain and pendant of the same metal completed her adornment. She might have been a bride for Tamerlane or some such great Emperor of the olden days! A thin white silk veil was thrown over her face and head, and she was led up to the chair beside mine with great ceremony and made to sit down. Poor thing, she was so nervous that her breath came in gasps and her hands when I touched them were icy cold. All the guests drew back, then a little girl of about four was pushed forward and running up to the bride snatched away the white veil. This was the signal for a regular outburst, all the guests screaming and laughing and chattering at the same time, and then falling on the bride and kissing her. When this, evidently the most important part of the ceremony, was over I thought it was about time to go, as it was nearly four o'clock.

"What strikes me most about these women is their manners, which are as pretty as their clothes. When the hostess gives tea or anything else to one of her guests, the latter rises and bows saying '*Ashkalla*' (thank you). On arrival and departure they make delicious little polite speeches to each other—much more picturesque than our mean-

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585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces
576 and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming. Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-
595 married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

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the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that. 586 595

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her." 595

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife 562

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562 who holds the purse-strings and does the selling of the farm-produce as well as the buying. Nowadays it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have her own profession, dress-making, cap-embroidering, cotton-spinning, midwifery, cooking at restaurants, dyeing, soap-making, sorcery, laundering, brokering and so on. Out of doors they wear the *chumbal* or stiff rectangular veil, but most of the time this is thrown back over the head; only when some important male personage comes along, such as a Chinese official or an Aqsaqal or a British Consul-General, do they pull the veil hastily down again for a few moments. This is in strong contrast to India, where only the women of the lowest castes go about unveiled.

It must also be remembered that the average Turki man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going, rather slow-witted person, so that the sharper-tongued, quicker-witted and more energetic woman more than holds her own—so long, at any rate, as she can keep her husband at her side. On the whole, the term *mazlum-kishi* (oppressed person), which is the regular word for "woman" in Kashgaria, need not be taken too seriously. A woman above the average in looks or wit profits as much by the looseness of the marriage tie as her less-favoured sister suffers from it; she can exchange an uncongenial husband for a better one with very little difficulty. A Kashgar beauty dates her past life by her successive husbands, just as a racing enthusiast in this country dates his by Derby winners. I cannot say, however, that I heard of any woman approaching the matrimonial record of a certain good-looking Mussulman British subject of scarcely more than middle age, who was credited with having espoused over sixty different wives in his time, and was still going strong when we left.

854 A married woman does not reach her full social stature until she is thirty years old or more, when she attains the dignity of *jawanlik*. A *jawan* is a woman who has attained years of discretion and is entitled to the privilege of braiding her hair in two long plaits. This "coming of age" is an important and festive event, like a wedding; the husband gives a large party called the *jawanlik toi*, to which both men and women are invited (they do not, of course, mix); at this feast she appears for the first time with her hair braided and wearing a special kind of shirt, known as the *jawanchi konglak*. She is now more important and respected than before; she is also worth more in the marriage market, for men do not like child-brides who know nothing and may at any moment

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run away back to their parents, whereas they will actually spend several hundred tengas on *toiluk* (trousseau) for the privilege of marrying a good-looking *jawan*. In the snatches of love-songs given below it will be noticed that the poet's "mistress" is often called *jawan*, never *chokan* or *qiz* (girl). The popular standpoint is expressed in the following old rhyme: 884

Jān qadrini kīm bilsun?	Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Aghriq bilma'e sāq na bilsun.	Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
Er qadrini kīm bilsun?	What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Jawān bilma'e qiz na bilsun.	Not the girl who has never been a *jawan*.

To marry one's daughter to an infidel—a Chinaman or a Hindu—is regarded as no less disgraceful than to put her on the streets, and only the poorest do it. It is significant that the word used for a lady of easy virtue—*jallāb*—is also applied to Turki wives of Chinese (other than Chinese Mussulmans) and Hindus. They are excommunicated by the priests and ostracized by their class. There are compensations, however. Chinamen and Hindus are much better husbands than Turkis, and the wives of "infidels" usually amass wealth. The wife of a Hindu is in a particularly strong position. Her husband has no legal rights over her; if she runs away, the mullas will not lift a finger for him, and he must "shell out" again if he wants another wife. She can thus hold over him the threat of returning to her family, and tap his money-bags with confidence for herself and her relations. When he dies, she usually gets away with some or all of his property; two or three cases were brought before me in which this had happened. But it is interesting to note that Islam usually triumphs at the last; an infidel's wife will often use her wealth to purchase an "indulgence" on her death-bed and the right to a Mussulman burial. When she feels her end approaching, she will leave her home and settle in another town, where she is received back into the fold by the Imam and the *uttuz-oghle*. She gives liberal donations to shrines and dedicates some or all of her land as *waqf* (religious trust) to the Church. The Qazi prescribes certain prayers and observances for the donor, who then dies in peace and is buried with full Mussulman rites. There is one serious drawback, however, to marrying a Hindu trader; and that is the fact that if and when he 582

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582 returns to India or dies, he or his next-of-kin, as the case may be, invariably demands his male children, if any; his right to them, as to his own property, is recognized by the mullas. If the boys are less than five years old, the father leaves money according to law for their maintenance until that age, but arranges through the *panchayat* (association of Hindu traders in the town) for their despatch to India as soon as possible afterwards. This is naturally a grievance with the Turki mothers.

764 The observances connected with death and burial are elaborate and expensive. On the day of the death alms in cash and a piece of soap each are given to the beggars. This is according to the Qur'anic injunction, but the "wakes" which follow are not *shar'i* (according to Muhammadan law), but *rasmi* or "customary," i.e. pagan or Chinese. They are not approved by the Church. On the third day (in well-to-do households) the whole quarter, rich and poor, is invited to a feast at which not only are large quantities of food consumed, but presents of clothes are given to all and sundry; this, I understand, is a Chinese custom. On the seventh day another feast is given, at which only relations and friends are present. The actual funeral takes place on the day following death. Those present wear a mourning costume consisting of black clothes with a white waistband; this latter is another concession to Chinese ideas, according to which the mourning colour is white, not black. Expenditure in connection with a funeral varies from 30 to 500 taels, according to the capacity of the household; only a small proportion of this is set off by the presents, called *ta'ziyāt*, given to the next-of-kin by his friends and relations. Great importance is attached to the lamentations (*qushāq*) of the deceased's relatives at a funeral, which are regarded as helping him in some way—an obvious relic of paganism. According to an old popular rhyme:

Sahr waqtida chirlaghalé	For crowing at the dawn
Chā khuraz yakhshi;	Spotted chanticleer is best;
Qushāq qushup yighlaghalé	For keening at a wake
Qarindāsh yakhshi.	A loved one is the best.

Some of the elegiacs sung by widows are really beautiful; for example:

Qupselār Allah dep qupghān Khojam
Yatselār Allah dep yatghan Khojam.
Yāz uzūqum, Khojam,
Qish yapinjim, Khojam.
Sui-yoq kulda qāldem,
Sayasi-yoq bostānda qāldem.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

THE WALLS OF KHOTAN

A STORY-TELLER AND HIS AUDIENCE, KARGHALIK

[Face p. 204]

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(Translation)

764 When you arose, oh my Lord, it was with God's name on your lips;
When you lay down, it was in God's name.
In summer you fed me, oh my Lord;
In winter you were my cloak.
I am left in a lake with no water in it,
I am left in a garden in which there is no shade.

105 563 In considering the manners, customs, folklore, etc., of the Tarim Basin, it must be remembered that considerable differences exist between the four or five chief oases, corresponding roughly to their geographical positions. To differentiate between them and make a comparative study of material from the different towns would be impossible in the space at my disposal, even if I possessed the necessary knowledge. Speaking generally, however, it may be remarked that Kashgar is the least mediæval and at the same time the most Mussulman of the Six Cities. Culturally it belongs to the Transcaspian Khanates, Khoqand, Bokhara, Samarqand and Khiva, strongholds of Islam. Owing to its proximity to the Russian frontier and the strong interest taken in it by the Muscovite Government since the seventies, it has a thin—a very thin—veneer of Russian culture. Aqsu, 300 miles nearer Urumchi and separated from Russian territory by the tremendous barrier of the Central Tien Shan, is a predominantly Uigur city with strong Mongol and Chinese strains. Kucha, 200 miles further east, is also an ancient Uigur city, and has a history and an art of its own. Further east still, Qarashahr is the chief centre of that formidable and unpleasant race, Chinese by culture and Mussulman by religion, the Tungans. Yarkand is the meeting-place of the nations; in its culture neither China nor Russia are of much account, and such foreign influence as there is comes through Afghanistan from Persia and through Kashmir from India. The great oasis of Khotan or Ilchi is in many ways the most interesting of all, for it is the part of the Tarim Basin which has been least affected by outside influences, including Islam. It was probably a flourishing pagan State long before Buddhism reached it from India. For a thousand years it was the seat of an Indo-Scythian civilization under Chinese influence, with a rich and ornate Buddhism as its official religion; was it not to Khotan that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent in A.D. 65 the famous Mission which brought back Buddhism to Cathay? The Kingdom fought hard against Islam, holding out for

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105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, [534] a two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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their strong voices are quite untrained and the sounds they emit are sometimes astonishing, but one can detect traces of melody even among the saxophone-like warblings of the donkey-drivers. D. is not a great musician, and my ignorance on the subject is "extensive and peculiar," but it was impossible not to be struck by the tunefulness and intelligibility of the local music compared with that of India and (still more) of China Proper.

In the course of my studies of the Eastern Turki language I transcribed many of the songs sung by the beggars and wandering musicians. There is no more difficult task in a foreign language, and it was only with the invaluable assistance of Murad Qari that I was able to puzzle out and translate the words; Qari himself was more than once at fault, for some of the verses are very old and the singers themselves could not always explain them. The "Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung" is of Kashgari origin, and my favourite quatrain, "My white hawk hath flown from my hand," would seem from its reference to the hills of Besh Karim, to be the work of an Artush bard. But it was at Yarkand, Khotan and—of all places—Polu, high up among the wild gorges of the Kunlun south of Keriya, a few miles from the lofty northern rim of Tibet, that Qari and I found our best "bits." It was most surprising to find a strain of true poetry in so remote a place as Polu. At a feast I gave in the house of the *yuz-bashi* (headman), a simple affair of tea, bread and boiled sheep, with a singsong to follow, there was a thin-faced lad with a great sheepskin cap who twanged his guitar like a master and sang verses of his own composition which would have done credit to the shepherds of Arcadia or Sicily of old. The material I collected may be divided into songs of poverty and exile, love-songs, comic ditties and popular snatches of various kinds, and ballads. Here are some specimens, with a Turki original in each class to show the verse-form:

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(A) Songs of Poverty and Exile

(1)

Ātam surse, ānam surse, "Yuraidur" danglār
"Kungle ghamda, kuze yāshda yiglaidur" danglār.

If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say "He is distraught."
Say "His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears."
Say "He weeps for you."

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(2)

The choughs are among the mountain-tops
  The torrents flow through the foot-hills;
Poverty has left its mark upon me.
  Where are my father and my mother?

(3)

The road to Andijan is sandy,
  None has e'er put sickle to it;
We are two poor brothers,
  None was e'er so poor as we.

(4)

My horse is gone from before me,
  My whip is no more at my side.
E'en though this be my native land
  Poverty is come upon me.

(B) Love-songs

(5)

Rabābimning dastasi	The neck of my guitar is painted like a partridge
Keklik-qāshi, yilān-bāshi;	And like a snake's head inlaid;
Izd'sām tapilmaedur	But search where I may I cannot find
Sikilak jawān qalam-qāshi.	My Love of the curls and the pencilled eyebrows.

(6)

The cocks are crowing to each other:
  Surely it is the dawn?
At the street-corner men are weeping to one another:
  Surely a famous Lady is dead?

(7)

Is there a pea within the twanging,
  Twanging of my lute?
Is there a stone within the breast
  Of her who sets me afire?

(8)

I became a butterfly, I flew away,
  I came to thy garden of flowers.
Though my stature be so tiny
  I am afire with love for my mistress.

(9)

So great is my love for my dear one,
  E'en though I planted it, it could grow no taller;
So fair is the river of my tears,
  If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied.

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(10)

Altunda chilim bolse	Let my pipe be of gold
Marwārid kuze bolse	Let its eyes be of pearl [1]
Bir chaksām tamākungnī,	Let me smoke but one puff of thy tobacco,
Kuyah ute adā bolse	The fire that consumes me would be appeased.

(11)

Behind my back the banks of my canal are broken,
No one can keep them from falling;
This mistress of mine is a mischievous mistress,
No one knows what she will do next.

(12)

Oh that I had a samovar!
I would have tea ready boiling,
And while she drank but one cup
My Love would sport with me awhile.

(13)

My white hawk hath sped from my hand
To the hills of Besh Karim;
Howsoe'er I lure her, she will not come back to my luring,
She hath flown to the Gârden of Paradise.[2]

(C) Miscellaneous

(14)

If I would have a red rose blooming
I must not pluck it in the bud;
If I want not to fall in love
I must not stay in this city.

(15)

Fine white cloth, fine red cloth,
Fine cloth dyed all colours;
No word is there of the lads that are gone
And all the maids are sighing.

---

[1] I.e. let it be inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

[2] The white hawk (*toighun*) is very highly prized in Central Asia (see p. 233). Besh Karim, to the north-east of Kashgar, is the most fertile and picturesque district of the oasis.

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(16)

Taqdir-ullah tāghni yeratde
Tāghni yeratde;
Tāgh-ārasini qaranghu dep
Aini yeratde.

Almighty God created the mountains, the mountains;
Then because it was dark in the depths of the mountains, He created the moon.

(17)

If I sow maize upon a mountain-top,
"I'll scatter to the winds," it says;
If I take a sweetheart from a far country,
"I'll throw you o'er," she says.

(18)

A fearful tiger lying on the path
Can keep even a lion at bay;
He upon whom has fallen his father's curse
Can go no further on life's way.

(19)

(Refrain)

Keling, yārim, kullawalilé — Come, my Beloved, laugh with me,
Khursand bolup oinawalilé: — Let us dance and happy be.

Some of the rhymes about particular towns are amusing; Keriya, for instance, has a reputation for gallantry:

(20)

On my right hand are ten rings,
The stones are false, only the hoops are true;
Of ten pretty things the lads of Keriya say
Only one is true.

(21)

Aqsu halalāre simiz, surun yerni khalaidur;
Keriya balalāre yaman, ch'ailik yarni khalaidur.

Aqsu kine are fat kine, they love a luscious meadow;
Keriya lads are bad lads, they love a pretty woman.

(D) Ballads

These are sung (never written) either in the tripping eight-syllable metre of "Hiawatha," or in rhyming quatrains. They are composed by anonymous minstrels on passing events of importance; no one, I was told, seemed ever to know who had

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composed a particular ballad. Of those sung in quatrains the following stanzas are typical; they concern the murder of a British subject called Qadir Haji at Karghalik in 1910:

(22)

Āla ātning ālasi	Like a piebald mare
Sungachida balasi	(That has lost) the foal at her side,
Qushuq qushup yighlaidur	Weeps and wails, lamenting
Qādir Hājimning ānasi.	The mother of my Qadir Haji.
Āq almaning chichake,	White buds were on the apple-tree,
Nimalār bolde pichake?	What has become of the blossom?
Yollda tushup qālipdur	On the highway where it fell
Qādir Hājimning tilpake.	Lies the cap of my Qadir Haji.

Some of the ballads are comic, as for example a short one I heard at Khotan beginning delightfully:

Mulla Tokhta 'kam Unbāshi
Kirde bazargha Mingbāshi.

(23)

THE SAD STORY OF MULLA TOKHTA AND THE FARTHING'S WORTH OF TRIPE

Brother Mulla Tokhta, headman of our village,
Swaggered into market as if he were the Mayor.[1]
He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a halfpenny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the beggar in the stomach.
(Mulla Tokhta) walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said "Let's have a feed," and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away.

The best ballad I got was a Kashgar one which appears to be the latter part of a long epic dealing with the exploits and death of Said Nochi, a famous "Gangung" or brigand and popular hero of Kashgaria in the early years of the present century. Owing to his popularity the Chinese did not dare to arrest him openly and send him to Kashgar to be dealt with by the Tao Tai, for fear of his being rescued by his friends on the way. The lines literally translated below describe the

[1] *Mingbashi* means literally "headman of a thousand families," and *unbashi* "headman of ten families."

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stratagem by which they inveigled him to Kashgar and the manner of his end. The minstrel who sang it began with a quaint prologue consisting of a quatrain of the "Songs of Poverty" type, followed by another quatrain in a different metre in praise of Kashgar. The ballad itself is in the same metre as "Mullah Tokhta 'kam."

(24)

The Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung

(Prologue)

I am twenty-six years old,
Poverty has fallen upon my head:
To whom shall I tell my story?
To my dear one, my brother.
Of ninety-nine thousand cities
Is Kashgar the queen,
Kashgar is the city
Whence Said Nochi Gangung came

* * * * *

Said Akhun[1] went away,
Six months he travelled from city to city,
Twenty-five cities did he visit.
Then came he to Old Turfan[2]
At its famous shrine.[3] (5)
Forty days he kept the Fast of Silence.
On the forty-first day,
Having completed his Silence,
He returned whence he had come.
Then he came to Uch Turfan. (10)
As he was sitting in a tea-house there[4]
Magistrate Wang happened to see him.
"Oho, Nochi, Said Gangung,
Five hundred soldiers have I here,
Be captain over them, I pray thee. (15)
Ninety-five taels monthly pay
And thy rations will I give thee."
When he had finished speaking
Said Akhun, whom men call Gangung,
Answered and said "So be it." (20)
In the city called Uch Turfan
Of five hundred soldiers
Became he commander and took up his abode.

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[1] "*Akhun*" in Kashgaria is practically equivalent to "Mr." or "Sir."

[2] An ancient town situated in a depression below sea-level, 100 miles S.E. of Urumchi; so called at Kashgar to distinguish it from Uch Turfan.

[3] Literally "like the Ashāb ul Kahf," which, I believe, is a famous shrine in one of the Holy Cities.

[4] Literally, "at the samovar," because all tea-shops use them.

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In the city called Uch Turfan
Fifty months he sojourned.[1] (25)
When the fifty months were over
Magistrate Wang summoned him.
"Oho, Gangung. Said Nochi,
Since thou camest to this city
Fifty months have passed and gone, (30)
And no high office hast thou held.
I will give thee a sealed letter;[2]
This paper take with thee (sc. to Kashgar)
And give it to the Tao Tai.
Of one of the four gates (35)
He will appoint thee Captain."
When his enemy had spoken thus
(Said Nochi took) his own death-warrant[3]
And fastened it in his waistband.
At the time of evening prayer (40)
Brought he it to Kashgar city.
When he came to Kashgar city
To his mother's house he went
And knocked upon the door.
His mother, prudent woman, (45)
Opened the door and came out.
Seeing Said Akhun,
She asked him how he fared;
"O my son, Sait Gangung,
I have been separated from thee (50)
These fifty months past.
After all these fifty months
If thou'lt stay one night with me
I shall attain my heart's desire."
When his mother said these words (55)
He stayed one night with her.
On the morrow at dawn's first light
He sought out Mamat Khan
Expounded to him the matter;
Then went they out to Hazrat Apak (60)
And on a couch by the big lake
Were sitting at a tea-house.
Suddenly came four men-at-arms;
"Oho Gangung Sait Nochi
The Lord Tao Tai summons thee." (65)
When he heard the words, Lord Tao Tai
He leapt up in his place.
"God's will be done," he said.[4]

---

[1] "Fifty months" is used vaguely to express a long interval of time.

[2] The Sino-Turki word *yudan* is used; it means a written order from a magistrate or high official.

[3] Note the "tragic irony" in the best Greek Tragedy style.

[4] *Alhukm'ullah*, the words prescribed by the Qur'an to be said on the point of death. Tragic irony again.

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When he came before the Lord Tao Tai (70)
He said his say, word by word,[1]
Made deep obeisance and sat down.
They placed a cup of tea before him.
When he had drunk the Chinese tea
He unfastened his waist-band (75)
Took out the death-warrant and gave it (to the Tao Tai).
When (Nochi) gave him the death-warrant
The Tao Tai took and read it
And bowed down his head.
Looking closely at Said Akhun, (80)
He gave order to fire a salute of one gun
And spoke as follows:
" O Nochi Said Gangung
If thou hadst stayed in Kashgar [2]
And hadst disported thyself like a red rose-bud (85)
Thou needest never have gone to that city (Uch Turfan)
Nor stayed there until thou brought me
Thine own death-warrant. (90)
Now, O Gangung Said Nochi
Thou hast brought thine own death-warrant to me.
The names of seven Lords are upon it,
It is sealed with the seal of office. (95)
Tell me, dost thou believe in the Power of God? "
When the Tao Tai asked this question
(Nochi replied) " O Amban, Lord Amban,
This is indeed an order of the Government;
I believe in the Power of God; (100)
Whatever thou hast to do this day, do it."
When he had spoken, the Lord Tao Tai
Ordered his carriage to be made ready,
Ordered a waggon to be brought;
A salute of nine guns was fired. (105)
Sait Akhun went off in the waggon
Five thousand men followed after him.
When he came to the city gate
Six executioners passed before him.
" Oho Nochi Said Gangung (110)
Shall we shoot thee from in front
Or shall we shoot thee from behind?"
" Shoot me from behind," he said.
The Chief of the Six Executioners
Fired but one shot. (115)
From this world to the next
With God's name on his lips journeyed Said Nochi.

The following is a selection from a number of proverbs and popular sayings I came across while studying the Eastern

[1] The meaning of the Turki line is doubtful. It may refer to his ceremonial greetings to the Tao Tai.

[2] The next seven lines are extremely involved and I have been obliged to paraphrase somewhat.

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Turki language. I was interested to find scarcely any of them identical with the Persian proverbs I had collected at Kerman, in spite of the strong Persian influence in the language. What is still more remarkable, however, is the fact that only two of them (Nos. 4 and 16) correspond with proverbs current in modern Turkey; this, at any rate, is what I found on examination of that most exhaustive collection of Osmanli Turkish popular sayings, "Osmanische Sprichwörter"[1]

Proverbs and Popular Sayings

(1) *Ishak mīnmagan ādam ishak mīnip ulturedur.*
When a man who has never been on a donkey gets one to ride, he kills it. (Cf. "beggars on horseback").

(2) *Ishak khotake minmaganlār emde minār tai*
Arpabadiān ichmaganlār emde ichār chai.
Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea. (Nouveaux riches.)

(3) *Mushukni bir ishgha buiradem, mushuk quruqini buirade.*
I gave an order to the cat, and the cat gave it to its tail. (Refers to a habit of Oriental servants of passing an order from one to another right down through the household, with the result that the thing never gets done.)

(4) *Haiwān-ning a'lasi tashida, insān-ning a'lasi ichida.*
A beast's spots are on the outside, a man's on the inside. (Cf. the Osmanli Turkish proverb *haiwan a'lasi tishinda, insan a'lasi ichinda.*)

(5) *Tūgening qosaqe āchse, yentaq-qa boinini uzutedur.*
When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush.

(6) *Yithān mālning sape altun.*
The whip that's lost always had a golden handle.

(7) *Bai baigha, su saigha.*
The rich stand by the rich as the stream seeks the desert.

(8) *Hunjur marjān tāsh ihen* Jewels and coral are but stones
Arpa puchāq āsh ihen. Barley and beans make soup.
(i.e. riches are no use to a man who is lost in the desert.)

(9) *Abdāl yamānlase, khurjingha ziyān.*
If a beggar loses his temper, it is his pouch that suffers. (Cf. the Persian proverb *qahr-i-darvish ru-y-i-darvish*, "the wrath of a beggar is on his own head." For the Abdals, see Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 242.

(10) *Hawaning guldúre bar, yamghúre yoq*
Buwaning āchiqe bar, maqdūre yoq.
If the wind roars, there'll be no rain;
If an old man storms, he storms impotently.

(11) *Bermās qizning nirkhe ustun.*
The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high.

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[1] "K. K. Orientalische Akademie," Wien, 1865.

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539 (12) *Oghre birnima tapalmase, uzining tilpakini oghurla'edur.*
When a thief can't find anything else, he steals his own cap.

(13) *Puli-barning gepe ong, puli-yoqning gepe tong.*
A rich man's word is always right, a poor man's talk is always silly.

(14) *Az yegan un yer, ʃik yegan bir yer.*
He who eats sparingly eats ten times, he who eats too much eats once.
(i.e., he gets ill and in the long run eats less than the other.)

(15) *Ustun bāqip tukursang, yānip chushūr yuzung-ga.*
If you spit up into the air, it will fall back upon your face.
(i.e. don't bandy words with a low fellow or you will get worse than you give.) The Osmanli Turkish proverb is *Ruzgâra tukurān yuzina tukurur.*

(16) *Sui-bar ja'ida ut yoq*
Uti-bar ja'ida su yoq
Hawa salqin pasha yoq
Ata birlan āna yoq.
At the camping-place where there's water, there's no grazing; where there's grazing, there's no water; where there are no mosquitoes, the wind is bitter; when you've got your father, your mother isn't there.
(Cf. "Never the time and the place and the loved one all together.")

(17) *Ishak-ga taghārni ebarmang*
Don't send the load after the donkey (sc. bring the donkey back to the load—" putting the cart before the horse").

(18) *Khurūs waqtni ma'lūm qeladur, manzilni ishak.*
The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting-place is (by braying).

(19) *Bar baqir, yoq altun.*
Where there's copper, there's no gold.
(i.e. a man is either gold all through, or copper all through.)

(20) *Ādam uttuz, Khuda toqquz.*
Man says thirty, God says nine (Man proposes . . .).

(21) *Ishengan tāghda kik yatmās.*
The mountain-goat does not lurk among frequented mountains.
(i.e. if a thing is worth getting, you have to go far afield and take trouble to get it.)

(22) *Qūsh qanātin, ār ātin.*
The eagle has his wings, the man his horse.

(23) *Buyerda tukhe-sutdin bilak hama nersa tapaledur.*
You can get anything here except chicken's milk (said of a very fertile country).

(24) *Man aldurāiman ketghalé, ishakim aldurāidur yatghalé.*
I am in a hurry to go on, my donkey is in a hurry to lie down.
(one man's meat is another man's poison).

(25) *Ishak hangraghān ja'igha barmang.*
Don't go where the donkey brays (if you want to avoid your fellows; in Chinese Turkistan, where there are people there are donkeys and where there are donkeys there are people).

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The most curious and amusing piece of popular lore I came across was a quaint litany which I took down at Khotan. The refrain *Panah berghil Khudayim* means, almost literally, "Good Lord, deliver us" and there must be some echo of Christianity in it; but whether it dates back to the Nestorian Church which flourished in these parts between the 7th and 14th centuries, or whether it is of more recent origin, it is difficult to say.

A Khotan Litany

Yollgha tushgan patikdin
Tinjip qalgan qatikdin
Panah berghil, Khudayim.

From quicksands on the road
From curds that have gone bad
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the thorny branch of the wild apricot
From the old of womankind
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the nose-bag of a stallion (i.e. from being within reach of his teeth),
From a wife who has taken to thieving
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the hard clods of a salt plain (because they hurt when they hit you),
From the hard words of an old wife
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a horse that trots with his tail straight out behind him,
From a policeman who arrests you without a warrant
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a learned man without manners,
From a hen that is perpetually clucking
Good Lord, deliver us.

From rats in the hay-loft,
From a child-bride who runs away back to her parents
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a threshing-floor with nothing to thresh on it,
From a guest who comes just at harvest-time
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the weirs of Daraskal (because they are so slippery that you fall in if you try to cross the canal by them),
From the pencilled eyebrows of a woman
Good Lord, deliver us.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XIV

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS OF HEAVEN

487 IN the autumn of 1923 we carried out a tour to which we had long looked forward, north-eastward along the southern slopes of the Tien Shan to Uch Turfan, Aqsu and beyond, returning by the ordinary plains route *viâ* the Tarim River valley and the Maralbashi jungles.

Our way at first led for 220 miles through the outer ranges of the Tien Shan to the frontier town of Uch Turfan. We were not so fortunate as usual in our transport, for all that the Aqsaqal of Kashgar could raise for us was a mixed lot of inferior ponies and donkeys in charge of a lazy and inefficient boy of fourteen, the son of the real carrier who ought to have come with us. Leaving Kashgar on September 2, D. and I accompanied by Murad Qari rode 54 miles across the rich lands of Besh Karim and a strip of desert to the Kalta Yailaq oasis, near the north edge of which we found our tents pitched. It was a hot day, and the march was the longest we ever did. According to our usual time-saving custom we had sent the caravan ahead the day before; the orderly in charge had gone seven miles beyond the appointed camping-place, so that it was nearly eleven o'clock at night before we got in.

Two days later we crossed a low pass among the barren foot-hills north of Sughun Qaraul; the summit is marked by a grim shrine called Allahyar Beg, consisting of little but a post decorated with the skull and backbone of a donkey and the cap of a man who had once died there. We saw few travellers on the road, and those mostly traders in grain and local cotton cloth between Uch Turfan and Kashgar. One evening I talked with a young man of Artush whom we overtook. He had four donkeys with him, on which he told me he was taking flour up into the mountains to trade with the Kirghiz for sheep. He did this two or three times in the year, he said,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

IN THE YANGI ART JILGHA, TIEN SHAN MOUNTAINS

[Face p. 218]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 and went all over the mountains. He seemed a good type of youth, sturdy, cheerful and independent.

133 The Yai Dōbe plain, on which we now debouched, is a small but perfect example of the inland drainage basins characteristic of Central Asia. Situated at an average elevation of 5,000 feet, it is some 60 miles long by 15-20 broad and is enclosed on the north by one of the parallel ranges of the Tien Shan with peaks up to 13,000 feet, on the south and east by foothills rising to 8,000 feet. It has no outlet, but boasts its own miniature Lop Nor in the shape of a salt lake near its south-eastern corner. Like the *hāmūns* of Persian Baluchistan and Sistan, this lake varies in size according to the rainfall in the mountains, from practically nothing to a sheet of water 40 or 50 square miles in area. The rest of the Yai Dōbe plian is partly barren, partly covered with tamarisks and a sparse forest of desert poplar. Some of these trees attain a great age and size; they are not in the least like poplars, resembling rather the British oak. Here and there in the forest are springs of fresh or slightly brackish water, each with farmsteads or Kirghiz tents in the vicinity. In the spring and autumn the woodland is delightful, but in summer the mosquitos and gadflies for which both it and the Maralbashi jungles to the south are notorious make it uninhabitable by man or beast.

487 For fifty miles we marched across this curious plain. On September 5 we passed out of the desert-poplar forest and camped the same evening at the springs of Yairam Bulak. Here two families of Kirghiz had pitched their *aq-ois* near a couple of tiny crofts shaded by willows, landmarks [574] for miles in the great sweep of bare plain. We liked the Kirghiz of these hills and got on well with them, but we could not help noticing that they were less hospitable than their cousins of our beloved "Alps of Qungur." They never asked us into their *aq-ois*, nor did they seem to regard us guests as the others (often quite embarassingly) did. It struck me that there might be two reasons for this. In the first place, living on the Russian border, they are at once less secure and more sophisticated. In the second, a trade route much used by Turki merchants passes through their territory; these men, I was told, were in the habit of taking supplies whenever they 609 could and not paying for them. But the Tien Shan Kirghiz 487 could be friendly enough when once their confidence had been gained. The ladies of Yairam Bulak crowded round D., whose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly
609 impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus
[651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1¼*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

[312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next
487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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sent up it to look for water came back saying that there was none for "two potais" (5 miles), only a spring high up among the mountains which they could not reach. I was not inclined to reload and toil many miles farther up the valley to the next halting-place, so I thought I would have a look myself. Half a mile up the side-glen the soil was damp, and a little farther I came upon a string of tiny pools. The flow was almost imperceptible, and a few yards further on the soil was again dry. But it was enough; we filled our buckets with sweet water, at the rate of about one per hour, and the animals were all watered by midnight. Evidently the Kirghiz (who were particularly shy at this place) had misled our servants and concealed the existence of the spring for fear lest we should drink up all the water and perhaps foul the supply.

Our next camp was a pleasant one, at Qaragor Kul ten thousand feet up among the very tops of the gently-rounded grey-green hills. Here there are no springs at all; a certain amount of rain falls, judging by the grass which covers the land, but there must be something in the geological structure which prevents the formation of springs. On the other hand there are several shallow basins in which the rain-water collects; the Kirghiz camp with their herds of ponies and flocks of sheep and goats beside one of these rain-ponds until they have drunk it dry, when they pass on to another. Qaragor and its neighbourhood lie within the jurisdiction of the Amban of Kelpin two marches to the south, an interesting place well off the beaten track which I would have liked to visit had there been time.

Next day we crossed two passes and descended a long glen, past patches of our first Tien Shan firs, to the wide valley of the Taushkan ("Hare") River. This stream, the main confluent of the Qum Ariq, which it joins close to Aqsu, breaks through from Semirechian territory, where it is known as the Kokshal. Its broad reaches and the snow-clad Tien Shan on its northern bank made a series of fine vistas for our delectation on the two marches to Uch Turfan. The soil of the valley is rich, and we passed through a series of picturesque villages, Somtash and Safarbai, Kok Oinak and Tusma, growing several kinds of root-crops, grain and lucerne, in the intervals between rocky ridges across which our under-sized pack animals scrambled wearily.

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Uch Turfan which we reached on 11th September is a small town charmingly situated among groves of planes and tall

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cypress-like poplars. A chain of curiously abrupt, craggy hills juts out from the black fantastically-fretted mountains of the Kelpin district, half-way across the broad valley. On an isolated spur of these, close to the town, is an old Chinese castle, still kept up and occupied by a small garrison; for Uch Turfan is a frontier post of some strategic importance, commanding the high and difficult but much-used Bedal Pass leading across the Tien Shan from Semirechia. The country 241 round Uch Turfan is closely cultivated, the soil being, if possible, 361 even more fertile than that of the great oases of the south. Here there are no villages, nothing but countless farms standing on their own "small holdings," with fields well laid out between rows of tall poplars and many timber-trees shading the farms. From the summit of one of the abrupt hills mentioned above the view on a clear autumn day is superb. At one's feet, gardens and vineyards, melon-fields and tobacco-plantations; in the middle distance, the town with its massive walls embowered in greenery, watched over by the old castle on its crag; all around, miles and miles of fields and trees and farmsteads in rich mosaic, almost perfectly flat, with rocky hills like islands rising out of the sea of green and autumn gold; in the background, from west right round to north-east, the Mountains of Heaven in full array, furrowed deep with glens and rising in the north to Pelion piled on Ossa of eternal snow; to the south and south-west, the fantastic dark-brown and black peaks and crags of the Kelpin mountains, tier beyond tier, each a little hazier and more mysterious than the last.

300 I dined one day with the Amban and other officials in the gardens of Toqquz Bulak ("Nine Springs"), a Chinese pleasaunce famous throughout Sinkiang. The springs from which the place takes its name gush from the foot of one of the rocky hills near the town; there are well-tended gardens round them and a square pond lined with willows, into the midst of which juts a wooden pier. Anchored at the end of the pier, surprisingly, is a houseboat of the regular Thames or Kashmir type, containing a room fitted up as a dining-room with a kitchen and pantry off it; above, to complete the illusion, awnings and chairs and flowers in pots. One dines either in the houseboat or, if it is warm, in a summer-house on a ledge of the cliff above the pond. The Magistrate who entertained me, a Chinese Mussulman whom we were to meet again at a dramatic moment before we left Kashgar,[1] was a great horti-

[1] See pp. 264–5.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

culturist and his beds of dahlias and chrysanthemums were a sight to behold; altogether, I found the gardens of Toqquz Bulak worthy of their reputation. One of the other guests, the Tungling or Commandant of the infantry, was of a type quite new to me. Tall, stooping, cadaverous, with bushes of hair sticking out all over his face, he looked remarkably un-Chinese and odd in his Celestial costume. When he addressed me in perfect Turki I was still further puzzled, and at the first opportunity I asked him who he was. He told me that he was a "Wangzada[1]" or direct descendant of the native princes of Kucha, called in Chinese Wangs or "dukes." It was the Wangs of Kucha, he told me with obvious pride, who had been mainly instrumental in destroying the power of the Chinese in Southern Sinkiang in 1863-4 when the Tungans revolted in Kansu; Yakub Beg had come afterwards and had turned the Wangs out when they were weakened by their struggle with the Chinese. When the Celestials returned in 1876 and regained the province from Yakub Beg they took over the lands of the former ruling family, but granted them "political pensions" (as we should call them in India) in lieu of their lost dominions and offered them posts in the Army and Civil Service. Several of the younger Wangzadas, including my friend's father, accepted service under the Chinese Government, which entailed adoption of Chinese customs and dress as well as language; on his death many years ago his son had inherited the pension, 200 taels a month, and the command of a regiment of infantry. It was interesting to me, as a member of the Indian Political Department, to have an opportunity of comparing the methods of the Chinese and Indian Governments in their treatment of deposed native ruling families.

In spite of his curious appearance, "rather like a cross between a Skye terrier and one of the Minor Prophets" as I irreverently described him in a letter home, the Tungling was a well-bred and intelligent old gentleman, and I enjoyed my talk with him. I heard afterwards that he was held in great respect by the Turki population, who always called him "Khojam." The commandant of the Cavalry was a man of a very different type. He was a Chinaman, but a bad specimen of his race, sensual and repulsive. He showed a certain *naïveté*, however, which caused me no little amusement. By

[1] *Zāda* is a Persian suffix meaning "born from," cf. *shahzāda* (pronounced *shahzda*) "prince."

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mistake I failed to call on him at first, but rectified the omission after some broad hints. He surprised me in the middle of my call, *à propos* of something quite different, by asking me if I ate pork. I said I did sometimes, whereupon he proceeded to explain that he had some very good pork in his larder and would have liked to give a dinner-party in my honour, but could not have pork on the table if the other two officers were invited as one of them was a Chinese Mussulman and the other a Kucha Turki. As he could not offend the two latter by asking me without them, he thought he had better solve the problem by not having a dinner-party at all. Again, he explained that he would have sent round plenty of lucerne and grain for my horses, but he had heard that Ma Darin had already done so, and had therefore denied himself the pleasure.

It was at this time that I finally and reluctantly gave up a hope I had long entertained, of being able to make a dash across the Muzart Pass into the Ili district of Northern Sinkiang. The glory of Ili or Dzungaria is the Tekes Valley, considered by some to contain the finest Alpine scenery in all High Asia. This great valley—it is 200 miles long by 70 broad—is also a sportsman's paradise. Besides bears and leopards and such ordinary game, it is the haunt of the Asiatic wapiti, the biggest stag in the world; of *Ovis karelini*, a wild sheep practically indistinguishable from *Ovis poli* in size and shape of its mighty horns; and last but not least of the biggest ibex in the world.[1] Small wonder, then, that we longed to cast prudence to the winds and knock at the "windy gate of Dzungaria." It could not be. The Muzart Pass takes a week to cross and is 11,450 feet high, an elevation equivalent in the Central Tien Shan to about 16,000 feet in the Himalayas. Owing to its uncertain climate and heavy precipitation, it is only open from July to November; moreover, it is defended by at least one bad glacier, and there are several difficult places. To have only three weeks clear in Ili, I would have had to add at least a month and a half to my already long tour-programme. The Kashgar Vice-Consulate had just been "axed" on the departure of Harding in July, and I found myself unexpectedly single-handed, with no British officer—no Britisher at all, in fact—within a month's journey. Even if there had been sufficient official business to justify a tour in Ili, which there

[1] In 1925 Mr. Kermit Roosevelt picked up in the Tien Shan an ibex head measuring, I believe, 67 inches.

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was not, I could not remain away for four months, nor cut myself off from headquarters by a distance entailing four weeks' hard travelling.

To console ourselves for the abandonment of the Ili trip, we decided when I had finished my work at Uch Turfan to pay a visit to one of the steeply-pitched valleys of the Tien Shan to the north of the town. The Yangi Art Jilgha, in or near which we spent a week, had been explored by Merzbacher in 1903, but not, so far as I knew, visited since. It proved shorter and narrower and its fir-woods smaller than I had been led to expect, but the scenery was wild and grand, with ice-clad peaks towering to heights of 17,000 and 18,000 feet all round. We were surprised to find a Chinese military post consisting of the usual N.C.O. and seven or eight opium-sodden *chiriks* (soldiers) at the mouth of the main gorge. It appeared that the pass at the head of the valley, though very difficult and seldom free from ice, was used by opium-smugglers as an alternative to the Bedal Pass further to the west. The opium of "Karakol" (the native name for the Przhevalsk district of south-eastern Semirechia) though inferior to the fine product of Afghanistan, fetches a good price in Aqsu, where the Chinese authorities are no more successful in preventing its sale than they are in Yarkand. I may mention here that neither the Amban nor anyone else in Uch Turfan believed for a moment that I had gone up the Yangi Art to shoot ibex. It was the thinnest story they had heard for a long time. There were two theories as to the object of our trip. One was that I was nosing out opium scandals with a view to reporting the goings-on of Chinese frontier officials to the League of Nations. The other was that I had arranged a meeting on the top of the pass with the commander of Bolshevik forces in "Karakol," with a view to a joint Russo-British invasion of Chinese Turkistan! The bazaar held the latter theory, but the Chinese official world evidently inclined to the former, as we soon found out. The night we arrived at the Yangi Art post the N.C.O. in command brought me a letter he had received by the hand of the yamen runner who accompanied us; it was in Turki, which nobody at the post could read any more than they could their own language, so they appealed to us for help. The gist of the order was that the "foreign consul" and his party had gone up into the mountains to catch opium-runners, and that he, the commandant, must watch their every movement and on no account allow any smugglers to fall into

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their hands! I had little difficulty in persuading the poor N.C.O. that he need not "shadow" me, promising him I would report to his superior officer that he had done his duty faithfully, after which the detachment not only gave us no trouble but helped us to the best of their ability.

It was delightful finding ourselves among fir-woods and glaciers and alpine meadows once more, and we thoroughly enjoyed the few days we spent up the valley. D. baked scones and puff pastry on the grassy banks of ice-cold torrents, doctored the few inhabitants and, twenty-bore in hand, chased the elusive hill-partridge up minor precipices in charge of Sangi Khan. As for me, I spent breathless hours after ibex on dizzy crags four or five thousand feet above our camp, accompanied only by a capable young Kirghiz shikari I had picked up, the image of a sturdy Scottish laddie of his class. Three days we spent finding the herd, and then I had only one day in which to get my shot, for I had to limit myself strictly as regards time. It was grand sport, that last day, though it ended sadly. By ten o'clock we were 12,000 feet up, and within a mile or so of the Russian frontier, hot on the tracks of the herd. Then suddenly, on rounding a difficult corner or which concealment was impossible, we saw them—and they us. Off they went up the cliffs, and a minute later they were in sanctuary far above our heads. The rest of the day, except for a chilly hour for lunch, we spent traversing the mountain-face, mostly pitched at an angle of 60°, with a view to approaching by a wide détour the evening feeding-grounds of the ibex. They did not come down till nearly sunset, and it was past six before I got my one chance. Seven fine bucks with heads measuring perhaps 45–50 inches—not to be compared with the monsters of the Tekes Valley or the Altai, but bigger than anything I had got before. Within thirty yards of them I crawled on a horrible ledge—and then my rifle missed fire. Twice it clicked sluggishly, then unexpectedly went off; I, of course, in my agitation missed. There was no time for another shot—within a fraction of a second the herd were over the edge of the eyrie on which they had been browsing. Scrambling forward I just caught sight of them bounding thirty yards in their stride down the breakneck couloir far below. Afterwards a friend of mine, a mighty hunter, explained to me how it had happened. "Did you clean the oil off your bolt before the shoot?" he asked. "No? You *were* a mutt. You ought to have known better.

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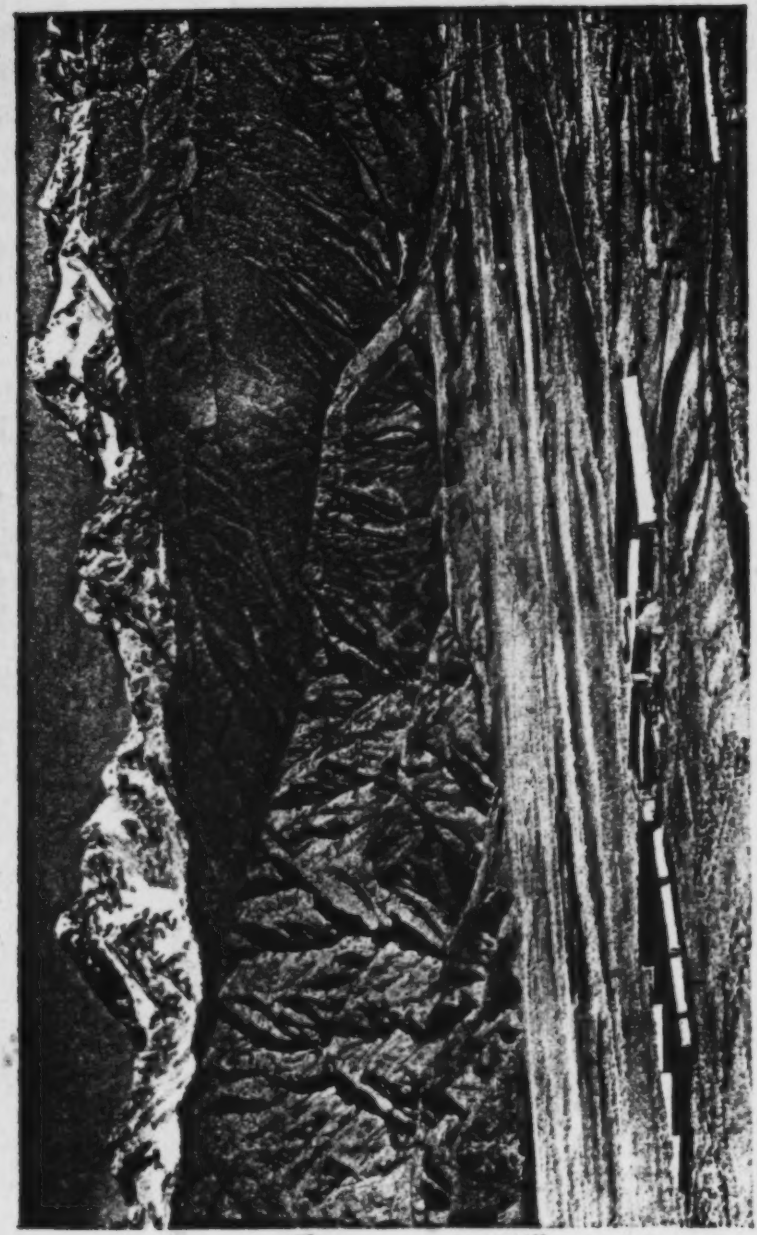

SHEEP-FARM OF YETIM DÖBE, CENTRAL TIEN SHAN

[Face p. 226]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 Sunset in September 12,000 feet up—must have been freezing hard. Of course the oil froze and clogged your bolt. Wonder the rifle went off at all."

563 We were surprised to find a family of "Sarts" or ordinary Turkis sharing this small valley[1] with the Kirghiz. Coming 233 down from the ibex-ground one day I overtook them trekking down from their summer grazings, a pretty sight. On the opposite side of the stream a lean-visaged Sart shepherded a couple of hundred sheep and goats up an almost perpendicular cliff and along narrow ledges literally overhanging the torrent; this was necessary because the current was too strong for short-legged muttons to cross. Behind, a quaint procession came filing down the track and splashed across the stream; half a dozen mares with their foals, a man and two boys perched on masses of bedding on top of ponies, a neat smiling Sart woman with her baby and another man leading a camel piled high with the framework and felts of the family mansion.

484 Descending to the plains once more, we camped two glorious days on wide meadows near the long yellow loess bluffs of the Taushkan River. A hundred and fifty miles of the snowy Mountains of Heaven sparkled in the sky to west and north and north-east of us. It was advisable to give the baggage ponies (we had hired new ones at Uch Turfan) and our own animals a day or two in clover before the next lap of our journey; for we were to march 164 miles across the southern face of the Central Tien Shan and down the lower Muzart Valley to Bai on the Kucha road.

000 We were sorry to leave the Uch Turfan neighbourhood and the lovely valley of the "Hare River." We found the people delightful and quite unspoilt, especially the women. The latter, poor dears, seemed to be even more at a discount than at Kashgar; not one in five appeared to have a husband to herself, and they complained bitterly to D. of their hard lot. They came in streams to our camp among the meadows to "salaam" D. and beg medicines for blind, crippled, tuberculous and otherwise incurable relations. And not one of them came empty-handed. All tried to pay D. for her medicine or advice in peaches, eggs, melons, cream, corn-cobs or some such agricultural product. And when she not only made them take back most of their "widow's mites" but distributed (as she always did wherever we went) little presents of buttons, imitation jewellery, safety-pins, pieces of muslin, beads and

1 [The Yangi Art Jilga — Analyst]

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the like, their astonishment and gratitude were pathetic. As one of them exclaimed to D. on receipt of some buttons worth about an eighth of a penny "There's never been anyone like you this way before!"

487 On 28th September we struck camp once more and marched 35 miles over alternate oasis and desert to the right bank of the Qum Ariq River. Here we found ourselves in some of the most fertile country I have ever seen; it was the Beg of Taghak near by who, when I asked him whether I could get any maize, replied—"In this country, Sahib, you can get any thing you like except chicken's milk." Meanwhile the hateful dust-haze of the Tarim Basin had closed down once more and swallowed everything up. Though we crossed the Qum Ariq River close to the mouth of the tremendous unexplored gorge by which it cuts its way through the Central Tien Shan, we could not see it nor the Savaktai and other magnificent peaks to the north. Knowing however, that in October the haze would not last long, we possessed our souls in patience. Following a route roughly parallel to that taken by Stein in 1908 we pitched our tents at a wild spot called Ileklik on the Pakalik stream, about 25 miles north of Aqsu. Here and at Chigan Kotan, 5 miles to the north-east, I spent three or four days trying without success to get a shot at one of the wild sheep, smaller than *Ovis karelini* and apparently a separate variety, which inhabit the barren plateaux north of Aqsu. All this time the haze persisted. Then, on the very day we started on the last four marches to Bai, it cleared up and the magnificent snows of the Central Tien Shan revealed themselves in all their glory.

What interested me most, apart from immense unmapped peaks and the vision of at least one glacier comparable in size with those of the Karakoram, was the belt of fir-forest which stretched along the whole length of the range at a height of about 8,000 feet. I could see that there was a zone of Alpine country several miles deep between the arid foothills and grassy uplands we were traversing and the snow-line of the main range. I noticed that the fir-forest never grew on the south side of the ridges, each of which showed merely a line of trees along its crest where the forest clothing its north slope ended abruptly.

It was tantalizing to see this wonderful country and not be able to explore it. If we had known sooner what it was like, it might have been possible to do something. But it was

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late in the season and snow lay over all the alpine zone; moreover, the Begs of Pakalik and Tarlak, mountain villages to the north of us inhabited not by Kirghiz but by "Sarts," were not helpful. They evidently did not want us in their country and took as little trouble on our behalf as they could. I find a bitter entry in my diary on the subject, which I quote for the benefit of future travellers in this region.

"Here, the one object of the Begs is to save themselves the trouble of finding you supplies and guides, even though you pay liberally for everything. They will tell you any lie and subject you to any inconvenience or disappointment to save themselves a little trouble. In this country, never listen to what the Beg says about the best place to camp at—always choose your own place, and camp where convenient to *you*. If they want you to go on "just another potai," beyond a pleasant camping-ground, late in the evening, *don't*. If you are shooting and have found game, and they want you to move somewhere else where there is more game, *don't*. The only people you can at all rely on in this country are the Kirghiz, and even they are not as trustworthy as those of the Qaratash Valley."

The Beg of Pakalik finally distinguished himself by not only failing to find us a guide but himself deserting us some miles east of Chigan Kotan. There was not a sign of human life as far as the eye could reach in any direction, and we had to steer by the sun and such landmarks as I could identify in Stein's map. In the afternoon we struck the Terang stream for which I had been making, but there was not a habitation to be seen, nor any grass. We were just making up our minds to a desert camp without food for man or beast, when some one caught sight of a solitary man on a camel in the far distance, riding southwards. By great good luck he turned out to be a camel-herd in the employ of an old Andijani merchant of Aqsu called Abdus Sattar Haji, of whom I had heard as a well-wisher of the Consulate. The boy said that the nearest habitation was his master's place at Yetim Dōbe up among the mountains to the north, and there he brought us safely after another seven hours' steady marching. We should certainly never have found the way without a guide; for about five miles the path wound and twisted in a labyrinth of steep-sided red clay hills and then crossed a stiff little pass called the Jigda Bulak Dawan. I had a careful watch kept on the lad the whole way, for he was as lazy as every one else in that country and did not

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487 want to guide us, though I gave him money and promised him more. Once I thought he had given us the slip among the gorges of the red hills, but we found him again. It was half past eight and pitch dark before our ears were at last greeted by the welcome sound of dogs barking, and a few minutes later we were warming ourselves at a roaring coal fire in a cosy room at the Haji's farm. The old man himself was not there, but his sons welcomed us most kindly and feasted our men royally on mutton and maize bread.

Next morning the air was clearer than ever, and we realized how attractive was the country into which we had stumbled blindly, as it were, the night before. The ranch—for the place corresponded somewhat to my idea of a South American *estancia*—lay in the midst of an immense sweep of grassy upland, above which to the north rose snow-clad ridges fringed with firs. That day's march, from Yetim Dōbe to Qizil Bulak near the foot of the Muzart Pass, was one of the most enjoyable I have ever performed. Our guide, one of the 137 Haji's sons, led us over one little pass after another, in and out of charming green valleys, some inhabited, others not, some clothed only with wild rose and barberry, others dotted with clumps of trees resplendent in gorgeous autumn tints, orange, russet, gold and scarlet. We lunched contentedly off cold partridge sandwiches and cake under a clump of desert poplars in the middle of a hay-field perched up on a hill-side opposite the snows; a picturesque Sart woman gathered wisps of mown hay near by and loaded them on a quaint wheel-less bullock-cart. She was not in the least shy, and exchanged 136 remarks with us the while. On this and the following day we enjoyed such sport after small game as I had never known before. I was accustomed in the mountains to the south of Kashgar to getting as many red-legged partridge on the march as I liked, with a few sand-grouse, pigeons and perhaps a duck or two thrown in; but never had I found myself in such a small-game shooter's paradise as the southern valleys of the Central Tien Shan. Without straying a hundred yards from the road I shot (1) red-legged partridge, (2) *sisi*, a kind of very small and succulent partridge common in Baluchistan and Persia, but not seen by us elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, (3) sand-grouse, (4) teal, (5) hares, (6) blue pigeons, besides which I missed an easy chance at a pair of those fine birds (7) imperial sandgrouse. I may mention here that on this tour altogether we came across no less than fourteen different

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kinds of small game, and that without going off the road. Besides the seven enumerated above, we saw, either in the mountains or in the jungles of the Tarim River valley, the following: (8) Shaw's pheasant, (9) duck, including mallard pintail, gadwall, golden-eye, and red-crested pochard, (10) snipe, (11) woodcock, (12) geese, (13) plover, (14) Tibetan snow-cock. Of these I shot specimens of all except woodcock and Tibetan snow-cock. The former we saw at Maralbashi flying through a garden; the latter I came across in large numbers at 11,000–12,000 feet while stalking ibex up the Yangi Art Jilgha.

Of many pictures that live in our memory of that delightful march, perhaps the most vivid is of the shrine of Qara-sakal Atam, "My Father Blackbeard." It is situated in the loveliest little glen imaginable. A limpid stream plashes down through open meadows from the fir-clad ridges of the Central Tien Shan, until it joins the main valley through a narrow neck between two backbones of reddish rock. Just above this neck is a coppice of fine old mountain ashes and desert poplars enclosing a glade of smooth turf and a bubbling spring. Barberry bushes, now a mass of carmine berries, and the brilliant orange-yellow of the trees in their autumn finery blend perfectly with the rich russets and ochres of the surrounding rocks; looking northwards, the grassy steppe sweeps right up to the distant forest above which again tower the snow-clad Mountains of Heaven. Father Blackbeard's shrine is only a bunch of sticks, festooned with votive rags and embellished with the horns of wild sheep; but whoever he was and whenever he lived, he is marked as having been a saint of taste—for did he not choose the most beautiful spot in all the Tien Shan to be his hermitage?

Two long but easy marches down the open and partially-cultivated valley of the Muzart River brought us to the small town of Bai on the Aqsu-Kucha road. Here we found the Mir Munshi awaiting us; he had come out from Kashgar to help me with my work at Bai and Aqsu. We stayed four days at the roomy Chinese rest-house at Bai, most of which I spent interviewing various British subjects from Kucha, three marches further on. The town, which is the headquarters of a third-class Magistrate, is an undistinguished Sleepy Hollow of a place, populated by Turkis and Chinese Muhammadan Tungans in the proportion of about three to one. It was our first experience of the latter race *en masse*, and we were

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not favourably impressed. For Asiatics—I do not judge them by our lower Western standards—most of the Tungans we saw were remarkably bad-mannered. Whenever either of us tried to buy anything in the bazaars, either at Bai or at the New City of Aqsu, great louts of Tungans would stand round and exchange what were obviously comments on our appearance and behaviour, bursting every now and again into loud guffaws. We were not very sorry to leave Bai, though we greatly regretted that time did not permit of a visit to the far more interesting and important town of Kucha.

The 107 miles *viâ* Abad to Aqsu Old City occupied five days. Our first halt was at the flourishing village of Yaka Ariq on the right bank of the Muzart River. The main road for the next 50 miles lies almost entirely over barren and uninteresting country, so we left it and made due westwards for the curious red hills of Abad, among which I had hopes of another chance at the wild sheep. Camping for the night at Ilkache, the last oasis of the Muzart Valley cultivation, I rose before dawn and spent a long morning scouring the hills, but saw only several herds of antelope. Meanwhile D. and the caravan struck camp at a more reasonable hour and marched to a low pass among the hills appropriately named the Topa Dawan or "Dusty Pass," where I met them at midday. It was here that we made a new and most picturesque acquaintance, the Kirghiz headman of Qara Bulaq, Hushur Beg. As I approached the "Dusty Pass" I saw the solitary figure of a man on a horse standing on the crest of a ridge. This proved on closer inspection to be a youngish Kirghiz with a high-cheek-boned, weather-beaten face, mounted on a shaggy little Kalmuck pony. On his right wrist, which was protected by a large white fleece gauntlet and supported on the saddle by a wooden prop, he carried a magnificent hooded *qara qush* or black hunting-eagle. This bird, I afterwards found, measured three feet from beak to tail and over seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip; it was a dull black in colour, with a ruff of rust-coloured feathers, yellow claws, black beak with yellow base and fine red-brown eyes. From the near side of Hushur Beg's saddle dangled an object which puzzled me at first; it proved to be the lure with which he attracted the bird back from wandering, and consisted of a large ball made of skin from the heads of antelopes. The Beg turned out to be a thoroughly good type of man and a real sportsman, very different from the lazy and untrustworthy "Taghliks" of Pakalik and Tarlak.

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A KIRGHIZ BEG OF THE TIEN SHAN, WITH HIS HUNTING EAGLE

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622 He was passionately fond of hawking and "eagling," if one
224 may coin the word; he used hawks for hares and other small game, eagles for antelopes and sometimes wolves. He told me he would not part with his favourite *qara qush* for a hundred taels, though it was very fierce and had more than once clawed him when hungry and rashly unhooded. I noticed that he held the string attached to its hood in his teeth, and that after unhooding it for a moment so that I could take a photograph of the two of them, he put the hood on again at once with his bridle hand. He pointed out to me the precipitous red sandstone cliffs above Abad where it had been netted as a fledgeling.

He also told me about his hawks, among which he prized most a white one from the Altai. All over Central Asia these white hawks,[1] which are exceedingly difficult to get, are highly prized, though their performances are not, I believe, in any way superior to those of ordinary falcons. They are occasionally brought from Ili to the Aqsu market, where they fetch from fifty to a hundred taels or more. Almost every year the Mehtar (Chief) of Chitral, the Mir of Nagar or some such potentate from the Indian frontier sends men up to Kashgar to try and buy a white hawk; as often as not the messenger returns empty-handed.

361 Three days later we marched through the narrow and dirty but picturesque wood-and-mud-brick bazaars of Old Aqsu to the charming house and garden outside the western gate
000 which had been placed at our disposal. We were pleased to find that our host was the same Haji whose ranch at Yetim Döbe had been such a haven of refuge to us in the Tien Shan. Buried in trees, just far enough from the town to escape its noise and dust, the country house of Abdus Sattar Haji was a pleasant place indeed. A couple of hundred yards to the north ran the long line of perpendicular loess cliffs, forty or fifty feet high, which bound the city of Aqsu on the north and east and evidently mark an ancient channel of the Qum Ariq River. Under the level rays of the setting sun the place gave the impression of a marvellous piece of theatrical scene-painting; the tall white stems of the poplars and the rainbow-tinted autumn foliage blended perfectly with the warm grey-brown tones of the "drop-scene" of cliff in the background, and with the entirely mediæval walls and massive gates and bastions of the town.

[1] *Hierofalco altaiensis*, Turki *toighun*.

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133 But the most curious feature of Old Aqsu appeared next day, when I found my way up one of the winding gullies of the loess bluffs. It is the extraordinary contrast between the two levels, between the land rendered fertile by irrigation from the Qum-Ariq below and the *sai* or gravel desert above. Below, as far as the eye can reach, stretches a rich, heavily-timbered champaign dotted with farms and seamed with irrigation-channels; five minutes' climb up one of the many clefts in the bluff, and you come out on to an absolutely empty desert. Except on those few days when the strangely-corrugated foot-hills and possibly the soaring ice-fields and glaciers of the Tien Shan appear like a vision in the north, half the circle of the horizon is a complete blank, without a bush or a mound to break its perfect smoothness. It is hard to believe that a few minutes ago you were in the midst of a landscape worthy of the brush of Constable or Corot. Some years ago an ambitious Amban sought to gain promotion by bringing a large area of this *sai* under cultivation to the south-east of the Old City. He spent 60,000 taels and much forced labour on deep canals and reservoirs and the construction of a small town of buildings connected with the new water-works. Everything was done with the utmost thoroughness and the scheme was most successful, except that the water would not flow along the canals, which had therefore to be abandoned. To this day the remains of the buildings and waterworks line the road to New Aqsu, clogged with drifts of fine loess dust and dwarfed to insignificance by the immense sweep of the desert behind them.

764 In Mussulman countries the dead are not as a rule buried in earth that might support the living, and here[1] too the uncultivable (because unirrigable) cliff-tops above the town are covered with domed tombs in seemingly countless myriads. A City of the Dead, in fact, with streets, squares and boulevards complete, overlooks the City of the Living as a perpetual *memento mori*. Looking up from the streets of the town, the domes of the cemeteries crown the bluffs at every point save one; only at the north-west end of the town the ruins of "Amir" Yakub Beg Bedaulat's fortress on one cliff and of his hospital on another, break the serried ranks of the
600 tombs. Bedaulat, knowing no doubt that his day would not last for ever, built his citadel of unbaked brick, and little is left of it though it was abandoned but fifty years ago. The place used to be easily accessible to sight-seers, but the only

1 [in old Aqsu -- Author]

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two paths which led to the top were blocked up some time ago by the Chinese. It is still possible, however, to gain the citadel, if you know how. On the town side a wave of mud-and-wattle houses surges up to within twelve or fifteen feet of the top of the bluff, and by trespassing on the owners and obtaining permission to use their roofs, it is possible to scramble from one rickety hut-roof to another and so reach the foot of a steep flight of steps cut in the clay. The "Garden of Bedaulat" is a table about fifty acres in extent almost entirely covered with the remains of mud-brick buildings and enclosures. The highest ground is occupied by the erstwhile "Amir's" palace; below it is a flat rectangular area which contained the court-houses, treasury and other official buildings, and the gardens. It is pathetic to trace faintly the lines of the flower-beds and lawns, and of the water-channels which fed them, now but a dead-white, clayey "blanc of Nature's works expung'd and ras'd."

From the bastion above what used to be the lock-up in the west corner of the fortress one looks across a little valley filled with trees and houses to the Golden Shrine, a lovely blue-tiled *mazar* standing among tombs and trees on another "table-mountain" of loess. Beyond it again a further promontory of cliff carries the picturesque Hospital of Bedaulat, which is in better repair than his other buildings because the Chinese still used it as an ordnance store for a time; my efforts to visit this place, whence the best view of all Aqsu is to be had, were of no avail.

Of all our glimpses of the varied life of Old Aqsu, Chinese and Turki, native and foreign, perhaps the funniest was a visit which D. paid to the home of an ancient Hindu *bunnia* (trader and money-lender) from Shikarpur in Sind who had lived in Old Aqsu for many years. His joy and pride at the arrival of his *mai-bap* (mother and father, i.e. ourselves) were intense and he constituted himself D.'s guide round the bazaars. In the course of their perambulations he took D. to his own home, a single small room in a *serai* where he lived with his portly Turki wife. The old lady evidently had not expected so distinguished a visitor, for she was in *déshabille*, engaged in cooking her lord's dinner. Portions of strange foods were hurled into a corner and D. was seated on a rug with a cup of tepid tea; then, making her lean old husband squat on the floor between herself and D., Mrs. Bunnia without further ado took off her kitchen clothes behind this very insufficient screen

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and emerged later with her portly form arrayed in a new white muslin dress and a green striped jacket. D. had as much difficulty in not witnessing her hostess' toilet as she had in keeping a straight face while making polite conversation to her host.

The fertility of the soil and the cheapness of living in Aqsu district are amazing. Agricultural labour costs 2½*d.* *per diem*, and the price of land is on an average less than a quarter of that at Kashgar. A *jing* (20 lbs.) of maize costs 4*d.*–5*d.*, wheat 6*d.* and rice 7*d.* Fruit and vegetables are as plentiful and cheap as the cereals. The grapes we had were the finest I have ever tasted; the two best kinds were an enormous "lady's finger" and a smaller seedless grape with a rose-red flush on it, sweet and strongly-flavoured. The former, which sold at 2½*d.* for a bunch weighing 1½ lbs., were so big that I took one at random from a bunch and measured it; its circumference lengthways was four inches, round the "waist" two and a third. In a field close to Abdus Sattar Haji's house I was astonished to find one day about half an acre of ground literally carpeted with fine melons; on inquiry I was told that there were 15,000 there, and that they were the larger part—not the whole—of the crop raised by a cultivating lessee of some of the Haji's land. The man told me afterwards that he had paid 100 taels (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*) rent for the land and water and had spent 80 taels (£10 13*s.* 4*d.*) on seed, labour, etc. He had already sold 5,000 in the Aqsu bazaar, and expected to retail the whole 20,000 at an average price which worked out at slightly less than a penny apiece, netting approximately 360 taels or 200 per cent. on his outlay! It must be confessed, however, that we found the Aqsu melons inferior to those of Kashgar, though succulent enough according to our English ideas. They had nothing at Aqsu to compare with the ambrosial "Beshak Shirin" of Kashgar.

The garden near the New City to which we moved on 23rd October belonged to the Russian Aqsaqal, another Andijani merchant; it contained an even finer show of fruit and flowers than Abdus Sattar Haji's. There were two immense pergolas measuring together about a hundred yards under which one strolled and munched the above-mentioned rose-pink seedless grapes almost without the trouble of putting one's hand up. The Tao Tai of Aqsu Circle[1] and other officials

[1] This includes Uch Turfan, Bai, Kucha, Shahyar, Bugur and other districts of the lower Tarim River valley with its tributaries, but not Maralbashi, which is in the Kashgar Taoyinship.

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THE CITY OF THE DEAD, OLD AQSU

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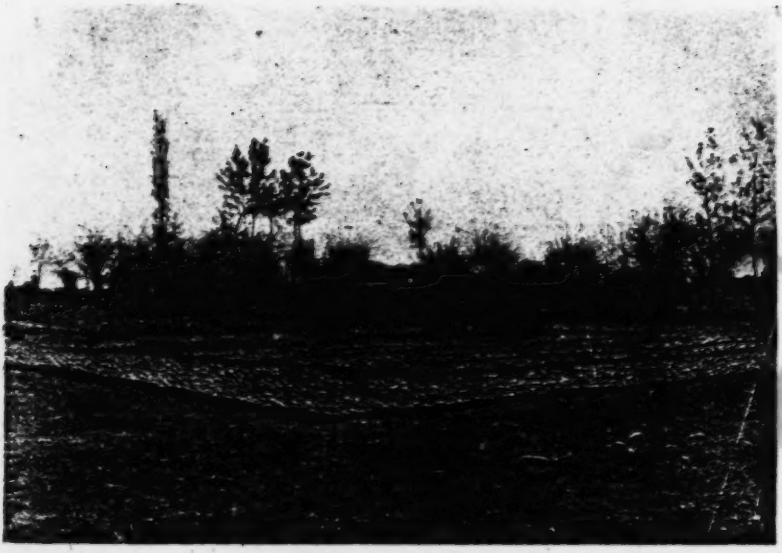

AN AQSU SMALL-HOLDER'S MELON-CROP; 15,000 MELONS READY FOR MARKET

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were most friendly and hospitable, so that we felt quite at home in the so-called New City, which looked as if it dated at least from T'ang times. The bazaars were not as picturesque and interesting as those of the Turki town and were too full of Tungans to be pleasant, but the environs of the New City and the shady banks of the winding Qum Ariq were a continual delight.

A favourite haunt was the Chinese (Taoist) temple of the God of the White Cloud. It is not an old place, but its shady grove and quiet courtyards are wonderfully pleasant and peaceful. It was founded by a bygone Commandant of the Aqsu garrison and was repaired, improved and endowed a generation ago by a devout Tao Tai called Peng. The God of the White Cloud communicates with his followers, or did so until recently, by means of divine writing, which curiously enough used to be done by a sort of planchette. I was shown this by the friendly custodian of the shrine. It consists of a wooden board with one leg only, the place of the second and third legs of the planchette being taken by handles which are held on each side by the mediums. There is also a large square wooden tray on which is sprinkled the sacred sand in which the planchette writes, and big high-backed uncomfortable-looking chairs on which the God and his divine associates sit, invisible, at the séances. Facsimiles of the God's writings hang on the walls; it was pointed out to me that the strength of many strokes was more than mortal, and certainly the piety of the sentiments translated to me from them was unexceptionable. It is a most unfortunate coincidence that since the departure twelve years ago of the two Tientsin merchants who acted as mediums, the God has vouchsafed no calligraphic messages to his flock. It would appear, indeed, as if he had no flock nowadays, for no worshipper seems ever to visit the temple except on the official holy days, when by order of the Governor the Taoyin and other officials attend service; only the old priest potters about, dusting a joss-stick tray here and a painted-cloth lamp there, clanging the temple bell and beating the great drum at the appointed times and occasionally, with loving reverence, changing the written prayers in the frames which stand before the god. The courtyards are grass-grown, but clean; the little square garden behind the temple is a tangle of vines and thick undergrowth of poplar, but the two picturesque wooden pavilions it conceals are in good repair and the shrines in them are care-

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346 771 fully tended; the "guest-room" off the middle courtyard is crudely decorated with aniline-dyed embroideries and rugs, but it is always kept ready for the mighty Visitor who never comes.

Though it is unfrequented, though it represents a dead faith, the shrine of the God of the White Cloud at Aqsu is an abode of peace and reverence, very different from the filthy, tawdry travesty of a temple which is all that Kashgar can boast.

* * * * *

Our farewell to Aqsu was perhaps the most trying and, in retrospect, comic of all our "public" departures from Central Asian towns. By way of acknowledgment of the hospitality we had received, I somewhat rashly presented the Tao Tai with a fine Wiltshire ham which had lately arrived from England. This put the coping-stone on our popularity, and word went round among the officials that we were to be "seen off" in proper Chinese style. Seeing a person off in China apparently means turning up to tea on the morning of his departure and delaying his start as long as you can. Next morning at 9.30, just as I was superintending the loading of our ten new baggage-ponies, a yamen runner arrived with the news that his master the Amban was coming to call. In vain my protests—two minutes later enter the Amban with the usual herd of Begs, interpreters, policemen and hangers-on of all kinds. D. leapt out of the back window just in time, with instructions from me to see the rest of the ponies loaded and escape when she could; I said I would follow as quickly as possible. Tea and cakes were produced from somewhere (by the gardener, I think), and I sat down to an hour's chat with the Amban. Half an hour later the ponies were all loaded and D. was just pushing them off down the narrow lane which led to the main road; suddenly, more cries and clatterings, a fanfare of bugles and the Tao Tai with a following twice as big as the Amban's came charging up the lane. A stampede ensued; half the loads came off, the ponies mixed themselves up in each other's ropes and the courtyard became Pandemonium let loose. Smiling blandly, the Tao Tai passed through it unscathed in the midst of his henchmen and added himself to my tea-party within. It took D. and the servants another half-hour to restore order and refix the loads; then off they started down the lane once more. As they did so, another Chinese cart swung into it at the other end, followed

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by a troop of cavalry at a smart amble; it was the Commandant of the Garrison, also coming to see me off. The carriers tried to turn the ponies back, but D.'s patience had long been exhausted and she would have none of it; urged by her cries the ponies and our mounted servants charged down the lane and after a short tussle bore back the Commandant's carriage, escort and all, out into the dusty high-road. Fortunately the gallant officer was too much under the influence of opium to be quite aware of what was happening; fortunately also, no other dignitaries came to see me off and I escaped an hour later after the most cordial adieux.

D. had quite recovered her equanimity when I caught her up after a sharp ten miles' canter. She had been lucky enough to witness a most picturesque spectacle on the road. A caravan of some two hundred camels carrying raw wool from Kucha to Kashgar happened to leave Aqsu the same morning as ourselves and to be crossing the Qum Ariq River just as D. overtook it. The huge, shaggy animals with their bulky loads were tied in strings of eight, each string as usual led by a man on a donkey [1] and the whole caravan chiming with a regular carillon of bells. At the ford the Qum Ariq runs in four broad channels of varying depth; it was as good as a play, D. said, to watch the strings of camels, each guided by a yelling carrier perched on the top of the leading animal's load, zigzagging painfully across one channel after another. The donkeys, cool and sensible as ever (nobody who has travelled in the Lands of the Sun makes the mistake of thinking the donkey a stupid animal) swam across by themselves without fuss, while the big fierce-looking Kalmuck watch-dogs barked furiously as they splashed around. To complete the picture, three big Chinese travelling carts coming from Maralbashi with a minor official and his household on board met the camels in mid-stream and made confusion worse confounded. I had a talk with the carriers later in the day. They told me that the wool belonged to Kucha sheep-farmers; the camels came from the Bai district, and had been hired at the rate of 8 taels (21*s.* 4*d.*) each; fifty days had been allowed them under the terms of their contract for the whole journey,

[1] Mongolian and "Bactrian" camels travel more steadily if they are led by a pony or donkey; the latter animal is more commonly used for the purpose as its pace is practically the same as a camel's. I did not notice this custom in South Persia, where the single-humped Arabian camel is used.

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and they expected to reach Kashgar within a month from Aqsu.

For 112 miles after leaving Aqsu we traversed the perfectly flat plain to the north of the Tarim River jungles, within sight of, though not actually along, the famous "Silk Road" first organized by the Han Emperor Wu-ti in the second century B.C., for the transport of Chinese fabrics to the Far West.[1] At an average interval of 15 miles there are halting places with poky little native serais and sometimes a slightly better Chinese rest-house. Each place has a small bazaar of shanties and stalls in which the people of the settlement, or of the nearest oasis, sell food for man and beast. At Chilan, 57 miles from Aqsu, we found ourselves in Kelpin district again; we noticed here a remarkable improvement in the facial type of the people, the women being remarkably handsome with regular, almost Greek, features.

The two Chinese troopers deputed by the O.C. Aqsu to escort our caravan as far as Maralbashi caused us much innocent amusement. One of them was comparatively bright and helpful; indeed, except for the fact that he could not fire his carbine, the bolt of which was tied on with a red handkerchief, and that he never mounted his horse without the assistance of a wall at least three feet high, he was quite a useful cavalryman. He had obviously never heard a shot fired in anger; whenever I shot a bird in his presence, or even fired my gun, he became wildly excited, laughing and clapping his hands like a child. But he was at any rate alive; his brother in arms, on the other hand, was the most miserable, opium-sodden wretch I ever saw, even in the Titai's army. We stood him as long as we could, for the sake of the O.C. Aqsu's "face," but the limit was reached the night we came to Yaka Kuduk. The march from Chilan was a moderately long one, and D. and I cantered ahead in the afternoon so as to arrive before dark, expecting the caravan to come in about seven o'clock. To our discomfort, it did not arrive till half-past eight. We questioned Hafiz. "Sahib," he replied, with an apologetic grin, "it was the opium-smoking *chirik*. Last night he finished all the opium he brought with him, and this afternoon he asked us for some. We had none, and he became very angry. Just after sunset he fell off his horse, and we

[1] The Chinese military road ran along the foot of the Kelpin Tagh a few miles to the north-west of the present route (Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 427).

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had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

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and all but one of his men from thirst, and was with within an ace of perishing himself.

I was interested in the shepherds who lived at the cottage. There were three brothers with their families, the men being in the employ of one of the Maralbashi Begs, Abid Beg. For herding and shearing their master's sheep they received one fleece in ten; out of this wool they made ropes and sacking which they bartered at Maralbashi for flour and cloth. They also trapped foxes and netted fish, which in this river are large and quite good eating. Finally, they grew melons, of which they sold more than they ate. The soil, being salt, was good for melons but for no other crop. The three brothers had at first formed a joint family, but had afterwards ceased to do so owing to quarrels. They continued to live together at the farm, but whereas formerly they had owned three cocks in common, now each family owned one cock, and so on.

487 Recrossing the Tarim on 7th November we marched to Maralbashi, camping on the way at the foot of the highest and boldest of the miniature mountain-ranges of the district, the Mazar Tagh. Outside the town we were received most kindly by our friend the Russian-speaking Amban whom we had met at Merket, Chiu Da-heng. We stayed in the garden of the British Aqsaqal, a venerable Chitrali merchant; here pheasants came to feed every morning and woodcock flitted among the trees, for the charm of Maralbashi is in the proximity of the Tarim jungle, the wild life of which hems it in on all sides. Near by the dying Kashgar River flowed sluggishly, its waters destined to be spent in cultivation ere ever they could join the Tarim. On its bank stood a charming little tiled and whitewashed mausoleum built by our host in memory of his father.

136 We were guests at the Yamen more than once, and there had an opportunity of studying at close quarters some fine specimens Mr. Chiu kept of the peculiar swamp deer of the country. The stag we saw was distinctly larger than the average Scottish red deer and its horns were longer, smoother and more slender; its snout was long with a narrow, thin muzzle. In colour it resembled the red deer, except that its tail was light brown instead of dark. The hind was also bigger than her Scottish counterpart. There was also a fawn, a delightful, little animal with a thick, dark brown coat.

For the five marches between Maralbashi and Kashgar (145 miles) we were lucky in having perfect weather. The

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THE

only incident worthy of mention was a most exciting wild-pig shoot which we had at Ordeklik among the thick tamarisk jungles. Half the village came out on foot or horseback, accompanied by dogs, and carrying bludgeons made of tamarisk shoots with heads the size of cricket-balls carved out of the root of the bush. I made them drive a long stretch of jungle and was lucky enough to secure with my rifle an enormous pig, on the succulent hams of which we and the entire Russian colony at Kashgar afterwards feasted. The pigs do a great deal of damage to the crops of the Ordeklik people, who hunt them with their dogs and clubs most pluckily.

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During the "Indian summer" of mid-November in Central Asia the clearness of the air is extraordinary. From Lungkor, half-way to Kashgar, we saw plainly the snows of the Qungur range, more than 120 miles away, rising above the south-western horizon like icebergs from the desert sea. Though we reached Kashgar as late as 16th November, it was still pleasantly warm, nor was there any sign of ice on the marsh-lakes; yet a fortnight later the land was in the grip of winter and the ice on the lakes was a foot thick.

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CHAPTER XV

UNDER THE NORTHERN RIM OF TIBET

IN the spring of 1924 official business along the south-eastern road once more demanded my personal attention. Leaving Kashgar on 1st March and spending a busy fortnight at Yarkand, we reached Keriya on 12th April after short halts at Posgam, Karghalik, Goma and Khotan. On the way home we broke new ground between Keriya and Khotan and again between Khotan and Karghalik; but on the outward journey we used the same direct caravan route which we had already twice traversed, and I will therefore confine myself as far as Keriya to a few passages from diaries and letters.

Yarkand, 7th March, 1924.

On the wide grassy plain south of Yangi Hissar this morning we overtook a caravan of camels carrying Tashkend sugar and Baku oil from Kashgar to Khotan. They were fine shaggy brutes and as impressive as camels always are when you see them in long strings filing across the wide spaces of the earth. But what marked this caravan among all I have ever seen—or heard—was its music. Never was there such a carillon of bells as that which rose to heaven from this slow-moving train of unmusical-looking antediluvians. There were loud bells and soft bells, big clanging bells and little bubbling bells, high-pitched bells and low booming bells and cracked bells, double bells one inside the other, copper bells from Kashgar and iron bells from Toqsun far along the road to Mongolia. Some of these latter have as clappers—what do you think? Camels' bones. I bought one the other day as a curiosity. There is something grimly pathetic about the idea of camels padding week after week, month after month, across Asia with the bones of their predecessors tinkling in the bells at their necks.

We had a really brilliant day for our "triumphal entry" into Yarkand with about a hundred British subjects of all kinds and religions mounted on more or less unmanageable ponies behind us. Yarkand as a whole took the utmost interest in our arrival, for it had been rumoured that we had gone back to India and that a former incumbent of the post had returned. I was amused to hear a woman in the bazaar say to a friend as I rode past *Bulturki Consul shu* (This is last year's Consul).

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10th March.

The new Commandant of the Yarkand garrison is of a type that is new to me, for unlike all the officials I have met hitherto he is a native of Sinkiang, though pure Chinese. His forebears, he tells me, have been in the military service of the Urumchi Government for six generations, i.e. ever since the last reconquest but one, in 1758. Incidentally, he is about as un-martial-looking a person as can be imagined; but he has had quite a varied and interesting career none the less. He has been to Manchuria and Moscow; he has been on expeditions against brigands in wild Kansu; he was once staff officer to a general who was banished to Sinkiang for implication in the Boxer rising. But perhaps his most unusual job was when he and two other "wei-yuans" (officers on special duty) were detailed to take 500 Kalmuck horses from Urumchi to Peking as a present to the great Yuan Shih-kai. I asked him whether the whole number arrived safely after the 2,000-mile journey, mostly across the desert? "Oh, we lost a lot," he replied, "but we had a big margin and delivered the 500 all right." I thought of the Hami melons they used to send to the Emperors, and reflected how the methods of the Chinese resemble natural processes in their disregard of waste.

11th March.

Last night the missionaries and ourselves were the guests of ex-Taoyin Chu at a Chinese dinner-and-theatre party at the Tientsin merchants' club. In China you do not go to the theatre after dinner, as we do; the theatre comes to you during it. A large courtyard had been roofed over with cloth for the occasion; on one side was a temporary stage, on the other a dinner-table set for about twenty persons. The place was filled to overflowing with hordes of Chinese attendants, clerks, interpreters, soldiers, policemen and bottlewashers of all kinds, behind whom crowded Turki hangers-on, street-urchins and other sight-seers. Several delicious children of Chinese guests were present; the prettiest was an exquisitely made-up little girl dressed in embroidered red silk with a wonderful ornament in her hair consisting of a butterfly in jewelled enamel and bright green Yunnan jade, with a quivering aigrette of fine gold wire spraying downwards from it. There was also a tiny boy dressed like a miniature mandarin in a fur-lined black satin jacket and black silk skirt, surmounted by an absurd green Homburg hat, who planted himself solidly in the middle of the narrow open space between our table and the stage and stared solemnly at the players for a long time. His back view was that of an exceptionally fat Amban about two feet high, one of the funniest sights I have seen for a long time.

For nearly six hours we sat at the big table while course after course of a full-length Chinese dinner came and went, and a travelling company of Chihli actors performed play after play opposite us. Except for its inordinate length, the entertainment was quite an enjoyable one, and most interesting. On the Chinese stage all the parts are taken by males; the characters speak in a curious and very ugly kind of falsetto sing-song, the voices of the "actresses" differing from those of the actors only in being shriller and more strident. In the classical plays, which form the majority of the repertoire, the chief

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personages, Emperors, Courtiers, Generals and the like, wear magnificent embroidered cloaks surmounted by vast fantastic head-dresses and masks. A feature of some of the pieces was the acrobatic dancing. The evolutions performed by the acrobats and the speed of their movements on the small and crowded stage, especially in the battle-scenes, astonished us. The most extraordinary dance was that of four very stout Generals in one of the old war-plays. They came on wearing wonderful cloaks, masks and enormous pagoda-like erections on their heads, at the back of which rose a kind of trophy of four small flags. These vast grotesque figures danced like two-year-olds, the flags behind their heads waving wildly in the breeze. Their ordinary walk, too, was inexpressibly comic; it was a kind of goose-step, and every now and again for no apparent reason they would stand for several seconds on one leg with the other held out horizontally in front of them, toes upright, the body perfectly straight and leaning well *forward*. How they could stand up at all in such a position was a mystery; they must have had some sort of Little Tich shoe-attachment, cleverly concealed.

At these "command" performances it is customary for the actor-manager to put on plays from his repertoire (they all seemed to be short, about the length of an average curtain-raiser) according to the wishes of the chief guests, who are expected to reward him liberally for the compliment. A long red paper scroll is brought round inscribed with the names of the plays, from which you choose your fancy. We foreign guests had, of course, to rely on the Consulate interpreter, C., to tell us the titles of the plays; D. and I chose classical war-pieces, Mrs. L., of the Swedish Church Mission, one about brigands which she thought would be exciting. It was, but not quite in the way she expected. It proved to be highly improper—the only improper play we had the whole evening, and also, I am sorry to say, the most popular. The "gallery," of course, thought that the foreign lady had chosen it on purpose. They approved highly of her taste and kept looking round at her with delighted grins to make sure that she did not miss any of the points, especially during what was apparently a most realistic imitation by the leading "lady" of a Chinese nautch-dance. What made matters worse was that C., who is immensely proud of his command of the language, in spite of furious winks and head-shakes from me, insisted on explaining in a loud voice exactly what was happening and which of the female characters were no better than they should be. It was most embarrassing and we were all covered with confusion.

Another of the "classical" plays, which was also about brigands but not in the least *risqué*, had the following plot. Robbers kidnap the Governor of a province, and a band of public-spirited citizens determine to rescue him by means of a ruse. Dressing up as a troupe of actors in full rig, with swords and clubs concealed under their costumes, they drive in carriages through the mountains in which the brigands have their fastness. The carriages and horses are represented by an amusing convention; the occupant of the "carriage" holds a pole horizontally in each hand by his side, the fore ends of the poles being held by a boy who prances in front of him representing the horse, the rear ends by a much-padded "coachman" who walks sedately behind. This gives much scope for comic relief; the "horse" jibs

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KASHGARI FISHERMEN AT WORK IN A CANAL

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ON TOUR IN THE PLAINS; OUR CARTS STARTING OUT FROM A CHINESE REST-HOUSE

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and bolts, the driver falls off the "box" and the carriage upsets. The supposed actors are duly captured and dragged off to the brigands' lair. Here they are made to play and dance for the amusement of the Chief, who is a magnificent sight in his voluminous yellow embroidered robe, huge black and red mask of appalling ferocity and head-dress of immense size and complexity. At the psychological moment the actors throw off their cloaks and draw their weapons; a battle-royal ensues in which the Chief of the Brigands, fighting for his life, lays about him in the most approved style. Eventually the rescue-party defeat the robbers, take their Chief prisoner, and escort the Governor back to his capital in triumph. During the last half-hour of this performance the noise made by the orchestra passed all bounds. The musicians were specially reinforced by men with brass trays and large solid cymbals which they clashed and banged until I, for one, felt as if they were performing directly on my nervous system. D. said afterwards that hers, especially in her feet, was so numbed by cold and the absorption of thirty odd courses of shark's fin, sea-slug, etc., that the noise scarcely affected it. We eventually escaped with difficulty at midnight, having been there since a quarter past six; the theatre was still in full swing and the children were still looking on. Wonderful people, the Chinese.

Zanguya, 30th March.

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Two rather interesting persons were in possession of the rest-house when we arrived and courteously turned out to make room for us. They might be called "Sino-Turkis," for they are Muhammadans of Khotan who for the sake of preferment have adopted Chinese manners, speech and dress. I asked them round to tea and made them tell me all about themselves in their native Turki. One of them said that he had been sent to the Chinese school as a child (doubtless by ambitious parents of the Beg class), and at the age of twenty-five or so had been selected by the Amban of his district (Lop) out of twenty-seven candidates to represent it on the Provincial Council at Urumchi; "Doumalik" he called himself, explaining. The Council or "Douma" of Sinkiang is an advisory body summoned by the Governor, the members of which are theoretically representative of the people, one from each administrative district, but are really nominated by the Ambans; they sit for a fixed term of three years. Our friends had been much impressed by their time at Urumchi and spoke with bated breath of the capital and its ruler; the process of Sinization has evidently been complete. The men impressed me favourably; their manners were perfect and their speech cultivated. One of them in particular, Rajab by name, was most intelligent and looked a thorough gentleman with his neat, short black beard and moustache, black velvet cap trimmed with marten-skin and black satin fur-lined Chinese clothes. He said he was on his way to Karghalik where he had been appointed "Suloya" or chief of police; his friend was going to Goma in a similar capacity.

It seems that Chinese dress is essential for all Turkis who are candidates for Ambanships. But I notice that these men's costume is not purely Chinese; like the designs on Khotan embroidery and carpets, it is a mixture of Mussulman and Chinese. They wear the Turki *tumāq* or cap, as well as the *ōtek* and *kafsh-massi* or Russian

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177 boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis
647 holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

Zawa, 1st April.

487 We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burān*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

Khotan, 7th April.

796 The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

Lop, 8th April.

000 W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

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he explained that he had been cooking our lunch; and an excellent lunch it was, with a minimum of sea-slugs and other atrocities and plenty of well-cooked *pilaus* and roasts. This time owing to an interesting event—the arrival of his ninth daughter—on the very day we came, we were let off both the arrival and departure tea-drinkings, a great concession. Usually as cheerful as could be, W—— greeted me later with a long face and his right hand raised with the forefinger bent in the shape of a hook, which I understand is the Chinese finger-language sign for "nine." He appears to have had a most anxious time about his wife this morning, not so much because she was unconscious for two hours, but because of her fury when she came to and found she had given birth to a ninth daughter, having had no sons.

We have a fellow-traveller in Lop to-night whom I would very much like to meet, only I fear he will be starting very early to-morrow. He is a young man of 22, known as the "Gong Amban" or "Gong Beg." He is the great-grandson of Niaz Hakim Beg, last of the indigenous rulers of Khotan, who like Taj Hakim Beg of Kashgar and Durgah Beg of Yarkand was shorn of his power by the Khoqandi upstart Yakub Beg "Bedaulat" in 1864 and finally reduced to the position of a political pensioner by the Chinese when they came back in 1877. The present Gong Beg, I am told, receives a pension of 400 taels (£46) a month in return for which he is supposed to be always ready to assist the Chinese with a contingent of men in case of need. The interesting thing is that he received orders from Urumchi a short time ago to proceed to Aqsu with five hundred men. The poor boy was horrified, as he has never shot so much as a sparrow in his life and could only find twelve retainers to go to Urumchi with him. As one would expect, he has no influence in Khotan—the Chinese see to that—and all he has been able to do is to raise 5,000 taels from various sources with which to buy himself off at Urumchi. He and his party are not travelling by the usual route along the Khotan River to Shahyar and Kucha, but by the very trying eastern route viâ Cherchen and Lop Nor. I cannot understand why he is doing this, especially with the hot weather coming on. Something is happening in the north, I can't make out what; ex-Taoyin Chu at Yarkand received sudden orders a fortnight ago to proceed at once to Aqsu, and the Pamirs garrison has also suddenly been sent to the same place.

Besh Toghraq Langar, 9th April.

Once more we are in the midst of desert sands. The Khotan oasis never looked so beautiful as it did this morning when we said good-bye to it for a while soon after leaving Lop. The tender mist of spring rested upon fields along the very verge of the dark-grey wastes of gravel desert, pale green where the wheat was sprouting, emerald for the young lucerne. Over the road drooped gracefully the long fronds of the weeping willows, trees which in the Khotan oasis grow to a size undreamed of in England. Tall flame-shaped poplars and the ubiquitous pollarded willow of Kashgaria marked the boundaries of every plot. But we had no eyes for green when on all sides glowed peach-blossom of every shade from rose to delicate shell-pink, set off here and there by the luxuriant foam-white of the quince-orchards. On the trunk of every tree hopped and tapped and peeped at us a

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pretty kind of woodpecker I have not seen elsewhere; it is larger than the English bird and has a scarlet crest, black and white bands on its wings and scarlet again under its body and tail.

Keriya, 13th April.

We had a welcome diversion on the long and rather dreary march between Achma and this place yesterday. In the middle of a belt of sandy steppe 20 miles wide we were suddenly accosted by a weeping peasant woman and her son, a sturdy shepherd boy, who informed us that their hut close by had just been robbed. The father, it appeared, had gone to market, and two thieves had seized the opportunity to come and loot the few pots and pans the poor folk possessed. The lad, who seemed plucky and intelligent, had run after the thieves and thought they had dumped the booty somewhere among the reeds and would come back for it. He pointed out the direction in which they had gone. Without a moment's delay I, my three orderlies, the Beg who accompanied us and his servant charged off helter-skelter across the steppe, spreading fan-wise as we went, while D. and Murad Qari remained on the road comforting the lady. It was bad going and the horses floundered about among dunes and patches of long grass, but before we had gone a mile there was a hurroosh on my right and a view-holloa from Hafiz; two running figures could be seen dodging among the dunes, and off we went after them in full cry. My horse went head over heels in a bad bunker, so that I was not in at the death, but when I came up there were two hulking scoundrels in custody of the Beg. After some prevarication they confessed that they had robbed the poor woman, so we tied their hands and dragged them back to the road where they were duly identified by the delighted boy. At first they refused to say where the booty was, but threats of the Amban's wrath soon prevailed upon them to show us where they had hidden it in the long grass. It was pathetic—a couple of battered copper tea-pots and a small basin, all black with the soot of years, and a dilapidated old blue quilted coat with brass buttons, evidently the absent bread-winner's only change of clothes. We visited the poor woman's home near by, a couple of tiny huts more than half underground and roughly roofed with reeds and turf. Here I photographed the scene and the entire caste, together with the properties, and then the woman fetched us a jug of water from a neighbouring spring by way of hospitality. Poor thing, she could do nothing but weep and quaver "Ashkalla! Ashkall-la!" (thank you) and try to embrace D., whom she evidently looked upon as her deliverer and sole refuge among all the rough men who surrounded her. We took the robbers off with us, trotting at the stirrups of Hafiz and the Beg, and made a present of them to the Amban of Keriya. They turned out to be real bad characters who had been convicted of robbery a year previously and had been punished with a thousand stripes and banishment to Cherchen; it had not been known that they had already found their way back from that remote spot. The Amban, I am sorry to say, did not seem quite as grateful as he might have been. Perhaps it was tactless of us to catch his robbers for him—the preservation of a Chinaman's "face" is a difficult and delicate matter, not to be lightly meddled with by the Western barbarian.

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Boghaz Langar, 17th April.

How we Took the Pelican to the Wilderness.

The pride of the Yamen here is, or rather was until yesterday, a full-grown pelican which was caught straying near the town and presented to the Amban two months ago. Yesterday I somewhat rashly showed an interest in the bird (I had no idea they were found in these parts) and tried to take its photograph, whereupon to my dismay the Amban presented it to me on the spot. I refused and refused, I protested that we were going back through the mountains with pony transport and could not possibly carry the huge bird, but without avail. When a Chinaman really wants to unload a present on you, he is adamant and makes it impossible for you to refuse it without hopelessly blackening his face. Accordingly, the same evening the pelican appeared at our house, escorted by two infantrymen carrying the Amban's red visiting "card."

What on earth were we to do? We could not take the poor beast with us on top of a baggage-pony, nor could we without cruelty to both parties insist on the Mir Munshi taking it with him in his Chinese cart by the main road. At first we thought we would send it with one of our servants on a cart specially hired; accordingly the local carpenter was set furiously to work constructing a strong and roomy wooden cage for him. Then we found that the pelican had to be forcibly fed; he either would not or could not swallow any food, even fresh fish, unless three strong men rammed it down his throat and kept it there by *force majeure*. The Yamen soldiers told us that they had been doing this the whole of the time they had had the bird. They gave us a demonstration, and the process was so unpleasant and so obviously cruel that we decided then and there that the pelican must be returned somehow or other to its proper place—the wilderness. But how to effect this without the Amban hearing of it? We were starting the very next day for Polu and had a 20-mile march in front of us; time was very short. Far into the night we cogitated and schemed, and finally we made our plan. Next morning I sent word to the Amban that I would not be leaving till about noon, as I had work to do; this was to prevent the Amban going out to his farewell tea-drinking too early. I then borrowed the Mir Munshi's cart, swearing him to secrecy, and arranged that the pelican in its cage should be put on it at the same time as the rest of our baggage was loaded up. The cart, in charge of one of the orderlies, Niaz (also sworn to secrecy), would leave with the caravan so as to put the hosts of inquisitive Keriya sightseers off the scent; at the first opportunity it would cut down a side-lane and double back by devious paths until it struck the Cherchen road to the east of the town, where D. and I would meet it. Having found a secluded spot among the marshes two or three miles along the road, we would liberate the pelican and return quietly to Keriya, whence we would make our official departure in due course.

The plan did not work without some alarming hitches in its initial stages. First of all it was found that the cart could not be brought up to the door of the Aqsaqal's house (which is in the middle of the bazaar) because the lane was too narrow. The cage with the pelican in it had therefore to be carried down to the main street. Then it

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was found to be too big to go under the hood of the cart. Tableau! There was nothing for it but to leave the cage behind and put the pelican into the cart by itself. This was done under D.'s supervision (I was busy with case-work and farewell interviews in the house) to the delight of the crowd. Our hopes that the pelican would be able to leave Keriya *incognito* were thus frustrated. Off went the caravan along the Polu road, D., pelican and all. Half an hour later, having ascertained that the coast was clear, I slipped out with Hafiz and galloped by a roundabout route to the ford across the Keriya River on the Cherchen road; here I overtook D. and the cart, which was jogging along with Niaz on guard in front and the curtain carefully drawn behind him as if it concealed my harem. We passed many country-people, families coming in to Keriya market from Oi Toghraq or Niya, wood-sellers driving donkeys loaded with faggots and so on; I wondered what they would think if they knew what was in the cart. Beyond the last fields of the oasis a shallow valley among grassy dunes led to the main river-bed half a mile to the north. For once we blessed the dust-haze of the Takla Makan which veiled our movements from afar. Loitering until a favourable moment when no passers-by were in sight, we dived off the road down the little valley, the lumbering vehicle pitching and swaying like a ship in a storm. Turning a corner we appeared to be absolutely in the wilds and were just congratulating ourselves on having shaken off all possible witnesses, when there on the top of a hillock were two boys watching us. Strong measures were necessary. I knew only too well that if even the smallest child saw us depositing the pelican in the wilderness, the bird's fate would be sealed; it would be recaptured and either done to death or taken back to the Yamen, whence the Amban would undoubtedly send it after us as lost property. . . . I decided to give the boys the fright of their lives, so I galloped straight at them; they ran like hares, I pursuing, until we arrived together at the small farm where they lived. Here I informed an agitated mamma that if she valued the children's lives she would send them to bed and keep them there.

Fate now smiled on us and we found that we could take the cart right down to the edge of the marshes. Here we took the long-suffering pelican out of "purdah." It was worth all our toil and anxiety, and more, to see the beatific expression on his face when he found himself once more on his native heath. On the grassy edge of a clear pool he stood proudly with his poor clipped wings outspread, as if offering thanks to the pale sun for his new-found liberty. But we could not leave him in too open a place, and so Niaz and I carried him down a secluded channel among the marshes and deposited him where no enemy would find him, safe from the Yamen and its forcible feeding, safe from the spying urchins of Keriya. . . . And there we hope he will find a living among the frogs and minnows until kindly Nature has lengthened his clipped feathers (already half grown), so that he may spread his wings and fly away northwards, far over the Takla Makan to the untrodden solitudes whence he came.

467 Before returning to Khotan we treated ourselves to a long-anticipated holiday trip among the Altun Tagh or "Mountains

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above 778
the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312]
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 knew so well, four hundred miles to the north-west. At mid-day we were met by the friendly people of Polu who had pitched for us a tiny tent made of sacks on a cliff-top 800 feet above the river-bed. With the indefatigable hospitality of remoter Asia, they had brought all the way from Polu, several miles further up among the mountains, an enormous meal of boiled sheep, bread, tea and hard-boiled eggs dyed bright blue, the favourite colour of Khotan.[1]

361 Polu is the largest of the hill-villages at the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a branch of the Kunlun stretching for a thousand miles to the E.N.E. until it merges 487 with the Nan Shan. The relative importance of Polu is due to the fact that it commands the only possible track leading up over the Kunlun to the northern plateau of Tibet and so to Ladakh and India. The defiles on the north side of the pass are exceedingly narrow and almost, if not quite, impossible for pack transport of any kind; but for a distance of 530 miles, from the Hindu Tash Pass (17,750 ft.) over the Sanju range in the west to the Qarasai gap above Cherchen in the east, there is no other path at all by which men can cross the 361 tremendous barrier of the Kunlun. Polu is picturesquely situated at a height of 8,500 feet on a ridge between two branches of the Keriya River's chief tributary. Its fields are lined with tall poplars and dotted with clumps of fine planes and walnuts. The village consists of closely-packed, flat-topped houses of wood and stone with curious raised skylights in the middle of the roof, and has a look of Baltistan or Tibet which differentiates it at once from the settlements of the hill "Sarts" and Kirghiz of the Kashgar Range and the Tien Shan. [563] Stein thinks that there may be Tibetan blood in the people, and certainly they do not regard themselves as belonging to the same race as the people of Khotan and Keriya. Polu and neighbouring villages do not belong to Keriya district, as one would have expected; they are grouped with Kamlär, Chakar, Hasha, Nura and other oases of the great "bay"

[1] The word *kök* (blue) is often used in Khotan as a synonym for "beautiful," without conveying any particular colour. I heard a minstrel sing:

Sai buida tört tufak
Törtilärsi kök tufak.
Four heifers on the desert's edge
And all four of them blue (i.e. lovely) heifers.

The reason why the shells of presentation eggs are always coloured is because white is unlucky, being the colour of death and mourning.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

316 the appalling conditions under which the gold-miners work in the Zailik valley, 13,500 feet up among the peaks to the 135 south-west of Polu; the well-known mines of Surghak and Chizghan, 60–85 miles E.S.E. of Keriya, employ 2,000 labourers even under the Chinese system. Gold is continually being found in new places between Chizghan and Tunhwang in Kansu province, 700 miles eastward. I heard at Keriya of three new mines, all rich, to which there had been miniature "gold-rushes" during the previous two or three years. All the mines between Polu and Cherchen are under the control of the Amban of Keriya, who farms them out to a Beg for a fixed annual weight of gold-dust to be delivered to the Chinese at the fixed rate of 25 taels per tael weight, about five-sevenths of the average market price at Khotan. The Beg is not supposed to extract more than that amount from the mines, but of course he does. He finds, pays and feeds his own miners, whose numbers are augmented at Surghak by numerous convicts. The Chinese do not allow the local people to wash for gold except for the Beg, and as his total output is limited by contract he does not often give the inhabitants of a village like Polu leave to wash for him. As a special favour we were given a demonstration of the primitive methods used. Three boys crawled into a hole in the conglomerate bank of the Polu stream and passed out tray after tray of blueish gravelly earth; a fourth washed it in a wooden pan shaped like a very shallow cone with a slit in it. From each trayful the boy got from two to seven tiny grains of gold, some red, some yellow; in a quarter of an hour he had washed out a quantity which he told us was worth a tenga (*2d.*) at the Beg's rates. In a day's work, he told us, he would get anything from one-tenth of a tael to 10 taels worth (*3d.*–£1 *7s.*).

609 The men of Polu are exceptionally friendly and hospitable to Europeans, a fact noticed by Deasy, Stein and the few 000 other travellers who have come this way. The villagers still remember Deasy, though his visit took place as long ago as 1897. The stable in which his ponies were kept is pointed out with pride, also the room in which stayed the Chinese *ssu-yeh* or secretary who was sent by the Amban of Keriya to watch Deasy and prevent him at all costs from finding the secret path over the Kunlun.[1] One of the *bais* or chief men, Tokhta Khalfa, told me with pride that it was his father, Rahim Khalfa, who really helped Deasy to cross the mountains.

[1] Deasy, "In Tibet and Chinese Turkistan," p. 308.

He gave me a graphic description of how poor Qasim fell off the path on the way up to the pass and was dashed to pieces. He agreed with me that it was a little thoughtless of Qasim, on the edge of the path with a 100-foot drop behind him, to tighten a knot in a home-made rope by hauling at it with one foot pressed against the pony's side.

They offered us the pick of their houses, but we preferred to camp on a sheltered field under a low bluff of loess above the village. If only the air had cleared for an hour, the glorious snows which we could sometimes just descry far above our heads would have completed an unforgettable picture; but the haze was inexorable. In front of us the Tereklik ("poplar-y") side-glen sloped steeply up; perched on a crag above it was a conspicuous shrine which I visited one day. Besides the usual sacrificial yak's tails and pieces of clothing I found a curious and very old votive sign of wrought copper shaped like a hand-mirror with a fine pierced-work inscription. It reminded me of an object of similar shape and size, only with a chased design and inscription, which I saw at the shrine of Mir Umar at Sangun, under the Kuh-i-Taftan in the Sarhad district of Persian Baluchistan. How I coveted that votive sign! I would have paid quite a large sum for it; but it has never seemed to me quite "playing the game" to tempt unsophisticated people to part with things which they hold sacred.

Four days we waited at Polu for the weather to clear, and then, on 24th April, we gave it up and started for Khotan. Marching three miles up the Tibet trail we struck westward at the village of Hong across the Chirikōldi ("The soldier died") pass and the wide grassy tableland of Chata Qir. The morning had been a little less hazy than usual, but by three o'clock as we descended into the valley of Zinjik Aral a violent storm of wind laden with dust and gravel and a spatter of rain swept down upon us from the Kunlun. Followed two unpleasant hours during which we hurried half-blindly down wild moorland paths. Only one incident do I remember; under the lee of a steep hillside above us we saw three huge black eagles squatting on the rocks, gorged doubtless after some grim feast. D. put them up; fine birds they were, with dark grey ruffs, light brown heads with black round the eyes and black beaks. In this country as in the Tien Shan they tame these black eagles and hunt gazelle with them. In the evening the wind was still blowing strong when, after ten hours' hard

[17] I [AT POLU -- ANALYST]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

marching, we came to the pleasant orchards of Jai Tuz at the upper end of the Imamlär oasis, scattered over a wide expanse of stony river-bed.

That night the wind dropped and the stars shone out brighter than we had seen them shine for weeks. I was up early, full of hope, and I was not disappointed. Right across the southern sky, above the orchards of the Imamlär valley, above the great rolling downs of Buzang and Chata, above the rocky homes of the mountain people, stretched a wondrous panorama of eternal snow. Our prayers had been granted, not a day too soon; before us stood revealed at last the Kunlun, shyest and most elusive of the great ranges of the earth, the almost impassable barrier behind which lay Tibet. Between eight and half-past I took a telepanorama of five plates which, though far from perfect, is one of my most treasured pictures; not because of its intrinsic beauty, which does not equal that of my Kashgar Range and Tien Shan panoramas, but because of the extreme rarity of the spectacle recorded.[1] An hour later, the haze had reappeared, and by noon not a vestige of the snowy vision remained.

From Imamlär we marched to Khotan in six days without undue haste. Though we did not see the mountains again, even the isolated massif of the Tikenlik Tagh (18,780 feet), across the wide apron of which we trekked for three days, we had some delightful glimpses of Arcadian villages tucked away in folds of the bare moorland. Nura was the loveliest; a green island in a sea of grey and yellow, six miles by two, with old wooden farms and mosques mirrored in clear pools, water-mills shaded by tall planes and orchards ablaze with apple-blossom, white and rose-red. On 27th April we entered the Khotan oasis south of Lop Bazaar and camped near the inn of Kutaz Langar ("At the Sign of the Yak"), where there is a domed tomb among desert poplars called the Shrine of the King's Daughter who Died in the Flower of her Youth. Next morning we rode the 18 miles into Khotan in a couple of hours.

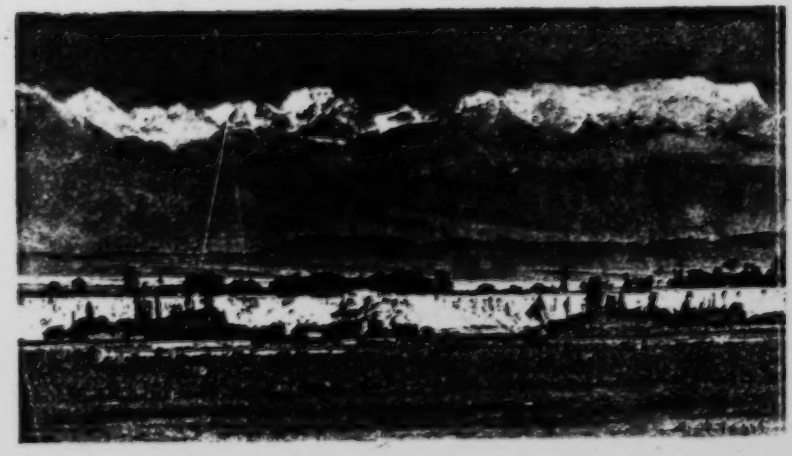
Two days' halt was all that we could allow ourselves, for I was as usual behind my programme and the news from Kashgar was somewhat disquieting. Chinese troops were being concentrated at Aqsu in considerable numbers, and the

[1] See folding page of panoramas opposite p. 116. Marco Polo, who travelled viâ Khotan and Cherchen on his famous journey to Cathay, makes no mention of any snowy mountains on his right flank, as he would certainly have done if he had seen the Kunlun or the Altun Tagh.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

18,810

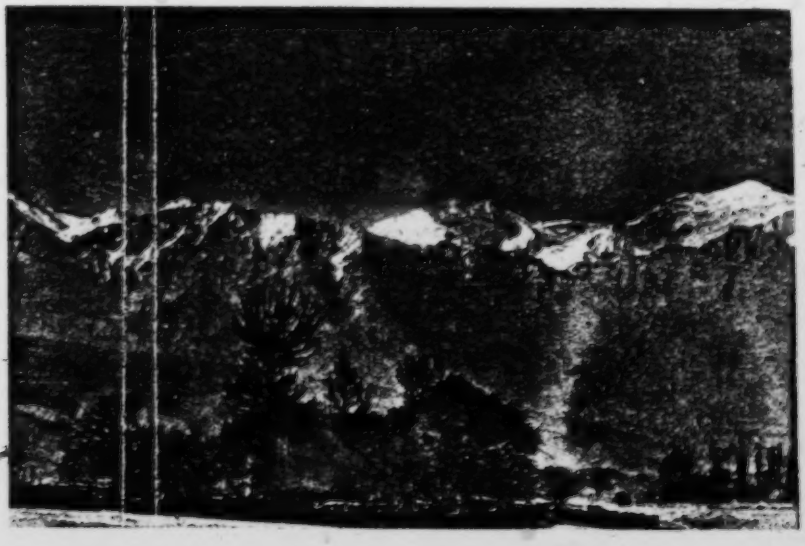
TELEPANORAMA OF KUNLUN MOUNTAINS FROM NORTH END OF IMAMLAR
Elevation 7,400 feet. Distance 16-24 miles. [Peaks identified provisionally from Sir



TELEPANORAMA OF TIEN SHAN PEAKS ON NORTH SIDE OF TAUSHKAN VALLE
In foreground, loess bluffs on left bank of Taushkan River. Elevation 4,400 feet. Distan

[Face p. 258 A]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All



OF IMAMLAR OASIS, KERIYA DISTRICT
dly from Sir A. Stein's map, Survey of India Nos. 60 S.W. and 61 N.W.] -

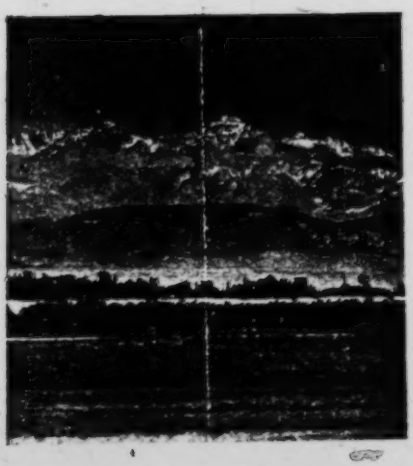
N.W. (approx.)

KAN VALLEY, SEPARATING CHINESE TURKISTAN FROM SEMIRECHIA, FROM POIN
feet. Distance 31-34 miles

[Face p. 258 B]

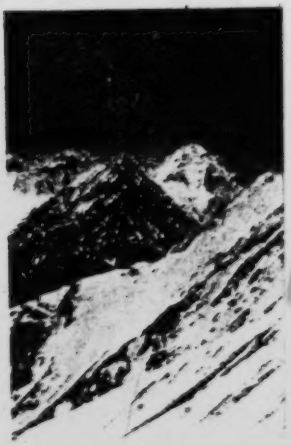
000

ARALLIK VALLEY



POINT 10 MILES N.E. OF UCH TURFAN

CHINGHAN MTS. ZUMURRÄT 17,600 S.



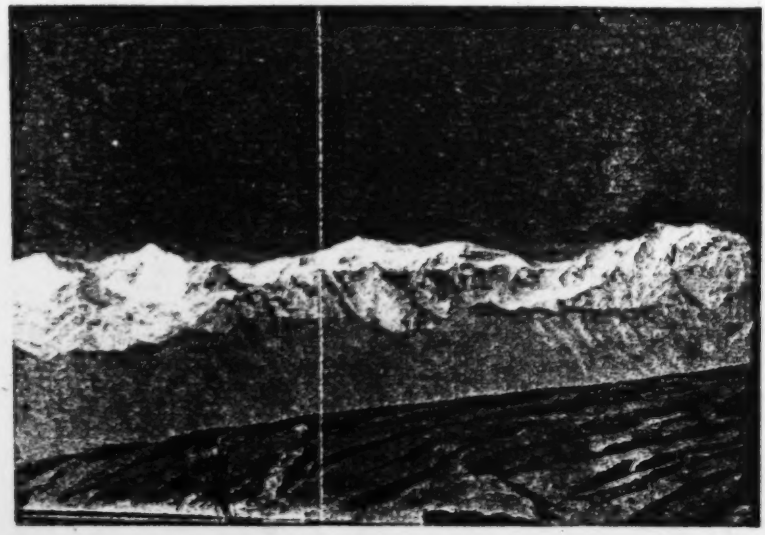
KAYING JILGHA

PANORAMA OF QUNGUR I
TIGARMANSU JILGHAS
Elevation 15,600 feet

[Face p. 258 C]

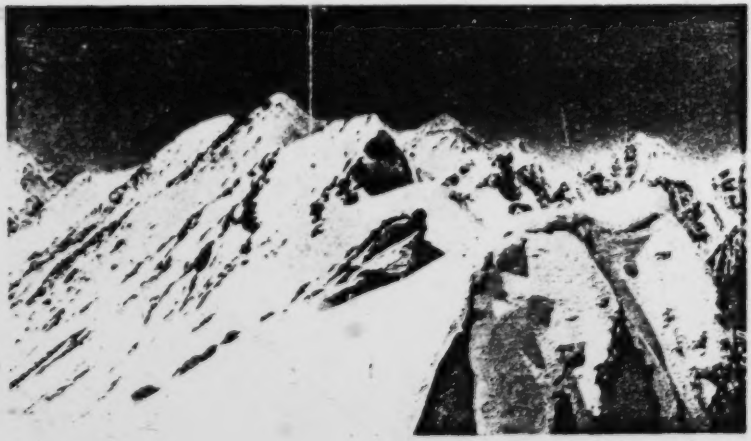
3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 AII Sinkiang AII

21,300



S.W.
↓
SHIWATKE GROUP

(00 S. SARIGH VOX (16,300) 19,400 III 20,400 17,700

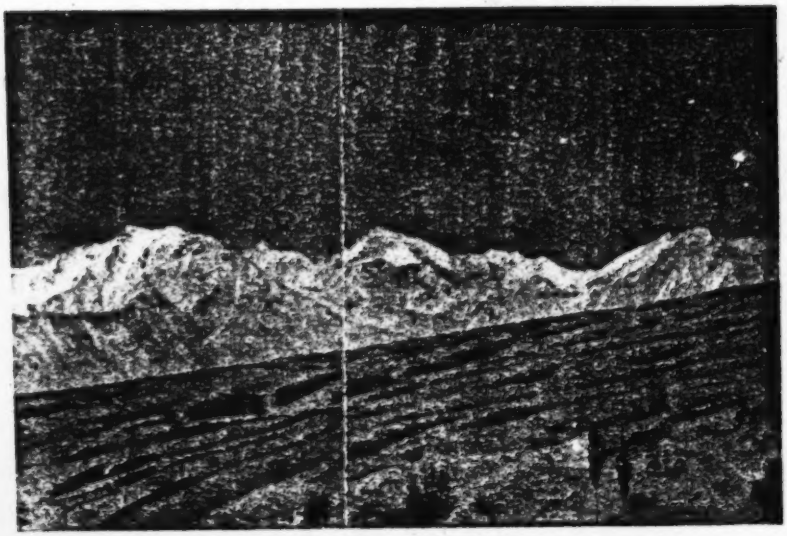


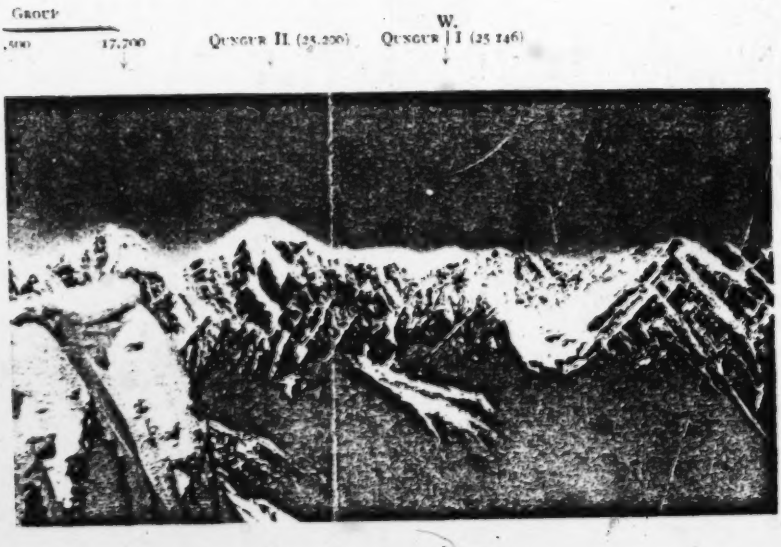
UPPER I

NGUR MASSIF, SHIWAKIE GROUP AND PEAKS OF KAYING VALLEY
HAS

[Face p. 258 D]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All





F KAYING VALLEY FROM POINT ON COL BETWEEN KAYING AND

[Face p. 258 E]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Titai was reported to be arming. Could it be that the civil war which had been so long endemic in the inner provinces of China was now to spread to the Far West? Reluctantly I decided to curtail my homeward tour-programme and abandon a plan which I had long been nursing; this was to climb one or more of the easternmost summits of the Sanju Range and reconnoitre from the north the untrodden gorges of the Qara-qash[1] River, 60 miles long, which had baffled even Stein. But the prospect of a fourth journey along the well-beaten Pialma-Moji-Goma track did not appeal to us, least of all under what we fondly expected would be the grilling sun of May. We therefore decided to take the comparatively little-used upper road to Karghalik viâ Duwa, Sanju and Kosh Tagh and thus break ground that was new to us.

487 On 3rd May at Zawa we bade farewell to the Kingdom of Jade and crossed the sand-hills of the Pigeon Shrine to lonely Takhtuban Langar, where the water is drawn from a well 200 feet deep. Thence leaving the main road we struck south-west, reaching Lāmūs in the Duwa valley late in the evening after a gruelling march of 36 miles. It was here that I visited the charming old Haji who narrated to me the local legend explaining the name of Lamus, recorded by me in another chapter.[2] I shall never forget the scene in the central room of the Haji's farm where Murad Qari and I sat sipping tea and talking to the old man and his well-mannered sons. The family were evidently animal-lovers. A very fat white pigeon sat on the back of a Qur'an-stand and joined in the conversation with such loud cooings that we had to raise our voices to make ourselves heard. An immense tortoiseshell cat purred furiously if anyone even looked as if he intended to stroke it. Best of all, a plump white lamb walked unconcernedly about the room throughout the proceedings, finally jumping up on the daïs beside me and helping itself from a plate of raisins on the low Chinese table by my side. When lifted down it repeated the performance, the Haji remarking delightfully that the lamb had become his *mihman* (guest) as well as I!

Resting a day at Lamus we performed another long march across the *sai* by Poski Langar to Chaskam in the beautiful Sanju Valley, where we halted another day for sightseeing. Then the weather changed and we had a most unpleasant march through Sanju Bazaar and along the main Leh-Yarkand

[1] Not to be confused with the Qaratash River in the Qungur region.
[2] See p. 181.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 caravan-route to Sulaghiz Langar. Icy wind and torrential rain caught us unprepared on the top of a pass, and we had to gallop for it 11 miles, only to find scarcely even the humblest accommodation available at the tiny settlement of Sulaghiz. Next day it was still cold and cloudy, but on 9th May when we marched to Oi Toghraq we were rewarded with the longest panorama of snows we ever saw, even in Chinese Turkistan. From the eastern end of the Sanju range they stretched in an immense arc to the northernmost peaks of the Takhta Kuram west of Karghalik, a glittering panoply of ice 180 miles long.

The rest of our return journey must be passed over quickly. Yarkand was reached on 14th May, and eight days later we were back at Kashgar, having covered a total distance of 936 miles on the last and by no means the least enjoyable of our longer tours in Southern Sinkiang.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his
601 command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product
[315] of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kash-
[382] gar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

704 Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

THE LATE GENERAL MA, TITAI OF KASHGARIA

622

MUHAMMADAN GUESTS, LED BY THE CHIEF QAZI, AT PRAYER IN THE GARDEN OF THE CONSULATE-GENERAL, KING'S BIRTHDAY RECEPTION, 1924

[Face p. 262]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the
622 storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for
702 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro-
622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax-
581 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be
669 remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

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City and that the Titai was reported to have been killed. I galloped as hard as I could to the Consulate, where I found every one in a state of excitement except D., who was baking scones and cakes for the King's Birthday garden party on the following Tuesday. All our eight orderlies were in uniform, wearing their revolvers—their only arms—and knots of Hindu traders and other British subjects were standing about the grounds discussing the situation and spreading the wildest rumours. The only point on which every one agreed was that the Titai was dead (as a matter of fact this was not the case) and that the troops were coming over to the Old City for his son, the massive outer wall of whose citadel was within a couple of hundred yards of the Consulate gates. I took such steps as I could for the safeguarding of the foreign colony and awaited developments.

At about twelve noon a shot rang out from the Hsieh Tai's citadel, followed closely by another and then by a regular fusillade. Some of the shots came over the Consulate, and I had to make everybody take cover in case of spent bullets.[1] I went to see D. in her small private kitchen, and found her still baking cakes and quite unconscious of the fact that there was a war on. From where she was she could not hear the firing, but when she went out into the garden to feed the rabbits, which she insisted on doing, war or no war, she heard the "ping" of several bullets as they came over. A twig from a tree, cut by one of them, fell to the ground at our feet. The heavy firing lasted about a quarter of an hour, and for the rest of the day there were only occasional shots. After lunch I went round with a couple of orderlies to the gate of the fort to find out what had happened; I was told that the Hsieh Tai was lying dead and that the Government troops were chasing his soldiers about the streets and in the surrounding country, taking prisoner those who threw away their rifles and shooting those who did not. In the afternoon I received a call from a burly, round-faced, ruddy-complexioned, rather pleasant-looking Chinese officer, who showed me where a bullet had entered his thigh during the fighting. He proved to be second in command of the Government troops, the leader of which I was interested to hear was no other than the "Ma Darin" who, as Amban of Uch Turfan, had enter-

[1] Probably no one fired on purpose in our direction, but I understand that in Chinese civil warfare a large proportion of the shots are fired into the air by way of frightfulness.

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tained me at that delectable place the previous September. It appeared that some years before Ma had been Amban of Kashgar New City, and that the Titai had then done him some great wrong; now, for the sake of revenge, Ma had asked the Governor, as a special favour, for the command of the flying column that was to surprise and destroy his old enemy. The wounded officer came on behalf of his chief to ask when the latter could come and call on me, also to apologize for having left us undefended during the fighting. In spite of my protests he insisted on leaving eight very tired infantrymen to guard us. We gave the poor lads a good tea, for they were dead beat, as well they might be; they had marched 20 miles by night, had rushed the Titai's citadel at dawn, marched 6 miles over to the Old City and had stormed the Hsieh Tai's yamen, all since sunset the evening before.

Next day I was able to piece together from various accounts the full story of the affair. It appeared that on 24th May the larger part of the Government troops, under Erh Taoyin, marched ostentatiously out of Aqsu and down the Maralbashi road towards Kashgar. At the same time a picked force of six hundred, under Captain Ma (as the ex-Amban of Uch Turfan was now styled) slipped off along the same mountain road, viâ Uch Turfan, Qaragor and Yai Dōbe, which we had followed on our way to Bai the previous autumn. The main body, under Erh, halted at Maralbashi, but Captain Ma's men, in seven forced marches, reached a secluded spot among the Artush hills, to the north of Kashgar, within easy striking distance of the New City. They had no difficulty in capturing the few scouts the Titai had out in this direction.

On the night of our dinner-party (Saturday, 31st May), Captain Ma and his men marched rapidly to the New City and waited outside the gates. The Titai, over-confident as usual, and imagining that his enemies were still several marches from Kashgar, had omitted to take the most elementary precautions. His soldiers, of whom he had several hundred in the citadel, were all asleep or under the influence of opium, and the gates were opened as usual at dawn to admit the villagers crowding into market with their produce. The Titai was asleep in his immense new wooden palace, a four-storied affair, painted red and elaborately decorated with grotesque carvings and frescoes. Captain Ma and a small band of picked men made their way straight to the palace, fired some shots into it, and called upon the Titai to surrender.

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647 He replied with a volley from the windows, killing an officer and two men. Captain Ma and his party dashed across the
669 courtyard and up three flights of stairs fighting all the way, until at last they forced an entrance into the old man's bedroom. The Titai fought like a tiger at bay, wounding one of the party, but Ma with a lucky pistol-shot in the right arm disabled him and took him prisoner. With the capture of their formidable "King" the soldiers of the Titai, who had meanwhile been fighting with Ma's men in the palace and town, broke and fled. Only four or five of them were killed, the whole affair having taken place in less than a quarter of an hour and having been a complete surprise. The wounded tyrant was bound and taken to an inn outside his citadel, while the invaders looted his palace, which was full of valuables, chiefly in the form of opium, silks and jade. Telegrams were exchanged with Urumchi, and next day the Titai paid the penalty for his crimes. He was put up against the main gateway of the citadel and riddled with bullets, on the very spot where the bodies of his victims, alive or dead, had so often been exposed *pour encourager les autres*. His corpse was left there for a couple of days tied up to a kind of cross for the people to insult and defile, which large numbers of them did with the utmost gusto.

344 On the Tuesday I rode with a friend to the New City and returned the call which Captain Ma had courteously paid me the previous afternoon. The slayer of the Titai, a quiet easy-mannered little man with aquiline features and steady dark eyes, took me all over the fallen tyrant's palace. It was an immense wooden structure with four stories and a pagoda roof, painted dark red and covered with grotesque frescoes and wooden figures of symbolical birds and animals. I had heard much about this palace, which had only just been completed; more than once I had peeped through its outer gates with a slight shudder at the thought of the sinister power which had called it into being. It was a curious sensation to find myself climbing flight after flight of steep stairs and entering a large central bedroom lavishly decorated with crude paintings. The walls, the ceiling and the great bed-alcove were all splintered with rifle- and pistol-shots and littered with arms and accoutrements, piles of ammunition-boxes, great-coats, and so on, for Captain Ma's soldiers had taken possession of the place. From the new palace we were conducted to the Titai's old Yamen along a kind of raised way, carried on

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trestles, over the roofs of the houses and the streets of the bazaar; this was the Titai's "Royal Road," along which he had been wont to walk between his old and new residences without soiling his feet with the dust of the bazaar. Between thirty and forty ladies of the Titai's harem were still living at the old Yamen when the blow fell; I was told that they were being treated kindly by our old friend Mr. Wang, Magistrate of the New City, in whose charge they had been placed. A horrible, toothless old major-domo of the Titai's showed us, with ghoulish gusto, over the warren-like zenana, still odorous of its late fair occupants, but turned completely upside down, looted and violated. Carpets were ripped up, upholstery torn open, tables and cupboards smashed to pieces in the search for treasure; for it was well known that the late owner had invested a large part of his ill-gotten gains in diamonds and other jewellery, mostly Russian revolution loot, which he had bought cheap from across the frontier. And everywhere was jade, great blocks of it, half-polished slabs lying about, broken cups and half-turned bangles littering the ground; for one of the Titai's industrial enterprises had been the establishment of a jade-cutting factory in his yamen, by the simple process of moving half the Khotan artisans bodily to Kashgar and forcing them to work at starvation rates on the jade brought from his mines in the upper Yarkand River basin.

Throughout the whole of that week I was greatly impressed by the orderliness of the proceedings. By the evening of the Sunday on which the Titai was captured all was quiet, and there was no disorder on the part either of the conquerors or of the conquered, who in Chinese civil war are usually more dangerous to the civilian population than their rivals. If it had been the Persia of my Kerman days, every shop in the bazaar would have closed at the first hint of trouble and half the population would have been taking refuge (*bast*) against one side or the other. As it was, the only effect of the general excitement was an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in prices. This satisfactory state of affairs was entirely due to the thoroughness of Governor Yang's preparations and the efficiency of his lieutenants; for there is no doubt that if the dispositions of the Higher Command had been less skilful or the revenge-seeking Captain Ma less bold and swift in his movements, the course of events might have been very different. The Titai and his son, knowing that it was war to the death, were preparing to defend the New and Old Cities

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respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
  He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
  The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
  Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
  Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
  The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

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[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

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It was rumoured that Ma Darin, who was young and good-looking, had fallen in love with the fairest of his slain foe's daughters, Shujia Khan:

> Word came from Peking
> That Ma Darin was to return;
> Ma Darin refused to go
> Saying "They must give me Shujia Khan."

I regret to say that so far as I could discover there was not the slightest foundation for this romantic story.

Satisfaction at the destruction of the Titai was not confined to the Turki population. Shortly after the "war" D. lunched with a Chinese friend whose husband, an official of high rank, had lost much "face" in an encounter with the Titai two years before. The old lady, chuckling mightily, told D. that when she heard that fighting was going on at the Hsieh Tai's Yamen she ordered her carriage at once and drove over to see the fun. To her intense disappointment the officer in command would not let her in and sent her back to her garden with an escort of twenty rifles. Next day, when she heard that the Titai had been shot and his body exposed, she drove to the New City to see it. "There he was," she crowed, "the 'King' who had lorded it over us all and robbed people right and left for so long, nailed up to a wooden stake and all full of holes! Twenty-five holes there were in him, I counted them. There was an extra big one in the middle; Ma Darin says he made that. And all the Turban-heads were spitting on him and throwing mud at him and calling him "Padshah." His hands and feet were cut off, just as he used to do to people who annoyed him; they've been sent packed in a box to the Governor at Urumchi. I went to see the Hsieh-Tai too; he hadn't nearly so many holes in him, but he was just as dead as his father. Yesterday all the Titai's wives went in carts to Ma Darin to ask for food, as they said they were starving. He gave them a lot of rice and flour and two hundred taels to go on with. Some one offered to get carriages for them to drive to Ma Darin's in, but the Hsieh Tai's mother said 'No, we can't have carriages now, we must go in carts like common folk.'"

* * * * * * * * * * * *

By the time that the excitement of our small "war" had passed, midsummer was upon us and we realized sadly that the sands of our happy time at Kashgar were fast running out. My leave, two years overdue, had at last been sanctioned; during twelve years' eastern service I had only had six months'

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008 home leave, and the opportunity of a long spell was not to be missed. My successor, Lieut.-Col. R. Lyall, I.A., was already on his way from England and was expected to arrive towards the end of August. There was just time to treat ourselves to a farewell visit to the Alps of Qungur, where much mapping still remained to be done and many desirable photographs were as yet untaken. I postponed our start until 22nd July, partly in the hope of finding better weather at Kaying and less snow on my high climbs, partly because by going a month later than the previous year I hoped to secure the seeds of some of the plants which had then been in flower. This 487 time I decided to make first for the upper Yapchan Jilgha, where we had discovered a delightful camping-place on our way back from Kaying the year before; my object was to reconnoitre and if possible gain access to the Tigarmansu Jilgha, a valley immediately to the north-west of Kaying but completely cut off from it by the tremendous precipices of Kōk Dōng and Sarigh Yon.

July was unusually hot at Kashgar, and there was also a perfect plague of wasps brought on by the superabundance of fruit, which rotted in our orchard for want of enough mouths in the Consulate to eat it. The heat also caused the summer floods to rise to abnormal heights, and 15 miles from Kashgar we had one of the worst river-crossings I ever experienced. At one time I thought we would have to go home and wait for the floods to subside, which would probably have meant the abandonment of the trip. It was therefore even more pleasant than usual to find ourselves on 26th July encamped among the fir-woods and wild-rose thickets of the beautiful Yapchan alp, right opposite the magnificent red cliffs of Bozarga and Bele Tōk. Two days later, with an irreducible minimum of retinue and baggage carried on yaks, we dived into the great red sandstone gorge and crawled once more up the secret track to Bozarga. Crossing the At Bel pass (12,000 feet) without difficulty we zigzagged 2,000 feet down the grassy flank of Kōk Dōng and came to the prosperous-looking encampment of Oi, the summer headquarters of a minor Beg and seven or eight families of Kirghiz. Here, to my surprise, I found we were no longer in the Yangi Hissar district as in the Qaratash valley, but under the jurisdiction of the magistrate of the Chinese Pamirs at Tashqurghan, eight long marches away. The Beg did his best to make us stay the night with him and go back across the pass next day without venturing down into the wild

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Tigarmansu Jilgha, the path to which he described as very difficult. The situation was saved, however, by an excellent Kirghiz of Tigarmansu called Yunus Akhun, a name and title which may be translated with some accuracy as "Mr. Jonah." This man, who reminded me strongly of the best type of Highland ghillie, proved to be of Bokharan origin, his father having migrated to the Chinese Pamirs from the Qaratigin mountains, which divide Bokhara from Ferghana. He cordially invited us to his valley on behalf of his uncle, Sikilak Beg, the headman of the three families which constituted the entire population of the Tigarmansu Jilgha. He said he would guide us and that the path was quite easy. Seeing that we were determined to proceed, the Beg of Oi lent us six fresh yaks in place of our tired ones and bade us God-speed.

The track proved up-and-down and very narrow, but not dangerous, and the sun had not yet set when we topped the last col and found ourselves looking up the deep trough-like valley of the Tigarmansu or "Water of the Mill." Descending by a steep track to the foaming glacier-stream we forded it and made our way up through fields of meadowsweet till we came to the first tall firs. Here there was an old mill from which the valley derived its name, with a shrine and a sacred spring close by; and here we were met by tall, handsome old Sikilak Beg. The tents of the Kirghiz were pitched a mile further up in a clearing in the thick forest which clothed what I afterwards found to be the ancient terminal moraine of the Tigarmansu Glacier. "Mr. Jonah" and his family insisted on turning out of their *aq-oi* for us and camping *alfresco* among the trees a few yards away, and altogether we were made very welcome. We soon found out the reason of their *empressement*, which was that the Kirghiz of the Qungur region had been talking about D. and her medicines and tea-parties ever since our last visit; with the result that now there was the keenest competition among the different valleys to receive a visit from us. A girl from Kaying had married a Tigarmansu man since the previous summer, and now greeted D. as an old friend.

We could only allow ourselves three days in this valley, and to our disgust it was misty and rainy nearly the whole time. One of my objects had been to climb the Dilbagh "pass," a col about 13,000 feet high leading over to the Qurghan Köl Jilgha, another large unexplored glacier-valley of Qungur; from this col I hoped at last to see the inner arcana of the great

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487 range. But when we tried it the first morning, down came the clouds and we had to turn back half-way. I had also hoped to obtain a close view of the needle-like Shiwakte group from some vantage-point near the head of the Tigarmansu Jilgha; but the peaks which shut in the head of the valley never cleared of cloud at all. I had therefore to confine my attentions to the valley itself, of which I made a plane-table sketch. At the foot of the ancient terminal moraine on which the camp was pitched we found a remarkable phenomenon; a flood of shell-pink water gushed out from among the roots of the great firs and joined the glacier stream, the waters of which it perceptibly tinged with its own exquisite hue. Two miles above the camp, at the foot of the existing glacier 13,350 feet above the sea, we found the source of the pink colour; in the moraine were beds of red clay over which a strong stream flowed from the glacier for a hundred yards before disappearing into the earth. At various points in the valley I noticed a greenish tinge in the rocks, which suggested copper. The Kirghiz told me that a rich vein of copper ore had once been worked in a terrifying and barely accessible cleft which they pointed out to me, high up on the precipitous north-west face of Kök Döng; it was so rich that in spite of the primitiveness of their methods the Kirghiz had for years smelted the ore and made pots and pans and cartridge cases out of the copper. In recent years the mine had been abandoned and its very existence kept dark for fear of the Titai's men hearing about it, as this would have meant the mine being taken over and the Kirghiz forced to work in it for the benefit of the Titai. It was for the same reason that they kept so quiet about the track over the At Bel Pass from the Yapchan Jilgha, which we should never have found for ourselves if old Samsaq Bai had not shown it to us. The Tigarmansu glen is accessible by this track alone, at any rate in summer; there is no exit from its upper end, and its lower reaches lie through a deep and narrow gorge impassable in the high-water season.

[35]

On our way back to the Yapchan alp, where we had left our ents, we visited Samsaq Bai and his clan, who were encamped this year just behind the fir-clad crest of one of the great precipices of Zor Qir. A grassy ridge dotted with clumps of juniper and fir, very much like a well-laid-out park, jutted out 1,500 feet above the Yapchan valley like the prow of a ship; all round the *aq-ois* the turf was starred with purple anemones, gentians and marigolds. The grazing was rich and the view

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THE KEPEK PASS (15,240 FEET) FROM MORAINE OF KAYING GLACIER

AN AWKWARD STEP ON THE DESCENT OF THE KEPEK PASS

[Face p. 272]

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487 superb; but the place had one disadvantage. There was no water nearer than the spring in the Bozarga glen 600 feet below, from which the unfortunate ladies, in addition to their other multifarious duties, had to carry up all the water required in the camp.

From Yapchan we marched to Kaying Bashi, where we camped once more at the lovely alp below the forest. We could spare but eight days for the Happy Valley, and were fortunate in having four of them brilliantly clear. On one of these D. and I climbed with yaks to a height of 14,500 feet on the Torbashi Glacier. After lunch I left D. in a sunny corner with an orderly and climbed another 1,500 feet to the top of the knife-edge ridge which divides the Torbashi branch of the Kaying Jilgha from the head of the Tigarmansu Jilgha. There was a great deal of soft snow about, and with only a sturdy Kirghiz boy called Tash to help me I had considerable difficulty in reaching the top with my camera and surveying instruments. But it was well worth it, for I obtained not only some exceedingly useful "rays" for my map but one of the very finest mountain photographs I have ever secured, of the ice-clad peak of Shiwakte I (19,400 feet) piercing the clouds right opposite me at a distance of only 2½ miles. (Plate 164.)

Two days later, on 4th August, I carried out a plan I had nursed ever since we had first found our way to Kaying. This was to climb out of the valley at its head and reconnoitre the Chimghan Jilgha and the main Shiwakte group beyond. It will be remembered that I had hoped to do this the summer before, but had been baffled by the snow which closed the "pass" even in mid-July. Now, however, the Kirghiz pronounced the Kepek Bel sufficiently clear of snow for the crossing to be attempted; even so, the 1,000 foot couloir at the top was so steep and so filled with ice that there was no question of yaks going up it. I chose the two best *mergens* or ibex-stalkers in the valley as my guides, Phoken and Tümür by name, sturdy lads who looked regular wild men of the woods in their great sheep-skin caps; at the last moment the boy Tash, who looked like fourteen but said he was twenty, insisted on coming with me. The party was made up by our staunch Hunza cragsman, Sangi Khan. Leaving D. in camp for a night by herself in charge of the trusty Hafiz, we started at 5 a.m. with a supply of cold food and Bovril, my two cameras, a sleeping-bag, and my plane table and instruments tied up in a sack. We did the first 4,000 feet on yaks, then left

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487 them to graze on the topmost pastures of the Kaying glacier-moraine while we attacked the couloir. On our left sheets of ice at angles varying from 45° to 60° came down from the precipices which enclose the head of the Kaying Jilgha and formed a couloir with the almost vertical cliffs of Shiwakte I on our right, along which we had to crawl the whole way. In several places steps had to be cut across tongues of ice running up into the cliff, and the kit had often to be sent up from hand to hand over difficult sections. Shortly after ten we reached the col, and I had a thrilling moment as I clambered to the top of a boulder and gazed over an imposing array of ice-clad ranges to the south. The atmospheric conditions were not good enough for a worthy photograph, but I was able to secure a complete set of "rays" which afterwards enabled me to fix the position of the mountains I saw. They proved to be those on the south side of the Chimghan Jilgha and its tributary the Tersöze, and one of them at least to be more than 22,000 feet high. None of them had been seen from this side by Western eyes before. It was disappointing to find that the Shiwakte peaks were hidden by a row of black aiguilles like the teeth of a saw which came down from the right. In trying to shelter the hypsometer from the wind I knocked it over and broke the thermometer; luckily I had a spare one with me, with which I obtained a height of 15,230 feet for the top of the pass.

The descent on the south side into a branch of the Chimghan Jilgha called Aghalistan proved easy enough, the way leading first down a small glacier and then at 13,000 feet striking a very large one called by the Kirghiz Aq Tash or "White Rock," obviously from its brilliant serac which is visible from a great distance. There was no sign of any track; the pass is seldom used, and we were the first over it that season. By the time we reached this point the clouds had shut down, and I could only see the lower portion of the vast precipices at the head of the main glacier, which I took to be those of the elusive Shiwakte. Further down we were met by two Kirghiz herdsmen, who were astonished to see us but led us hospitably to their huts. At my request they sent word to their headman, Sayat Beg, whose encampment they told us was a long way further down at the junction of the Aghalistan with the main Chimghan Jilgha. I had intended to spend the night there, but the weather was not promising and I was nervous about being cut off from Kaying and D., perhaps for weeks,

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by heavy snow on the pass; besides which I was suffering from a severe headache due to eyestrain brought on by long hours of peering through the sight-rule of my plane-table at the top of the pass and on the way down. I therefore decided to stay where I was and re-cross the Kepek next morning. Sayat Beg arrived during the afternoon and gave me much interesting information about his valley and the Qaratash basin in general. He told me among other things that there was no outlet whatever at the head of the Chimghan Jilgha, nothing but "*muz tagh*" or "ice-mountain" which he vaguely designated "Shiwakte"; that at the head of the Tersöze or southern branch of the jilgha there was a very difficult pass, worse even than the one I had come over, which led over to Little Qara Kul on the Pamirs; and that there were no fir-trees in the Chimghan Jilgha or in any of its tributaries.

My head was so bad that I could eat nothing that night and went to bed at nine in a somewhat depressed frame of mind on the floor of one of the huts. In spite of the elevation (over 12,000 feet) it was surprisingly mild and I slept well enough till four, when I awoke blessedly free from headache. To my joy I found that it had cleared up, so after a good breakfast I started at half-past five up the mountain-side. I was rewarded with the most marvellous spectacle I have ever seen. The Shiwakte peaks stood round the head of the Aq Tash basin in a glorious semicircle, their ice-pinnacles gleaming in the dawn, mighty glaciers hanging from their sides like frozen waterfalls thousands of feet high. The clouds were already collecting round them and by eight had completely hidden them once more, but long ere this I had secured some fine pictures and had also completed my plane-table sketch. The mountain-side was alive with Tibetan snow-cock, whose mournful cry, not unlike that of whaups on Scottish moors, sounded in my ears as I worked.

Our descent from the Kepek Pass into the Kaying Jilgha later in the morning was not without incident. It was perceptibly warmer than the day before, evidently banking up for heavy rain, and the ice was very soft. The steps we had made the previous day had melted, and new ones had to be cut; rocks loosened by the thaw came buzzing down from the cliffs above and had to be dodged; nor was it safe to avoid them by venturing out on the steeply-pitched glacier, because the thin coating of flat stones and frozen stones over the crevasses might now be insufficient to bear one's weight. As it was,

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487 the Beg, who at my request came over with us to investigate some complaint of the Kaying people, had a narrow escape. He was just in front of me as we filed across an arm of the glacier, when suddenly he disappeared up to his armpits. The *débris* of flat stones which lay on top of the ice held him up, and we soon fished him out; but I noticed with a slight shudder, peering down into the hole, that his legs had been dangling over a crevasse of unknown depth. Near the bottom of the couloir we had to jump off the edge of the glacier on to a steep slope of loose stones, and in doing so started a stone-slide which plunged *under* the snowfield we had just left and went on roaring away underneath for a long time. At last, however, we found ourselves safely on the flowery moraine of the main Kaying glacier, where by arrangement a Kirghiz lad was waiting for us with the yaks.

The rain held off during our last four days at Kaying, but the clouds shut down more and more heavily and further survey operations were out of the question. We spent our time partly with the Kirghiz, whom we entertained at a big tea-party followed by games and races, partly in collecting and drying plants for Kew. It was disappointing to find that although we were leaving the valley a month later than in 1923, scarcely any of the flowers had yet seeded. Evidently maturing had been delayed by the exceptionally cold and boisterous weather which we had experienced in May on the return journey from Khotan.[1]

Our visits to Kaying, however, had not been fruitless. Though clumsy and amateurish enough, my plane-table sketches, sets of rays, panoramas and other material afterwards enabled Major K. Mason of the Survey of India, who has made the cartography of the Pamir region his own, to fill in with considerable detail the blank patch in Sir Aurel Stein's map which that distinguished explorer advised me to investigate. Those interested in the topography and orography of this remarkable region will find a full account of it in my paper on "The Alps of Qungur" in the "Geographical Journal" for November 1925, to which is appended a note by Major Mason on his compilation of my material. According to Major Mason, what he is pleased to call my explorations ". . . . fill in several important blanks in our knowledge of the eastern flanks of the Qungur massif. They give a very

[1] Experienced also by the 1924 Mount Everest Expedition, 700 miles to the south-east.

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AQ TASH GLACIER AND PEAK III OF THE SHIWAKTE GROUP (20,500 FEET)

[Face p. 276]

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good picture of the 'peripheral gorges of the Pamir plateau,' and while emphasizing the difficulties of the ground, reveal a certain amount of vegetation and habitation of which we had previously no knowledge whatever . . . . One of the outstanding features of the exploration is the further evidence of the existence of Qungur II. Its great featureless dome has been the cause of uncertainty for years. Its height is not yet settled, but we know now that it competes with Qungur I for the post of the highest point of the Pamirs."

On 9th August we said good-bye to the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends. We still like to think that they were sorry to see the last of us. The morning that we crossed the Chopkana Pass was misty and lowering, and my farewell impression of Kaying Bashi is of the valley as I saw it at about ten o'clock the evening before. Heavy clouds half-filled the sky and haze the valley; in a gap right above the Shiwakte sailed the moon, her light shining full upon the glacier-stream which sped past me down its stony course. The night was calm and brooding; the haze veiled everything except the gleaming river and the icy crown of the great mountain; but standing out black even against the blackness rose on one side the nearer firs, on the other the needle-points of Zumurrat, far up into the starless heavens. All else—the lower precipices, the forests, the snouts of the big glaciers—all was wrapped in darkness and mystery; only the river and the eternal snows glowed in the dim radiance of the moonlight. As I gazed spell-bound, there came into my memory the song of the shepherd-minstrel at Polu:

> The Power of God created the mountains, the mountains;
> Then because it was dark among the mountains, He created the moon.

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CHAPTER XVII

BACK TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

ON 13th August we rode into Kashgar at the head of our caravan for the last time. Little more than three weeks remained to us, for my successor had passed Tashqurghan and was expected on the 25th. They were crowded weeks of packing and preparation for our journey to Srinagar, of winding up official and private affairs, of handing over charge to the new Consul-General, of calls and interviews innumerable and feasts of welcome and farewell. Of the many and varied preoccupations connected with so important an event as a change of Consul-General, I will mention only one as an example. A Chinese name had to be assigned to Colonel Lyall and a wooden "chop" carved with the appropriate characters, from which a stock of the indispensable red paper visiting-cards could be struck. It was of the utmost importance that the name, while approximating to the Colonel's own patronymic, should have a lucky meaning, one that would give its owner "face" with highly-educated Chinese officials. Accordingly Mr. George Chu, our Chinese Secretary, was told off to christen the new Consul-General, and in due course he produced a draft name for my approval. It sounded something like "Lai-i-lu," and its three characters, as Chu showed me in Dr. Giles' monumental dictionary, meant "A pure dwelling upon Mount Lai"—the latter being a famous sacred mountain in Szechwan. What more exquisitely classical, more face-giving appellation could be imagined? I approved, and at my next interview with the Taoyin, a noted scholar, I asked for his opinion. To my surprise, the old mandarin was not at all enthusiastic and begged me to allow himself and Mr. Tao, his Foreign Affairs Secretary, to find a better name. Our production, he informed me, would give the new Consul-General no face at all. If the character "Lai" was pronounced in the second tone, all would be well.

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But most people would pronounce it in the fourth tone, in which case the name would mean " A strong man who refuses to pay his debts ! "

Colonel Lyall duly arrived, and ten days later, on 5th September, we started down the road to India. In Chinese Central Asia the maxim " Speed the parting guest " is taken much more seriously than in the twentieth-century India of railways, steamships and motors. Ours was no hurried official departure with perfunctory railway-platform speeches and garlands of heavy-scented marigolds, alarming though even this amount of ceremonial usually is to the self-conscious Briton. Between us, D. and I were bidden farewell at no less than eight different roadside feasts and tea-drinkings, before Kashgar finally let us go. D.'s description in a letter of her own experiences, though not exactly cheerful reading, is worth quoting :

" C. had a lot to do that morning and could not get away till the afternoon, so as Mrs. J—— and some of the other Chinese ladies had asked me to lunch with them in a garden outside the city I left before he did. The first good-byes were to the Doctor's wife and other " purdah " ladies of the Consulate, and they were not altogether tearless ! The next were silent ones to the cats, the rabbits and other animals, and to the house and garden. Then there were the clerks, the Aqsaqal, the orderlies, house-servants and gardeners, and then I was riding through the gateway of the Consulate-General for the last time with a lump in my throat and my heart somewhere about my stirrups.

" I found Mrs. J—— and the others waiting for me in the roadside garden which had been prepared, and lunch spread in a big pavilion, roofed but open on all four sides. We all made a pretence of eating but without much success, especially as Mrs. J—— was shortly leaving Kashgar herself for Urumchi and was nearly as sad about it as I was. ' You are going away to the South,' she said, ' and I am going away to the North, and God knows if either of us will ever see Kashgar again.' Out came all our handkerchiefs on the spot.

" I took my leave soon after this and trotted off down the Tashmalik road, followed by Hafiz. Near the edge of the wide Qizil Darya river-bed I found the entire Russian colony assembled and a long table spread with cakes and other dainties under the trees and the inevitable samovar simmering in the background. Tea and a cigarette were very welcome and then there were more good-byes and I got on my pony again. A little further on, a number of the British subjects were busy erecting a platform draped with red calico in preparation for C.'s passing in the afternoon. They wanted me to stop and have some tea, but as they had only just begun to unpack their things I excused myself and apologized for leaving unexpectedly early, shook hands all round and piloted by Hafiz, urged my pony into the waters of the Qizil Darya. On the further shore the Swedish missionaries

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were waiting with quantities of their delicious coffee and cakes laid out on a cool spot among the willows on the river's edge. As I drank my last cup, to my surprise I saw the Taoyin's carriage with an escort of Chinese cavalry fording the river, and when I came to the road again there was the new Taoyin's wife and the chief Yamen Beg with all the arrangements for a farewell tea-drinking set up in a wayside baker's shop. This lady and I had only recently made each other's acquaintance, so our good-byes were perhaps somewhat stereotyped. But they were by no means the last. Two miles farther on and quite six from Kashgar, Aisha Khan and most of the wives of the Consulate staff were assembled. They had left Chini Bagh before me in carts and had arranged their little tea-drinking in a field about fifty yards from the road, the carts being drawn up so as to screen us from the gaze of passers-by. I choked down a little tea, but cut the party short for they were all crying and it was all I could do to keep a stiff upper lip. They dropped their veils and came with me as far as the road.

"I said good-bye and rode off, but stood for a moment before reaching a turn in the road and looked back. I shall never forget the picture the women made, standing together under the trees, with the afternoon sun slanting through the branches on to the blue and red and purple of their dresses. Then I turned a corner, and they were hidden from sight."

487 September and October are the best months in the year for trekking in High Asia, and we did not hurry down the road to India. As far as Tashqurghan we travelled by an entirely different route from that which we had followed on the way to Kashgar in 1922. Instead of entering the mountains south of Yangi Hissar and crossing the Kashka Su, Ter Art, Yambulak and Chicniklik passes, we marched south-west to Tashmalik, through the Gez gorges to Bulunkul and thence southwards across the Pamirs to Tagharma and the Sariqol valley. This is the route used by the Consulate couriers all the year round and by ordinary travellers during the low-water season. Its length is about the same as that of the Chichiklik route, but it has the advantage of rising gradually to one easy pass only 13,600 feet high instead of crossing four steep ones going up to over 16,000 feet. On the other hand, during the six high-water months (say 15th April–15th October) the Gez valley is impassable for 25 miles between the lowest of the bridges in the gorge and its mouth near Tashmalik. To avoid this the traveller between Kashgar and Bulunkul usually crosses the "Nine Passes" already mentioned, two days' hot and toilsome scrambling over ridge after ridge among the barren outer ranges to the east of the lower Gez. This did not appeal to me, and I worked out a route which I hoped would

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serve the triple purpose of avoiding the Nine Passes, reconnoitring a new "blank patch" which promised to be at least as interesting as the Alps of Qungur, and materially assisting my survey of the latter region.

From the top of the Zor Qir ridge above Bozarga in July 1923 Samsaq Bai had pointed out to me a pass called the Arpa Bel, about 20 miles away on the north side of the Gez valley between the Chakragil massif and a subsidiary peak called Sargalang (14,900 feet). He told me that it was regularly used by the local people, and led over from the main valley near Gez Qaraul to the Oitagh Jilgha, which he said was a very fine valley with fir-woods and rich pastures and many inhabitants. This pass was free from snow and did not look much more than 13,000 feet high; no European so far as I knew had crossed it or visited the alps of the Upper Oitagh Jilgha at the foot of the tremendous north-eastern precipices of Chakragil. More important still, if only the weather was clear I would obtain from it an extremely valuable cross-view of Qungur and the peaks at the head of the Tigarmansu and Qurghan Kul Jilghas from the north. Instead, therefore, of crossing the Nine Passes we forded the Gez with some difficulty above Tashmalik, struck up the long Oitagh Jilgha and after camping for three days near its head crossed the Arpa Bel to Gez Qaraul.

The beauty and grandeur of the scenery we found at the head of the Oitagh Jilgha surpassed even the Alps of Qungur, and we bitterly regretted being unable to pay it more than a flying visit; especially as the inexorable dust-haze of summer—the season was still exceptionally warm everywhere—robbed me of the photographs I might have secured had we been able to wait. On our third and fourth nights from Kashgar we halted at a village of small stone farmsteads called Agh Aghzi, eight miles up the Oitagh valley from its junction with the Gez. The inhabitants we found to be "Taghliks" or mountain-dwelling Turkis, "Sarts" as the Russians would call them. They were unanimous in their deprecation of any attempt on our part to penetrate further up the *jilgha* or cross into the Gez Valley by the Arpa Bel. That pass, they said, was exceedingly high and steep, and could not be crossed except with the help of yaks, which were not to be had. They were evidently surprised and rather alarmed at my knowing about it at all; I gathered that they kept the existence of the Arpa Bel as quiet as possible, for fear lest the Chinese should hear

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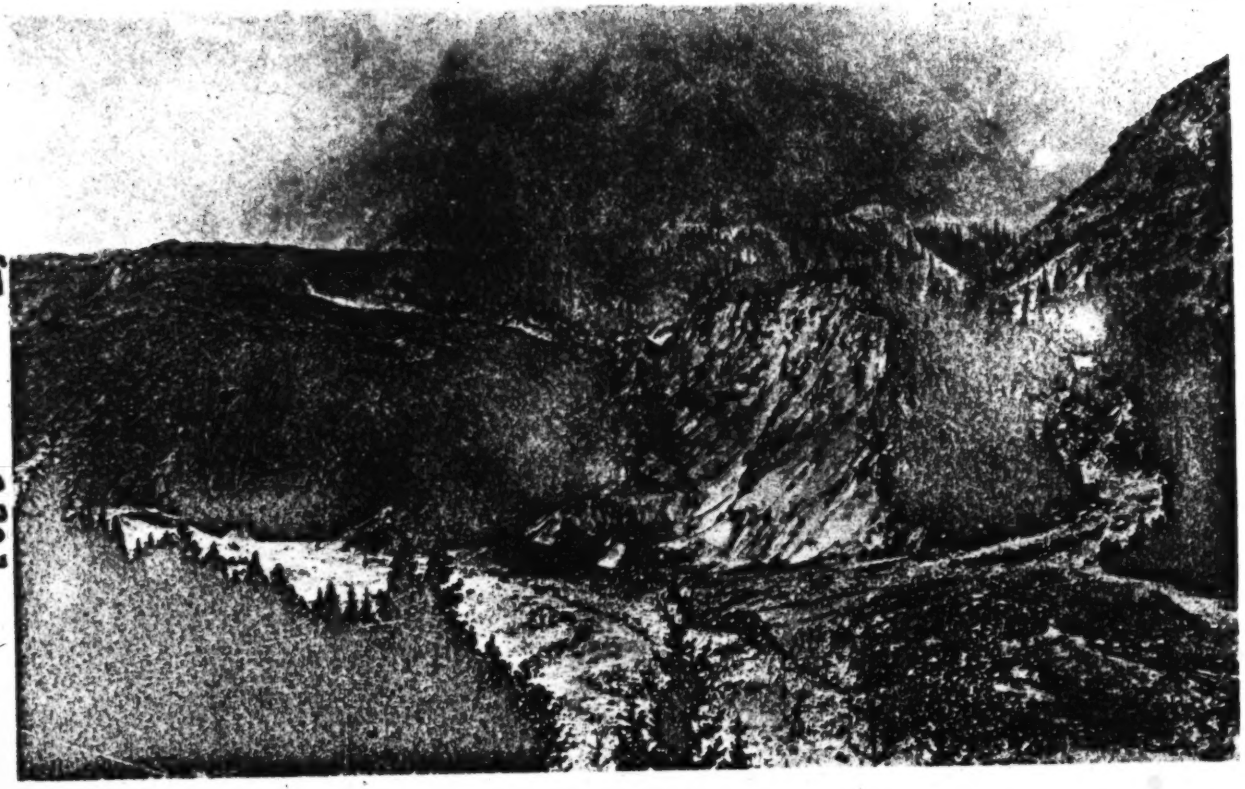
487 about and make it the main summer route to Tashqurghan. This would have meant the local people being forced to keep the track in repair, build bridges etc., as well as provide transport for officials using the route. I was interested to hear that two European travellers had been in the valley before, but neither of them had been further than the village of Pilal, 8 miles above Agh Aghzi; although the Oitagh Jilgha is easily accessible compared with the Kaying and other glens of the Alps of Qungur, no European had been to its head or across the Arpa Bel.

On 9th September we continued our march. Seven miles above Agh Aghzi the valley divides, the left or Pilal branch being inhabited by Taghliks and the right or At Oinak branch by Kirghiz. Passing Pilal village with its one immense plane-tree the track led up a wide valley at the head of which towered, incredibly high and blazing white even through the haze, the mighty ice-wall and splintered peaks of Chakragil.[1] Enticing "alps" below the forests of fir which clothed the steep sides of the valley beckoned to us, and we pressed on full of excited anticipation. The villagers had prepared a shepherd's hut for us two miles above Pilal at the mouth of the Arpa Jilgha which, ribbed with forest, led steeply up to the pass. But we would have none of it and camped two miles further up on a delectable meadow among thickets of fir, ash and rowan, perched high above the glacier stream and protected from the noonday sun by high wooded crags and pinnacles of limestone rock. Three *aq-ois* stood on another knoll just beyond and a crystal-clear stream bubbled out of mosses and grass near by. Here we spent three days, all we could spare, exploring the neighbourhood and making friends with the Taghliks.

/33 It did not require a trained observer to realize that the region in which we found ourselves was a perfect paradise alike for the geologist and for the naturalist. Its chief peculiarity is the relatively low elevation of the head of the Oitagh Jilgha. This forms a kind of recess or alcove in the precipitous north-east face of Chakragil, 14,000 feet high, into which the glaciers fall and thus push down their snouts to a much lower level than

[1] This name seems to represent the words *Chikir Oghil* or "the shepherd station of Chikir." I found a Chikir glen and pastures at the head of the Oitagh, on the north side. Stein gives the name "Chakragil" to the peak at the head of the Bostan Arche valley, some miles to the north-west, which he explored on his third journey. If a name is required for the whole massif, Chakragil would seem the most suitable one.



FOOT OF COMBINED OI TAGH AND BÜL ÜSH GLACIERS, ALPS OF CHAKRAGIL
SHOWING BLACK-ICE CAVE FROM WHICH GLACIER-STREAM ISSUES, AND FIR-CLAD LATERAL MOORAINE

[Face p. 282]

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133 do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

137 The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

342 At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks
231 of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass
65 up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

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651 be commuted at 12 tengas (2*s.*) per *charak*, the market price being 4 tengas.[1]

356 Talking to the mountain people one occasionally gets amusing little side-lights on the difficulties of house-keeping in an *aq-oi*. Among the woods at Chikir Aghzi we came upon some families striking camp. They said they were moving to an open piece of ground only a mile lower down.

"What is wrong with this camping-ground?" we asked.

"The mice have found us out and eat our bread," was the reply.

"Why don't you keep cats to eat the mice?"

"Because the cats would drink our milk!"

This was unanswerable, as anyone who had seen the interior of an *aq-oi* and its carefully-guarded "dairy" ought to have realized.

487 We crossed the Arpa Bel on 13th September, after spending the night at a chilly camping-ground above the highest fir-woods on the north-side. On the way up, when I was behind trying to take photographs, D. saw a pretty sight while she was waiting for me to come up. A herd of great shaggy yaks, unattended by any herdsman, came trooping down through the forest to drink at the stream. They came with such a rush, bringing earth and stones with them, that for a moment she thought it was an avalanche. They stood about in the water and on the grassy banks of the torrent, exactly like Highland cattle. They were still there when I came up, but my cortège disturbed them and they bunched together in the stream-bed as if awaiting attack, spoiling the picture. The dust-haze was worse than ever at the top of the pass, which I found to be 13,350 feet above the sea, and nothing whatever was visible of what would have been an unrivalled view. Both from the surveying and from the photographic point of view it was one of the worst pieces of luck I have ever had; for according to the calendar it was, or ought to have been, autumn and the clearest time of the year.

The Arpa Bel is a decidedly stiff pass, 6,000 feet on either side without a break, but although nothing whatever has been done to the track it is not actually dangerous. Still, it was as well that we had hired from the Pilal people fifteen

[1] The object is to encourage cultivation, even in pastoral country, and thus increase the population. Similarly, the Chinese encourage the planting of trees in the plains by collecting the land revenue partly in the form of timber.

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donkeys to share the loads with our carrier's ponies. We had one unfortunate casualty among the latter. One of them, though it was carrying less than half an ordinary load, showed signs of weakness on the way up. At a point where the track traversed the face of the Arpa Bel ridge this pony suddenly collapsed and rolled fifty yards down the mountain-side, load and all. The carrier, Amin Jan, was after it like a knife, closely followed by myself and two other men. The slope was steep but not precipitous, and we were able to stop the pony rolling further. It was unhurt and reached the top of the pass safely, its load carried by hand. On the way down the south-side Amin Jan put a very light load on it, thinking that there would be no more climbing and that all would be well. Unfortunately about 1,000 feet below the top there was a short but very steep ascent where the track rounded a ridge; here the pony was again seized with staggers and fell 150 feet, being killed instantaneously. There must have been something wrong with the pony, which had had three days' rest and good grazing at Oitagh and was the only one to be affected by the pass; but we were sorry for Amin Jan, who wept bitterly at his loss, and we also regretted the spoiling of our own record. Until then we had not lost a single animal on any of our journeys.

The following day we rejoined the Gez Dara at 7,600 feet by a glen called the Chuchul Jilgha which was agreeably full of red-legged partridge and pigeons. The road up the Gez gorges is well kept up by the Chinese and is provided with solid wooden bridges where necessary. It is stones, stones all the way and one's horse must be walked every yard; but there is no difficulty or danger whatever, unless (as occasionally happens) a bridge has been recently washed away. The grandeur of the scenery is indescribable. The Gez, which here breaks through from the Pamirs between the great massifs of Qungur and Chakragil, is second only to the Yarkand River among the mountain streams of Kashgaria, and its cataracts in summer are a sight to behold. For 16 miles we followed the torrent which twisted and coiled among precipices rising higher and higher at every turn; in the evening at Khapa Gumbaz we looked straight up on one side to the summit of Qungur I, 15,500 feet above us and only 5 miles away, on the other to that of Chakragil not much less high. The air had cleared, two days too late for the Arpa Bel, and we saw the tops of the great massifs clearly.

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487 After spending a cold and uncomfortable night at Khafa Gumbaz (the name means "Domes of Wrath") we emerged on to the Pamirs by the windy gate of Bulunkul and camped at a little mud fort south of the lake amid typical 704 Pamir scenery. The garrison of this lonely post consisted of an out-at-elbows lieutenant and three men, all married to Kirghiz women. One of the soldiers interested me very much. A hawk-nosed, black-avised, alert little man in an enormous astrakhan hat appeared at the door of our *aq-oi* with an accordion in his hands, stood to attention smartly and entered without further ado. He told me he was a Russian Kirghiz from Tokmak in Semirechia, whence he had come three years before; he looked to me more like a Noghai or "Tartar," but might have been a Tartar-Kirghiz half-breed. He was very friendly and insisted on treating us to a concert on his "garmonie" (the Russian form of the word "harmonium" which they use for accordion). On that wheezy old instrument he played various long and unmelodious tunes in our tiny *aq-oi*. It was a painful performance, but we hated to hurt his feelings and were most appreciative; he was so very obviously a spy from across the frontier, and in so lonely and desolate a spot we could well understand his joy at finding at last a job of work to do.

487 During the next four days we wandered unhurriedly across the Lake District of the Chinese Pamirs, halting a day close to the north shore of the Little Qara Kul and another at Subashi. Here the Qungur and Muz Tagh Ata massifs stood round us in a vast amphitheatre, their dazzling domes and ridges of ice reflected exquisitely in the sapphire waters of the lakes. It was a pleasant time; the weather was perfect and the Kirghiz charming; sport was good, the lakes and marshes teeming with geese, ducks, teal and snipe. Near the Qara Kul we were met by our old friend Nadir Beg, the tall and jovial "British Watchman in Sarikol," with a regular cortège of Kirghiz and the inevitable wayside tea-drinking. Earlier in the same day we had an interesting *rencontre*. A party of 788 about twenty travel-stained and weather-beaten old men clad in ragged sheepskin cloaks and hats came riding northwards over the pamir. They proved to be Turki pilgrims returning from Mecca, the remnants of a party of fifty or more who had left Kashgar in April for the Holy Cities. They had had a terrible time, they said, on the high passes of the Hindu Kush between Tashqurghan and Chitral, and several of the

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weaker pilgrims had been lost in the snow, thereby acquiring as much merit as if they had reached Mecca. They had nothing but praise for the authorities in Chitral, at Peshawar, on the Indian railways and at Bombay, where the official "Protector of Pilgrims" had put them on a specially-chartered steamer for Jeddah. In the Hijaz their troubles had recommenced, heat and disease claiming more victims than the snows of the Hindu Kush, besides which they had been held up for weeks by Bedouin robbers between Mecca and Medina. Returning by the same route, the survivors had found little or no snow on the passes and had had a comparatively easy journey.

Another interesting meeting was with a fine-looking old Kirghiz in a rich cloak and green turban at Subashi. This man, Khokan Beg, by name, told me that in Tsarist times he had been a great man in the Russian Pamirs, no less than the Mingbashi (Headman of a Thousand Households) of Great Qara Kul. Then a Pharaoh had arisen who knew him not, and he had migrated to Chinese territory with his wives and his sons and his daughters and flocks and his herds and everything that was his. He also told me that nine or ten years before he had entertained "a great British Consul and his wife from Kashgar," after whom he inquired; these can have been no other than General Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, who visited the Russian Pamirs in 1915.

The Pamirs are well known to be the habitat of *Ovis Poli*, one of the three largest kinds of wild sheep in the world, the other two being *O. Ammon*, of Tibet, and *O. Karelini*, of the Tien Shan. Nowadays, however, good heads are very rare on the Chinese side of the frontier, especially in the more accessible regions. I gathered at Subashi, which used at one time to be a good centre, that most of the Kirghiz nowadays have guns of a sort and that they shoot down the sheep indiscriminately for food. The only corner of Chinese territory in which *Ovis Poli* are still to be found in some numbers is in the Qara Zak and neighbouring valleys, two or three marches north-west of Bulunkul. A pair of horns was brought to me which had come from the Russian side; evidently it was expected that I would want to take a trophy home with me, and would pay a good price. The measurements were 56 inches in length and 15¼ girth.

Even if there had been a chance of a stalk, as I had hoped, I should have had some difficulty in working it in, for thanks

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to the brilliant clearness of the weather my plane-table and cameras kept me very busy. The "rays" and telepanoramas I obtained of Qungur and the Shiwakte from this side proved afterwards of the greatest value to Major Mason in his compilation of my topographical material.[1]

The cold at nights was severe, and the development of my plates and films was carried on under difficulties. Two or three of my best views, including a perfect one of Muz Tagh Ata, reflected in the waters of the Qara Kul, were spoilt by the plates freezing before they were properly dry. Snow fell almost every night, and unless one laced up the door of one's tent tightly before going to bed, there was apt to be a small snow-drift on one's pillow in the morning. Whenever we could, we occupied *aq-ois*, because of the fire which could be made in the middle if there was enough *burtsa* or *saxaul* brushwood. The latter is not a good fuel for open fires, but makes excellent hot-ashes for the "fire-bucket." If it is to be used for a fire, it is advisable to lay the plants with their stalks outwards and the bushy part towards the middle, as they burn better thus.

The Ulugh Rabat Pass (13,650 feet), immediately to the west of Muz Tagh Ata, consists merely of rolling downs with a barely perceptible watershed. When we crossed it on 20th September it had a little snow on it—just enough to make me wish I had my skis with me and could wait for the next snowfall. Between November and April, when the snow lies everywhere, one could ski every yard of the 5 miles from the top of the pass to the Qarasu post, and most of the 12 miles on to Ghujak as well. The run down the north side of the pass would be shorter, but just as good.

Passing the flourishing settlement of Tagharma, chief centre of the Tajiks, we reached Tashqurghan the following day, and after a couple of days' halt went on to Yurghal Gumbaz on 24th September. On the latter march we spent the whole morning visiting Pir Imam Dad and our other Maulai friends of 1922 at Tughlan Shahr. D. was struck by the almost Italian vivacity and warmth of feeling shown by the Tajik women, compared with the more phlegmatic and reserved Kirghiz. In my dealings with the men, too, I found them much more excitable than either the Kirghiz or the Turkis of the plains. At Nadir Beg's house D. was greeted enthusiastically by a vivacious, bright-eyed, alert little woman,

[1] "Geographical Journal," June 1925, pp. 406–8

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

who had entertained her for ten minutes at Mintaka Aghzi on the journey up. This lady had then been living with her father, the Beg of Mintaka, but had since married into Nadir's family. She rushed at D., patted her all over and began re-arranging her hair, which had suffered from the gallop across the meadows from Tashqurghan. She also kissed her when leaving. A quite poor Tajik woman at Yurghal Gumbaz told D. that she had had nine children, of whom seven had died. One of her daughters had been very beautiful. "She died when she was still a bride," said the old lady. "She was very lovely, her eyes were full of fire.[1] She was so beautiful that I used to sit making clothes for her all day long."

The Tajiks use the word *chokan* for "bride," i.e. a wife who has not yet borne a child, whereas the Turkis as already mentioned reserve the term for an unmarried girl. Similarly the word *jawan* is used for a woman who has borne children, not as at Kashgar. A Tajik married woman wears big mother-of-pearl buttons over her ears, and at intervals of about two inches down each *chach* or braid of hair. The appetite of the Tajiks for medicine is in no way inferior to that of the Kirghiz. A lad was sent with us all the way to Yurghal Gumbaz to fetch back from our camp doses of castor-oil and anteczema which D. had prescribed for a baby and an elderly widow respectively. D. gave most careful and explicit instructions to the messenger, but it is quite likely that they rubbed the widow with the castor-oil and administered the anteczema internally to the baby.

Three days later we reached Lopgaz at the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, 14,000 feet above the sea. It had been cold even at Paik, the stage before, and I had adjured the Beg who was looking after us, to be sure and provide good *aq-ois* and plenty of firewood. Imagine our disgust, therefore, when we arrived at the bleak and open Lopgaz camping-ground just as the sun was dipping behind a snowy ridge, to find nothing but two miserable little huts, full of holes and smelling strongly, and not a scrap of firewood. The Beg was a long way behind with our loads, and there was nothing for it but to set to work and collect fuel for ourselves. All that was to be had in the valley was the tiniest growth of *burtsa* imaginable, plants the size of face-sponges and damp at that. After an hour we had collected a heap about two feet high, which

[1] The Turki word for fire (*ut*) is also used for love.

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487 we handed over to the cook, Murad Shah, when the caravan arrived. Eventually the Beg's men produced some better *burtsa* from far up the hill-side, and by nightfall we had enough for our own needs and those of our men. The *aq-ois* were impossible, but we had the tents pitched; D. sensibly went to bed in hers, and by nine o'clock we were dining snugly by her bedside off the usual three courses which Murad Shah never failed to turn out, however unpromising the circumstances. Ahmad Bakhsh even managed to provide a "fire-bucket" for D. next morning, for which she was very grateful, as there were six inches of snow on the ground at dawn and a blizzard was in progress. We struck camp and hurried up the last 1,700 feet of the ascent as quickly as we could, for fear lest the pass should be blocked; but it had cleared up by the time we reached the top and all was well, though the baggage-ponies had great difficulty in scrambling through the snow up the steep hill-face. The breakneck descent on the south side on to the moraine of the Mintaka glacier was very difficult, for the sun was strong, and the ponies slipped and staggered in the slush of the melting snow; we had to "nurse" them down very carefully, every one lending a hand. None the less we passed Gul Khwaja, where we had camped in 1922, and reached Murkushi before seven. After the fuel scarcity of the Pamirs—it is their chief drawback as a health-resort—the roaring bonfires we lit among the woods at Murkushi were a rare treat.

Next day (9th October) we reached Misgar. Here it was a curious sensation to receive and send telegrams over a counter once more and listen to the tap-tap of Morse. We had come back to the nineteenth century, if not quite yet to the twentieth. Our only *contretemps* was the engulfing of three of our ponies in the quicksands of the Kilik stream between Murkushi and Runhil; we fished them out, but several of our boxes were immersed, including one containing all my papers.

The six marches from Misgar to Ghalmit we covered in four days, finding the going very much better than in 1922. This was partly because there was more down-hill than up; partly because the Batura and Hussaini Glaciers were easier to cross owing to the lateness of the season; but mostly because the Mir of Hunza, with the assistance of a subsidy from the Kashmir State, had greatly improved the track. It was now scarcely anywhere less than two feet wide and reassuringly

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solid, especially along the perpendicular sides of the Kilik and Khunjerab gorges. Between Pasu and Ghalmit we went out of our way to visit a beautiful little lake called Baurit, about half a mile long by a quarter broad. It lies in the lap of ancient moraines and is fringed at one end with orchards and tiny farms with terraced fields, the rest of its shore being wild and rocky. We found it covered with duck and teal, and there were a few snipe to be had as well. After I had bagged enough for our larder and a few birds for the men, we lunched delightfully under a boulder on a terrace above the lake. In the still waters were mirrored green and golden orchards, just beginning to be touched by autumn, above which towered cliffs and hanging glaciers, domes and pinnacles of ice three miles high. D. said that while I had been shooting she had seen from this point an immense avalanche come down from the top of the very highest peak, nearly 25,000 feet above the sea; though it was 7 or 8 miles away, and not a sound could be heard, the whole face of the mountain seemed to be moving, a most awe-inspiring sight.

We achieved the two marches from Ghalmit through the terrible Hunza gorges to Baltit in one day, arriving after eight o'clock at night. The coolies with our loads did not get in till next morning, and we had to sleep in our clothes at the Mir's guest-house. Neither of us will ever forget our nocturnal reception at Baltit. The sandy-haired Heir Apparent and the tall Wazir met us with a large following, in the dark, at the castle of Altit and escorted us along the last mile of the road. As we approached the heights on which the Mir's summer residence stands, the shouts and cries of welcome of his retainers echoed down to us through the darkness, and we could see many lights moving to and fro above. When, after a stiff ascent, we emerged on the top of the plateau, a torchlight procession formed up and preceded us to the Mir's house, accompanied by wild strains from the State Band; and then we were shaking hands with the large and kindly Mir, and he was greeting us with obviously sincere smiles and words of welcome.

In England one talks of autumn "tints," that word being suitable for the colouring of an autumn in Europe. It does not apply in the Hunza-Nagar country, where the fruit-trees turn to such hues of scarlet and golden yellow, vermilion and orange and even bright pink, as would require the strongest oil-colours to do them justice. To the massed hues of the

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foregrounds add tier beyond tier of the most stupendous snows and precipices, lofty river-cliffs bearing ancient castles on their crests, quaint piled-up stone villages surmounting neatly-terraced fields; and you will wonder, as we did, how it is that no worthy artist of the West finds his way to scenes which would make his name world-famous, could he but transfer half their beauty and grandeur to his canvas.

After a halt of three days at Baltit we moved over to the capital of the rival state of Nagar, crossing the river by a narrow swaying suspension bridge and filing 6 miles up the Nagar Valley towards the snowy Hispar. Here we were made very comfortable in a pleasant guest-house by the good Mir and his extraordinarily handsome son, Mahbub Ali. They met us on the shady polo-ground, near a little lake which reflected the stone houses of the village and the ancient wooden castle of the Mirs of Nagar. What a picuresque scene it was! The Mir and his sons rode thoroughbred Afghan polo ponies; behind them came the "Subedar Sahib," the Mir's right-hand man, a jovial talkative person, to whom we took a great liking; then there were various dignitaries, "Trangpas" or headmen of villages, "Yerpas" or tax-collectors, falconers with hawks at their wrists; in the background were the stalwart lads of the bodyguard dressed in grey woollen uniforms, dark-brown ibex-hide riding-boots, and the peculiar quoit-shaped head-gear of the country; last but not least, the musicians of the State Band blew furiously on their quaint pipes and banged their drums.

The Nagar valley is not so grandiose as that of Hunza, for its river is much smaller and the snows of the Hispar at its head, though they cradle the biggest glaciers in the world outside the Arctic Circle, do not show up as well as Rakaposhi and the other giants which tower above Baltit. But there is an intimate and cosy "feel" about Nagar; it is picturesque in a less magnificent way, being broken up by village-crowned backbones of rock into secluded basins and "happy valleys" full of green fields and foliage. There are other differences between the two rival States. Pears grow best in Nagar, grapes in Hunza. The people of the former State are orthodox Sunnis, those of the latter Maulais. Hunza still keeps up the connection with China; Nagar looks rather to India. Most interesting of all, among the Nagaris, there is more that takes one back to the remote past than there is in Hunza. You see among them more of the Hellenic type of features,

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LOOKING UP NAGAR VALLEY TO HISPAR

[Face p. 292]

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modified indeed by a liberal infusion of the Pathan nose. At Baltit I do not remember the children playing with bows and arrows, whereas in Nagar not only does every small boy carry a bow, but as mentioned before, the ancient Parthian archery on horseback is still regularly practised.

The Mir held a gala day of polo, tent-pegging and mounted archery in our honour. The previous evening the Band played loudly for an hour; this was a signal dating from the bad old days, when the men of Nagar used to be summoned for a raid by wild strains from the Mir's musicians, each village passing on the call to the next. Nowadays reigns the *pax Britannica*, and the tocsin only sounds for polo. The Mir lent me a beautiful Badakhshani stallion and made me tent-peg and play polo, but I refused to try my hand with the bow and arrows; I preferred to watch with D. the young Nagaris thundering past, their hair and shirts fluttering in the wind, and hear them shout with joy as they neatly planted their arrows on or near the little silver mark. Whoever hits the "peg" with lance or arrow gets it, and at least a dozen trophies were distributed afterwards by the Mir. I am quite certain my lance-point went nowhere near the "peg," but the polite Mir, with many congratulations, presented me with a small rosette stamped out of beaten silver; there was a nick in one edge where he gravely informed me that I had grazed it.

One day we were conducted by the Subedar Sahib far up the valley to a broad cultivated basin among the mountains, called Hopar. Many charming peeps we had on the way, of tiny hamlets in sunlit valleys, each with its wooden mosque, amid walnut foliage and the orange and vermilion of the orchards, of threshing-floors with men and women threshing on them and fields dotted with sheep, goats and the little black cows of the country. At the further end of the Hopar basin the Subedar Sahib had a surprise in store for us. We suddenly came out on a cliff-top overlooking the most awe-inspiring glacier I have ever seen. It was the Kepal, one of the great glaciers of the Hispar, a "sea of ice" indeed, which swept down from towering snows in tremendous curves of glittering serac, striped with long lines of rock-debris. The Kepal glacier is still slowly eating away the Hopar basin, against which it presses; we climbed down on to a section of cliff with the ruins of cottages on it, which had subsided thirty or forty feet, evidently undercut by the ice.

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After [illegible]ing the hospitable Mir of Nagar farewell we march[illegible]wn the Nagar river to the Hunza valley once more. Instead, however, of crossing to Baltit we kept to the south side of the valley which is in Nagar territory and commands, if possible, even finer views than the north. At the Nurteza-bad bridge we rejoined our 1922 route, spending the night as before at the Arcadian village of Minapin. At Chalt we stayed two nights, as I was anxious to explore the beautiful Chaprot nullah and obtain from it a long-coveted photograph of Raka-poshi's sword-point peak. Fate and the weather were kind, and we spent a most enjoyable and successful day among pine-woods high above the picturesque fortress-village of Chaprot.

From Gilgit, profiting by our experiences of 1922, we hired mules for the whole journey to Bandipur instead of relying on the transport available from stage to stage. As a result we covered the distance in eleven days instead of fourteen, without hurrying. It was curious to travel in comfort and luxury down the Srinagar road, with transport running like clockwork, plentiful supplies, a well-engineered six-foot track and palatial dak-bungalows at the end of each absurdly short stage, and to think what "heavy weather" we had made of the same journey in 1922. So much does relativity count for, and the sense of proportion developed by life and travel in High Asia. The Burzil Pass, which we crossed on 23rd October, seemed very small beer after the Arpa Bel, or even the Mintaka, while as for the Tragbal, it was merely a pleasant grassy ridge among pine-woods.

Embarking at Bandipur late on the night of the 26th October, after a long final march, we were poled across the Wular to the lake-port of Sopor. Here the following after-noon we boarded the twentieth century in the shape of a large motor-lorry, which rattled ourselves, our baggage and three of our men in a couple of hours to Srinagar, 35 miles away. It was amusing to watch the effect of the said twentieth century on an intelligent Kashgari like Hafiz, who had never seen so much as a Ford in his life. As we jerked wheezily forward at three miles an hour through the crowded bazaar he murmured with goggling eyes, "*Ajaib bir nersa shu!*" (This is a wonderful thing!) Later, on the main road after dark, a car with headlamps lit dashed past us; Hafiz' excited com-ment was, "It's got eyes!" One day at Srinagar we took him and Sangi Khan (to whom also it was all new) for a drive in a powerful touring car lent us by our kind host, Sir John

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Wood, the Resident in Kashmir. When the chauffeur let her out along the smooth poplar-fringed road to Dachigam, Hafiz, who shared the back seat with D. and myself, turned to us and said, " When he goes fast, the trees come running, running ! " [1]

There was much to do and very little time to do it in at the Kashmir capital, for I had to fit in visits to headquarters at Delhi and to the Survey of India at Simla before we sailed from Bombay. One of our chief preoccupations was finding suitable homes for the ponies. Tutankhamen had already been presented by D. to our friend the Subedar Sahib at Nagar, of whose children he was to be the pampered mount. A British officer of my acquaintance at Chilas bought three of the ponies, including " Polu pony," from which woolly but staunch little beast I was more than loath to part. The black Badakhshi stallion also went to an English home, and D. made a present of her beloved Ferghana gelding to a lady who she knew would be kind to it. Then there were the men to be paid off, Hafiz and Sangi Khan and Murad Shah and Yakub, and their return journey arranged, quickly, before the snows of winter closed the passes. Ahmad Bakhsh, our only Indian servant, was to come with us as far as Bombay. These and other details, such as packing and repacking, selling off our worn and battered kit and so on, gave us little time to think.

Then there came a morning when everything was done and a big touring car stood ready to take us down the road to Rawal Pindi. The four men who were to go back stood in the roadway outside the Residency gate to see us off. They had already said good-bye to D., who sat with Ahmad Bakhsh in the car, a little way up the road, and now my turn came. I began to say something to them in Turki about having made arrangements for their transport and rations as far as Gilgit, and hoping that they would have a good journey ; and then I caught sight of the expression of gloom upon their honest, weather-beaten faces, and I realized suddenly what it all meant. No more would the stout-hearted cheerful Hafiz take the long trail with us on his trusty Kalmuck steed, always at hand to make our ways smooth with his tact and common-sense. No more would the strong arm of Sangi Khan, nature's gentleman if ever there was one, be ready to support his " Mem-Sahib " over difficult mountain-paths. No more would

[1] Turki *zhugurup keladur.*

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the unassuming Murad Shah cook miraculous meals for us in the most unpropitious circumstances. No more would the faithful Yakub toil with us over hill and dale, river and sand-dune, desert and oasis, urging on the phlegmatic Tutankhamen with raucous but persuasive cries.

A lump rose in my throat and I stood looking at them, unable to say more. Then Hafiz relieved the tension by striding forward and grasping my hand. They all shook hands in silence and turned away towards their boat. A moment later we were spinning down the road to India and home.

The last link with Kashgar was broken.

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APPENDIX

NOTE ON PHOTOGRAPHY IN CENTRAL ASIA

THE following details may be of interest to those who, like myself, have a taste for landscape and other photography "off the beaten track." I must explain here that I have not studied the theory of the subject at all, and do not pretend to be able to tell experts anything they did not know before. Photographical processes do not interest me; I only did my own developing and enlarging in Central Asia from what I regarded, for reasons given below, as dire necessity. My one object was to get pictures.

Landscape, particularly mountain scenery, being my especial hobby, I concentrated chiefly on the problem of obtaining a uniform density from top to bottom of the negative. For this purpose I used an adjustable filter shaded from orange at the top to practically plain glass at the bottom. This could be used at strengths varying from 2 or 3 to 40 or 50 times, according to the length of exposure practicable. Used at full strength it cut out over 90 per cent. of the blue and ultra-violet rays from the upper part of the field, and proportionately less from the middle and lower parts. This prevented clouds and snow-capped peaks, etc., from being "swamped" by the blue of the sky, and at the same time gave proper values for the middle distance and foreground. In this connection it may be of interest to note that in the plains and lower hills of the Tarim Basin I found a higher strength of filter to be necessary than in the intensely clear air of the high ranges and of the Pamirs; this I ascribe to reflection from the fine loess dust which is never entirely absent from the atmosphere of the Basin, even when it cannot be detected by the eye.

I used two cameras, both battered but trusty pre-War instruments, one taking postcard-size plates, the other quarter-plate roll-film. Both had between-lens shutters and extending bellows, thus enabling me to take long-focus views wherever proper foreshortening was essential. In the plate camera I used either rapid orthochromatic or fine-grain slow plates according to the subject.

By far my most difficult subjects were the distant visions of snowy mountains seen—only too seldom—from the plains. I "collected"

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the great ranges of Central Asia, and spent much time, energy and material in their pursuit; specimens of my telepanoramas of the Kashgar Range, Kunlun and Tien Shan will be found opposite pp. 116 and 258. After many failures, I discovered that the only way in which I could obtain any results at all was by using slow plates and the filter described above at full strength. The best, in fact the only, time of day for the more distant telepanoramas I found to be from two to three hours after sunrise. The only telephoto lens I could use with my plate camera was a light small-aperture instrument magnifying 4 diameters and therefore requiring 16 times the normal exposure. The combined effect of all the above factors was that the length of exposure needed for each plate was relatively enormous, usually between 4 and 8 minutes. This meant that the taking of a telepanorama of 5 or 6 plates occupied anything up to an hour, during the whole of which time the sun was rising and the light strengthening steadily. Each successive plate, therefore, required a slightly shorter exposure than its predecessor; the progressive reduction I applied was about 8 per cent. for each plate. The problem was still further complicated by the varying illumination of different sections of the same panorama according to the incidence of the sun's rays relatively to the camera. When photographing round from South West to South, for example, a shorter exposure was required for the south-western end of the panorama, on which the sun's rays fell more directly, than for the southern.

Perhaps I may be permitted to offer a few words of advice to those who travel with a camera in Central Asia:

(1) Take a tank developing outfit with you, if no more, and develop your own plates or films in camp before you go to bed, or at any rate during halts at towns. When developing in camp, use spirit for drying the negatives; I did not know about this plan, and I consequently lost many pictures from the emulsion freezing, receiving a deposit of dust or being otherwise damaged while drying at night in my tent. If there is no convenient running water handy, use "hypo-killer."

Except for a spare tin basin, my whole developing outfit for both plates and films fitted into a locally-made wooden box 16" × 12" × 8" weighing about ½ lb. It is a nuisance to have to do one's own developing, but the amount of waste and (more important) loss of desirable pictures thereby prevented is enormous. It must be remembered that it is quite useless to send plates or packed films from one to two months' journey for development; even roll-film is not immune from deterioration in such circumstances. Apart from this, it is almost impossible to acquire the experience of local light-conditions and other factors necessary for really satisfactory pictures, if you do not see your results until several months after exposure.

(2) Photograph landscape only under the best possible conditions of light and atmosphere. Do not waste time and material on scenes,

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however well they "compose," which are imperfectly lighted, or on days when there is an appreciable amount of dust-haze in the air. Wait if possible until the sun's rays fall at right angles to a line drawn from the camera to the centre of the subject.

These may appear counsels of perfection; but my experience is that in the aftertime, views taken in poor light or on hazy though sunny days do not receive a second glance in comparison with those secured under the favourable conditions described above.

(3) When photographing the people of the country, conceal the camera and your intentions up to the last moment, if not beyond it. One natural, unselfconscious picture of native life is worth twenty "groups" or posed photographs of individuals; but it is also much more difficult to secure. I found the Turki, like the Persian, extraordinarily sharp at detecting the presence of a photographer. Directly you produce a camera of any size in a Central Asian street, the men all spring to attention and the women either bolt like rabbits or cover their faces and cower into corners. For example, I "hunted" street story-tellers and their audiences for weeks before securing the photograph which appears opposite p. 204. The above does not, however, apply to the Kirghiz of the mountains who, men and women alike, are not in the least shy or self-conscious and are perfectly easy to photograph.

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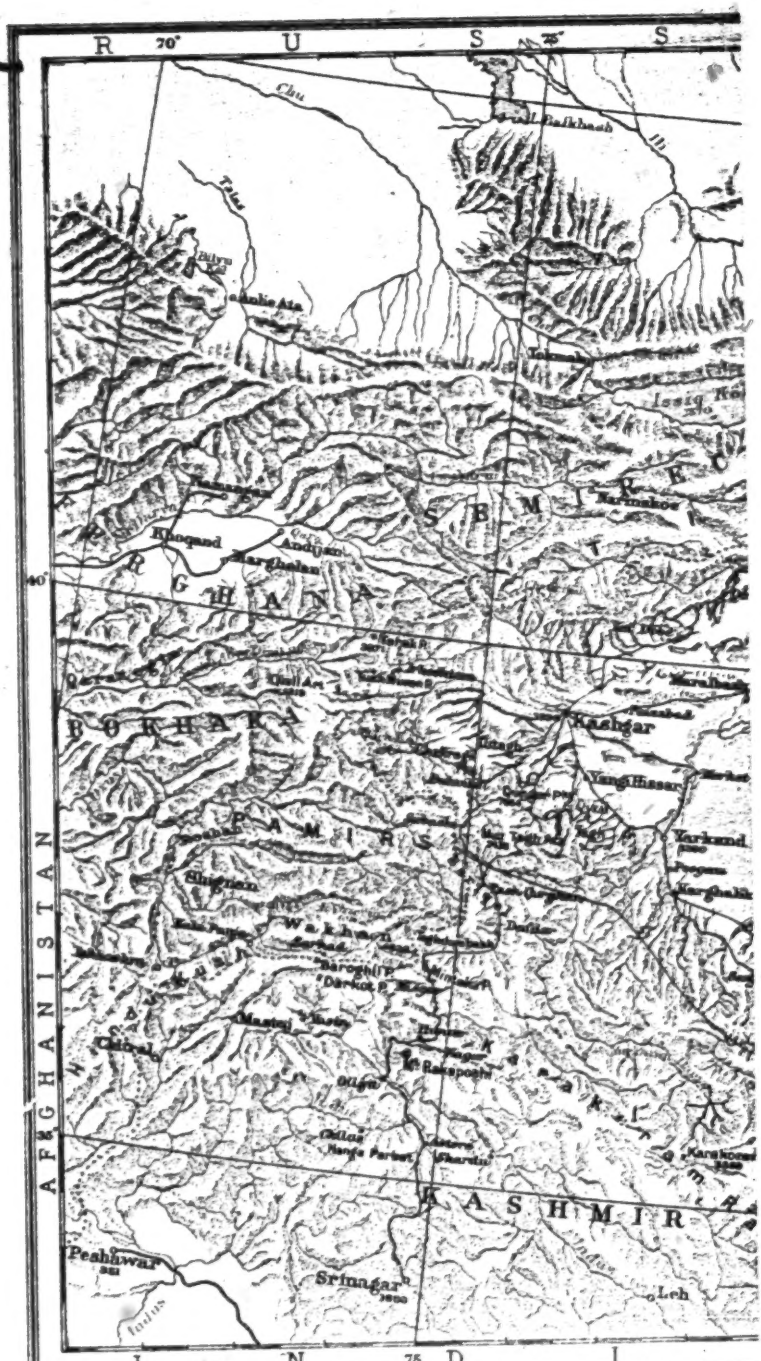

Conical Projection with Equidistant Meridians and Standard Parallels 35° and 45°

[End map A]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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S I 80° A
T A K L A M A K
Tarim
Khotan Darya
Hotan
Kiria Darya
Keriya Darya
Hisar
Yarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
Keriya
Niya
Kashgar
Kashgar
Kashgar

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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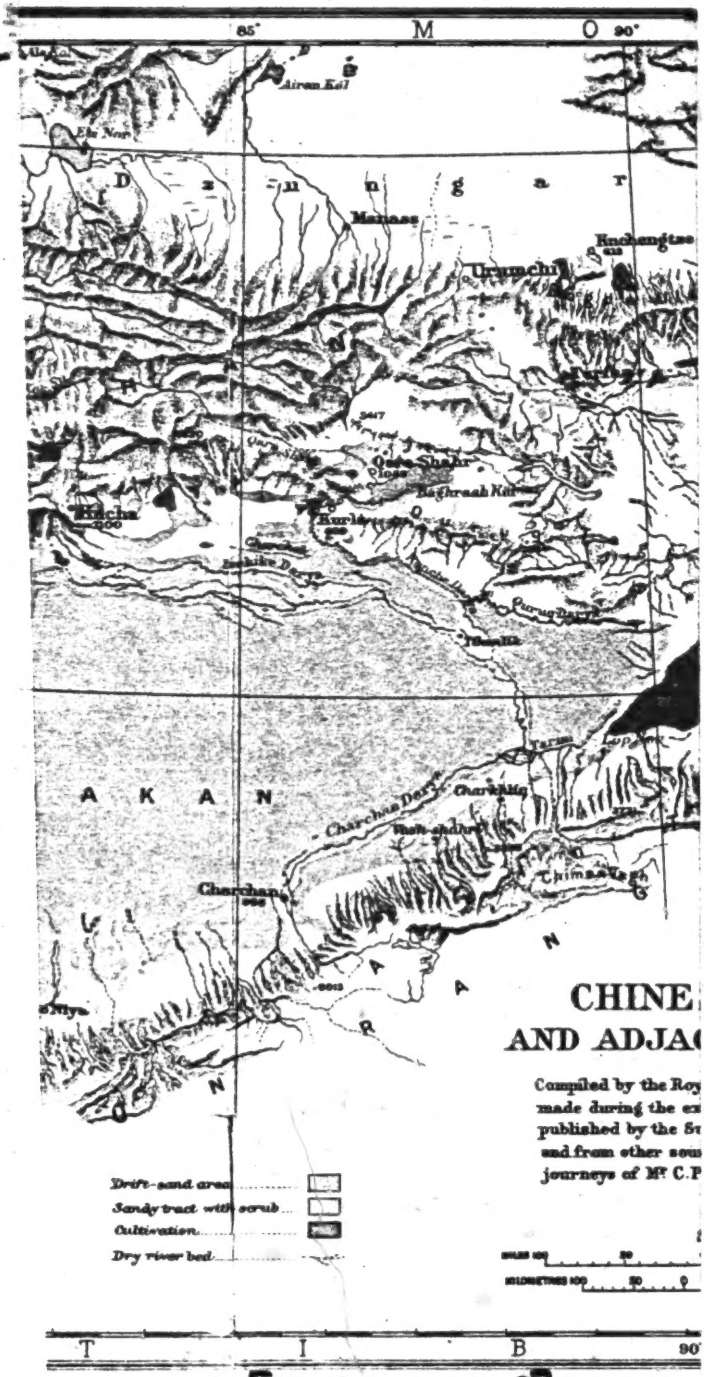

[End map C]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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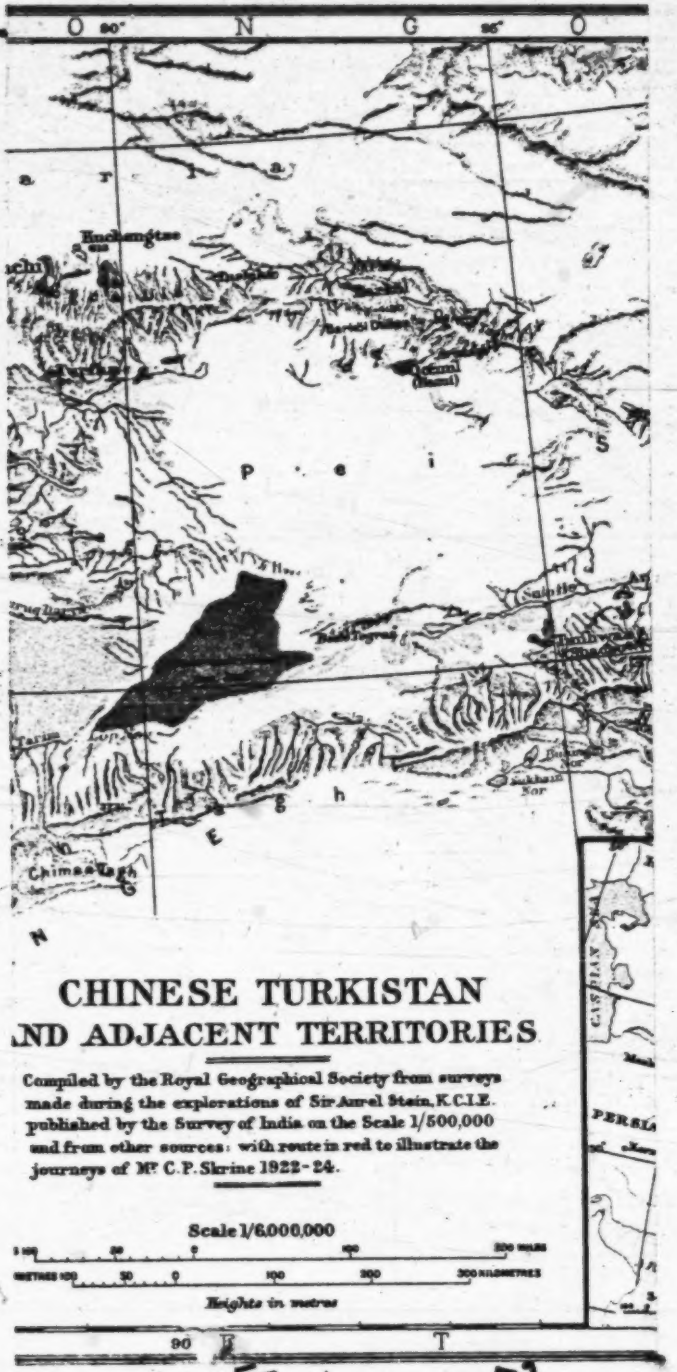

[End map D]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

102

O L I A
100°
Gasbun Nor
Kuchow
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Leh
Srinagar
Simla
Peshawar
Kabul
Herat
Mashad
Meru
Bokhara
Samarkand
Tashkent
Kuldja
Urga
Hami
Turfan
Lhasa
Shigatse
Gyantse
Darjeeling
Calcutta
Mandalay
Bhamo
Kunming
Chengtu
Hankow
Shanghai
Nanking
Peking
Tientsin
Mukden
Harbin
Vladivostok
Khabarovsk
Blagoveshchensk
Irkutsk
Omsk
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Semipalatinsk
Verkhoyansk
Yakutsk
Nerchinsk
Chita
Kiakhta
Ulan Bator
Kobdo
Ulan Bator
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bokhara
Merv
Herat
Kabul
Peshawar
Srinagar
Leh
Yarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
Kuchow
Hami
Turfan
Urga
Kiakhta
Irkutsk
Omsk
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Semipalatinsk
Verkhoyansk
Yakutsk
Nerchinsk
Chita
Harbin
Vladivostok
Khabarovsk
Blagoveshchensk
Mukden
Tientsin
Peking
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankow
Chengtu
Kunming
Bhamo
Mandalay
Calcutta
Darjeeling
Gyantse
Shigatse
Lhasa
Simla

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

S
175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the
N disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
• 121 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in
N the realm of assumptions.
S
175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

N S 175 121 648 132 114 182

a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

N S (233) (262)

A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a 'time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

S N 121 197 563 I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S N 635 161 The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Öölts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
N limit the choice of possible spouses.

*563 Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
648 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
[651] ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
554 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
556 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

• 121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a
member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 595 563 S [562] [152]

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
586 then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

563 In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
592 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a manifestation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

N
121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

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101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

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563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

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178 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
563 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

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121 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
*563 our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

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*563 A. The Han Chinese
*175 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/Turks of Sinkiang/

121 779 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be [668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 668 177 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 177 E. Attitude toward Foreigners

The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

• 121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 329 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N [433] it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XIII

CUSTOMS, MUSIC, POETRY AND FOLKLORE

"Il est peu de pays où la famille soit plus faiblement constituée que dans le Turkestan oriental et il y a bien longtemps que le mariage s'y conclut et s'y dissout avec une égale facilité. Il n'est peut-être pas une région en Asie où les mœurs soient plus relâchées et où, en même temps, les femmes aient plus d'indépendence et d'influence, où l'on rencontre à la fois moins de dignité et plus de douceur dans la vie privée."

GRENARD.

123 THE conditions of family life in the Tarim Basin and the manners and customs connected with the home are no less peculiar to this remote and isolated land than are its legends and superstitions. Thanks to the extra-territorial jurisdiction exercised by the British Consul-General, I had a considerable number of civil as well as criminal cases to settle according to the law and custom of the country, which were applicable not only when Chinese subjects were parties, but also in civil suits of all kinds brought by or against British Indian nationals permanently domiciled in Chinese Turkistan. In the course of many attempts to do some sort of justice in long and complicated cases concerning succession and bequest, marriage and divorce, chancery, settlement of accounts, and so on, I picked up a certain amount of information about the conditions and customs of family life, especially at Yarkand, whence most of the work came. I am also indebted to my friend, Murad Qari of Yarkand, whom I have already mentioned more than once, for much useful and interesting information relative to his native town.

165 Owing to ignorance and bad hygiene, infant mortality is undoubtedly very high, though it probably does not approach the appalling figures for Calcutta and some other parts of

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N I. Introduction

128 For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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113, 13 Sinkiang AI1

[For general geographic information on Sinkiang see 2: Cressey, AF1 China AF1, category 116, pp. 249-271.]

113, 13 Sinkiang AI1

[For information on the geography of Sinkiang, see 81: Cressey, AF1 China, category 116, pp. 327-335.]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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widespread fighting broke out, however, and American reporters who went up to Sinkiang after the first reports tended to minimize the significance of the incidents.[96] 175* 648

The exact location of the frontier in this region remains unclear. Recent Chinese maps show the entire Baitik Bogda within Sinkiang, and the Outer Mongolian frontier running along the main crest of the Altai.[97] Older maps, however, both Russian (Tsarist) and British, show the frontier running either right through the Baitik Bogda or somewhat to the south of the main height of the hills. 175* 131●

In December 1948 the Chinese Government made a new move of major importance by dropping Masud Sabri as Chairman of the Province and replacing him with Burkhan, the former Vice-Chairman, who as a "middle-of-the-roader" was more acceptable to the Kulja dissidents. Burkhan, a Russian Tatar by origin, with large trading interests, had been a man of influence in Sinkiang since Tsarist times. He had managed to maintain himself under the regimes of Yang Tseng-hsin, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, and the Kuomintang. 175* 635

In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung returned to Sinkiang to attempt to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty, to replace a ten-year agreement signed in 1939 under the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. It was reported at the time that the Russians were attempting to acquire monopoly rights in mining and trade. There was also speculation that on the Chinese side an elaborate maneuver was being carried out to create a conflict of interest between the Russians and the Chinese Communists, by granting to the Russians exclusive rights in this frontier sector of Chinese territory. In the upshot, no new treaty was negotiated, but the Russian monopoly right to an air service between Komul and the 175* 648

[96] See, for example, dispatch from Henry R. Lieberman, from Urumchi, August 27, 1948, in *New York Times*, September 8, 1948.

[97] See the map on p. 59 of the article by Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, New York, 1949.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

Kazakhs is indicated by the name "Kazakh," which is believed to mean "a fugitive or masterless man who has separated himself from his tribe" (or overlord). The same name, modified by Slavic pronunciation, was adopted by the Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians who became the Russian Cossacks. 563* 175

In the sixteenth century the newly formed Kazakh Khanate split into three hordes, forming a loose federation which united only rarely, under stress of war. This deterioration of the former unity was a result of the increased wealth of the Kazakhs, obtained by their conquest of some of the southern oasis regions from the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century, which made the individual tribal Sultans less dependent on the economic and political protection of the Khan. Of these three hordes, it was the easternmost, or the "Old Horde," whose grazing lands reached east of the present Soviet-Chinese border into Sinkiang.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Russians began to penetrate into the territory of the Kazakhs and by the end of the nineteenth century had succeeded in colonizing the territory of the three hordes, except for the easternmost part of the Old Horde which remained under Chinese domination. Even after the drawing of a border line between the bulk of the Kazakhs in the west and the small splinter group in Chinese territory, however, many aspects of the common historical development continued, since the nomads were no respecters of national boundaries and migrated back and forth across the frontier which cut through their tribal lines. 563* 131 361

The main grazing grounds of the Sinkiang Kazakhs are along the borders between Sinkiang and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic. From the Tekes and Kunguz Rivers in the Ili region they range northeastward to the Chuguchak region and then southeastward along the Mongolian Altai. There are even Kazakhs on the other side of this frontier, under the sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Kazakhs are pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle, horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but 000

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun*, at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are admini-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
● 131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
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CHAPTER V Geography and Economic Development

Mountains, Deserts, Steppes, and People

131 133 NOWHERE in the world is the influence of geography on people more dramatic than in Inner Asia. Sinkiang lies in the heart of a continent, as remote as possible from moisture-bearing winds from the oceans. On three sides it is enclosed by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau. The snow-clad Tien Shan or Heavenly Mountains, rising to heights of 23,000 feet, extend across the province from west to east, dividing it into two unequal parts. The southern two thirds are the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern third is Jungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

133 132 The Tarim Basin is a desert which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Here men cannot live and farm by rainfall, which averages less than four inches a year. Water is the gift of the great mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south, rising in places to more than 20,000 feet. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the east.

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Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 233
1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these 131
are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial au- [651]
thorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding ani- 233
mals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the [436]
steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

APPENDIX III International Boundaries on the Pamirs

In the decades of Anglo-Russian rivalry described in Chapter II, the eventual junction of the expanding frontiers of the British and Russian Empires was an open question. In 1895, however, as part of the easing of relations between Britain and Russia, a Pamir Boundary Commission was empowered to lay down a jointly recognized frontier. 131

This Commission consisted of a Russian Mission under General Shveikovskii, which surveyed the approaches from the northern side, and a British Mission under General Gerard, which surveyed the approaches from the southern side. The two Missions met at Lake Victoria "and from that point to the eastward demarcated the line which was thereafter to divide Russian from British interests in highest Asia." This phrasing is cited from the article "Pamirs" in the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911), by Sir Thomas H. Holdich, who as Colonel Holdich had been an important member of the British Pamir Mission of 1895.

The principal sources for the description of the frontier thus established are:

1. *Report of the Proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, Calcutta, 1897, with chapters by Maj.-Gen. Gerard, Col. Holdich, Lt. Col. Wahab, and others. 131 112
2. *The Indian Borderland*, by T. H. Holdich, London, 1901.
3. Article "Pamirs," by T. H. H. (Sir Thomas H. Holdich),

[p. 259]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

131 in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Ed., Cambridge-New York, 1911.

112 4. *Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan*, 1837–1907, by William Habberton, Urbana, Illinois, 1937.

5. "The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus," by G. N. Curzon, *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, London, 1896.

131 The Anglo-Russian survey resulted in an "Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the region of the Pamirs" (1895). The essential paragraphs, cited here from Habberton's book (Appendix III, pp. 91–92) are:

> 4. Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia engage to abstain from exercising any political influence or control, the former to the north, the latter to the south, of the above line of demarcation.
> 5. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engage that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from the East end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan, that it shall not be annexed to Great Britain, and that no military posts or fortifications shall be established in it.

000 In *The Indian Borderland* Holdich unofficially but authoritatively describes the effect of this wording (p. 284):

> [It] defined a buffer between ourselves and Russia. It is not an imposing buffer — this long attenuated arm of Afghanistan reaching out to touch China with the tips of its fingers. It is only eight miles wide at one part, and could be ridden across in a morning's ride.

Neither Afghanistan nor China, though their interests were affected, took part in this important survey and frontier delimita-

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SINKIANG: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

131 SINKIANG or Chinese Turkestan is a spacious attractive land of about
161 550,000 square miles, approximately two and a half times the size of France. Yet the province is inhabited only by about four million persons, or an average of less than nine per square mile. By way of contrast Kiangsu Province, which contains Shanghai and other teeming port cities, is one-fourteenth the size of Sinkiang and yet, before the war, had a population density more than one hundred times as great!

131 By nature a distant and self-contained area, Sinkiang is enclosed on three sides by mountains and on one side by desert and barren terrain. On the west are the T'ien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains; to the south, the lofty K'unlun Mountains of Tibet; on the extreme north, the little visited Altai ranges; and on the east, the Gobi of Mongolia and the Tsaidam wastelands of Western Ch'inghai or Kokonor.

133 The interior of Sinkiang does have vast expanses of desert. But the T'ien Shan extend from west to east through the center of the province, the Manas and the Tarim River systems moisten immense parts in the north and south respectively, and there are not a few luxuriant, well-watered oases at the bases of her encircling and bisecting mountains. The forested slopes of the Altai ranges and the northern T'ien Shan, the fertile regions alongside the Manas River in the north and throughout the Tarim River basin in the south, and the numerous dot-like oases in the interior—these form the bases for provincial cities and east-west communications.

103 In early times Chinese often referred to what is now Sinkiang as *Hsi Yü* ("The Western Regions") or as *T'ien-shan-nan-lu* and *T'ien-shan-pei-lu,* i.e., a "Road South of the Heavenly Mountains" and a "Road North of the Heavenly Mountains." These two latter names fitted the natural caravan highways which progressed westward from Chinese Kansu Province on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

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———, "Will China Save Its Far West?" *Asia* (December, 1939). 113
Zashchuk, G., "La situation économique de Sindsian," *Novyi Vostok (Nouvel Orient)*, No. 26-27 (1929), pp. 105-24.

The author has also consulted editions of the *China Year Book* which were issued from 1931 to 1939 as well as editions of the *Chinese Year Book* issued in the period, 1935 to 1941. Newspapers and periodicals not otherwise mentioned which have proved especially helpful include: the *China Daily News, Chinese News Service, Chinese Times, Contemporary China, Far Eastern Survey, Hsin Hua Jih-pao, Hsin-chiang Jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily News), Izvestiia, Kuo Min Wai Chiao, Life, New York Times,* and *PM*.

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(Listed by page number according to occurrence in the text)

30. *Chinese News Service*, October 5, 23, November 27, 1943; January 10, 19, February 3, 4, 16, 1944; *Kuo Min Wai Chiao*, I, 1 (January, 1943), p. 43; Samuel Chao, "China's Northwest Revitalized," *China at War*, XI, 2 (August, 1943); Li Yao-san, "K'en-min Tao Hsin-chiang Ch'ü-liao," *I-shih Pao*, September 22 (?), 1943. The author is indebted to William L. Holland, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York City, for use of this last-named source. The author here wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Holland also for the use of certain other materials. These include: Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *Ta Kung Pao*, November 15-16, 1942; "Hsi-pei K'ai-fa Sheng Chung Chih Hsin-chiang Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi," *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*, VIII, 5 (November, 1942); Lu Ko, "Hsin Hsin-chiang ti Chang-ch'eng: Sheng Shih-chi Hsien-sheng Fang-wen Chi," *Shang-wu Jih-pao*, November 10, 1942; and Tung Ching-kua, "Hsi-pei chih Sheng; Wu Sheng Ts'an-cheng-yüan T'an-hua; Chien-she Wan Tuan Chiao-t'ung Ti-i," *I-shih Pao*, October 22, 1942. Y. Y. Hsu, also of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has made a rough abstract of material from the four last named clippings, and the author has consulted that abstract as well as the original material. Holland has also made available two additional clippings: "Hsin-chiang Feng-ching Hsien," *Hsin Shu Pao*, September 12, 1943; and "Ti-hua T'ung-hsün," *Sao Tang Pao*, September 16, 1943; and he has permitted the author to consult Samuel Ming-chiu Chao's unpublished manuscript entitled, *China's Northwest* (dated Chungking, September 15, 1940). 000

32. There are apparently no definitive figures on the area of Sinkiang Province, and the various estimates have ranged from 400,000 to well over 700,000 square miles. Similarly, estimates of the Sinkiang population have differed—running from as low as one to as high as six million persons. The *China Handbook 1937-1943 A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War* (Ministry of Information of the Republic of China, compilers, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1943, pp. 1 and 2) offers a 1938 figure of 1,828,418 square kilometers (which converts roughly into 131 161

131 705,953 square miles) for the area, and a 1933 figure of 4,360,020 for the population of the province. In 1939 Owen Lattimore judged the Sinkiang area to be *"of the order of"* 161 600,000 square miles and the Sinkiang population *"of the order of"* 3,500,000 persons. *Vide: Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (American Geographical Society, Research Series No. 21, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 10-11.

Since the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power, however, the Sinkiang people speak locally of their population as "four million persons." Cf. Tu Chung-yüan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai yü Hsin Hsin-chiang*, fourth edition, Chungking [etc.], Life Book Company, 1939, p. 54; and Chao Lieh, "Hsin-chiang chin Ching-lu," *Kuei-lin Ta Kung Pao*, September 8, 1941. The present writer accepts the figure from the latter two sources as a rough, but probably sound estimate for today. So far as area is concerned, moreover, he is inclined to agree with the figure of 550,579 square miles offered for Chinese Turkestan by *The China Year Book, 1934* (H. G. W. Woodhead, editor, Shanghai, The North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd.), p. 2.

The China Year Book, 1934 gives 38,610 square miles as the area and 896 as the population per square mile of Kiangsu Province. In contrast, the population density of Sinkiang (on the basis of a 4,000,000 provincial total) would be slightly less than some eight persons per square mile. If one accepted figures of the *China Handbook 1937-1943*, the Sinkiang population density could even be calculated at a smaller amount, some six persons per square mile!

For other useful information on this general subject, cf. especially Council of International Affairs, *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39 Issue* (Commercial Press, Chungking), p. 121; Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsin-chiang Ching-ying Lun* (third edition, China, Cheng Chung Book Company, 1939), p. 51; and Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *The China Year Book, 1934*, pp. 80-81. The author wishes to remark at this point that he is indebted considerably to the last article for its concisely summarized facts regarding the land, people, and early history of Sinkiang.

000 32. For information on the terrain of Sinkiang and concerning the designations which Chinese have formerly used for the area, *vide* Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 5, and 9: Owen Lattimore *High Tartary* (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1930), pp. 34-35: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, especially his "Outline Map of Sinkiang;" *vide* also V. K. Ting, Wong Wen-hao, and Tseng Shih-ying, *Chung-kuo Fen Sheng Hsin T'u* (Shen Pao, Shanghai, 1936), pp. 54-55.

33. Cf. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, especially pp. 172-173; and *vide* Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia* (Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 57-59, 79-83, 105, 108, 109, 145, 196, and 245.

34. The iron bridge, witnessed by the author while he was in Lan-chou, 1939-1940, bears a sign reading: "1909 Telce & Schroeter Tientsin 1909 American Bridge Co., New York U.S.A. 1908 1907."

It has been the fashion for writers on this subject to refer to the Chinese characters for Sinkiang (*Hsin-chiang*) in English as "The New Dominion." *Vide*, for example, Peter Fleming, *News From Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 29, note 1. However, a literal translation of the characters involved can furnish material for lively academic debate. The character *hsin*, ordinarily translated as "new," is made up of the following component parts: *li* (a man standing erect over the earth), *mu* (a tree), and *chin* (an ax with a splinter underneath). The character *chiang*, ordinarily referred to in this case as "dominion," is made up of the following parts: *t'u* (earth), *kung* (a bow), and *chiang* (a character which in itself can be substituted for the *chiang* in question, and one which depicts two partitioned

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Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
[127 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.

563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594 families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
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[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

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S 635 [31] [6] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

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In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 175 487 S 175 487

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
487 During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

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17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
• (131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their
S retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
175 in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
648 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

N Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally,
132 it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year; whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

S Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia.
132 Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist
• [131] air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-
S nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is

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339 being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan, Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku

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135 area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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161 A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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(132)
The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civiliation.

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Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5 per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile, for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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241 Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution between the eastern and western parts of the region, their distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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642 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same
668 offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members
177 of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was
631 called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a
177 province - divided into ten special districts and these were
162 subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily
• 131 accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been
668 aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for
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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a
N partial and temporary solution.
311 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
185 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

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TABLE
III. Distribution of Oil Wells in Sinkiang.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Ssu-cha-kou, k5 km W of Urumchi	1934	shallow	small	13, 51 x 87.16
Ching-shih-hsia (Kaiavusun) or Hsi-ho) 95 km SE of Tarbagatai	Not available	seepages	fair	46.04 x 83.34
Tu-shan-tzu, 25 km SE of Wu-su	1934-42	2,275	From few hundred bbls (1942) to 1000 bbls in 1946; now 10-30 tons a day.	44.18 x 84.54
Hung-tung-shan (Kolayalun)	Not available	seepages	50 tons a day from 6 uncapped wells (1944)	42.06 x 82.47
Nan-shan, 40 km. W of Shu-fu, to the W of Kashgar	Not Available	seepages	small	29.32 x 75.31
Taklak, along Kunalik Range 50 km NE of Wen-su	Not Available	seepages	small	41.40 x 80.12
Hung-kou and An-chiu, SE of Wu-kia (Urukhe-kiati)	Not Available	seepages	2-3 gal/day(1949)	38.04 x 74.50

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII. Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE IX. The Best Known Gold Fields of Sinkiang*

Locale	Field	Comment
Altai	Tung-kou Hsi-kou Chien-kou Hou-kou Chung-kou Ha-hsiung-kou Pan-tang-kou	2 1/2 lb. nuggets mined; highest quality
Barkol (Chensi)	Hsiao-liu-kou	
Cherchen (Chieh-Mo)	unnamed	
Chi-tai (Ku Cheng Tzu)	unnamed	
Sui-ting (Ili)	Chio-li-Ko R.	
Keriya (Yutien)	A-ha-ta-Ko Shan Chia-pa-shan Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung	unnamed	
Ta-cheng (Chuguchak)	Ha-tu-shan	placer, between T'a-erh-ta-mu-tu and Su-erh-tu rivers
Tihwa (Urumchi)	unnamed	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 114-17.

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

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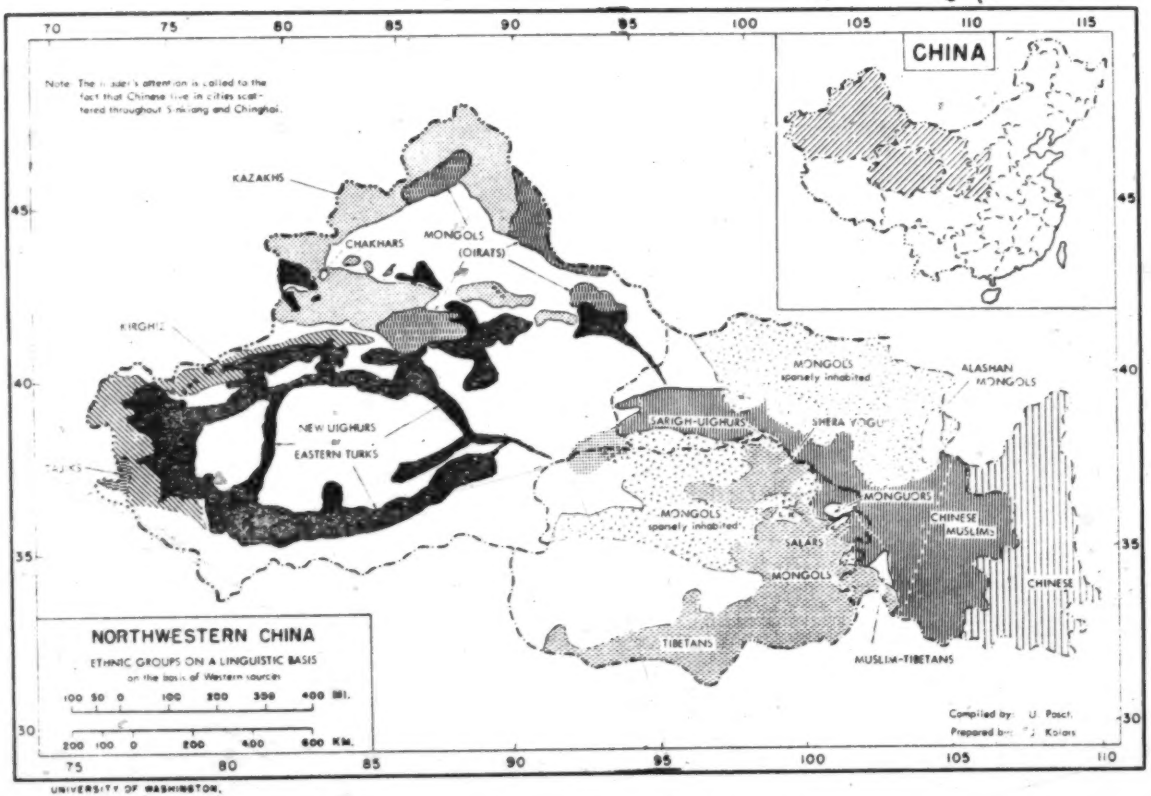

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162

5) Urianghai 4,000 people

4. The Indo-Europeans

The remainder are Indo-Europeans and are in two groups:

1) Russians about 14-15,000 people
2) Tajiks about 9,000 " (also called Sarikolis or simply Iranians)

5. The Manchus

The Manchus, with the subgroups Solons and Sibos, are a recently extinct racial group. They merged with neighbouring Turks or Chinese or were absorbed by them. They forgot their own language about 40 or 50 years ago. The main group, consisting of about 10,000 persons, used to live in the Ili valley and the town of Ili. The present regime still constantly lists these three groups.

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6. Summary of population

Number	Group	No. of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	New Uighur	3,000	In the area of Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Cherchen, Aksu, Kucha, Kuldja, Turfan, Barkul, Hami, Chuguchak.
2	Kazakhs	300	Along the Tekes River and Kunger River, in the area of Chuguchak, on the border of Sinkiang, and Kazakhstan, on the border of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang.
3	Kirghiz	70	On the border of Sinkiang and Kirghizistan, between the area of Tekes River, the mountains north of Aksu, Uch-Turfan, Yanigshahar, Tashkurgan.
4	Taranchi	43	In the Ili region.
5	Uzbeks	8	Mostly living in cities, especially in Kashgar, Yarkend, Kuldja and Chuguchak.
6	Tatars	5	Exclusively living in the cities of Yuldus, Urumchi, Kuldja and Chuguchak.

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorted a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang oame from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
[171] might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[213] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[171] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
• [131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[199] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes. As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöůn gar "right wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egů, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaʃaɣar "bridle	qaʃaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣ
*čiɣiraɣ < *tiɣiraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīrəG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarï- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bůrū
miqan "meat"	maχn̥
sira "yellow"	šar
milaɣa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dǰidə < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegůn "cold"	zekůn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkē

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

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AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and
131 the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Sovict Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

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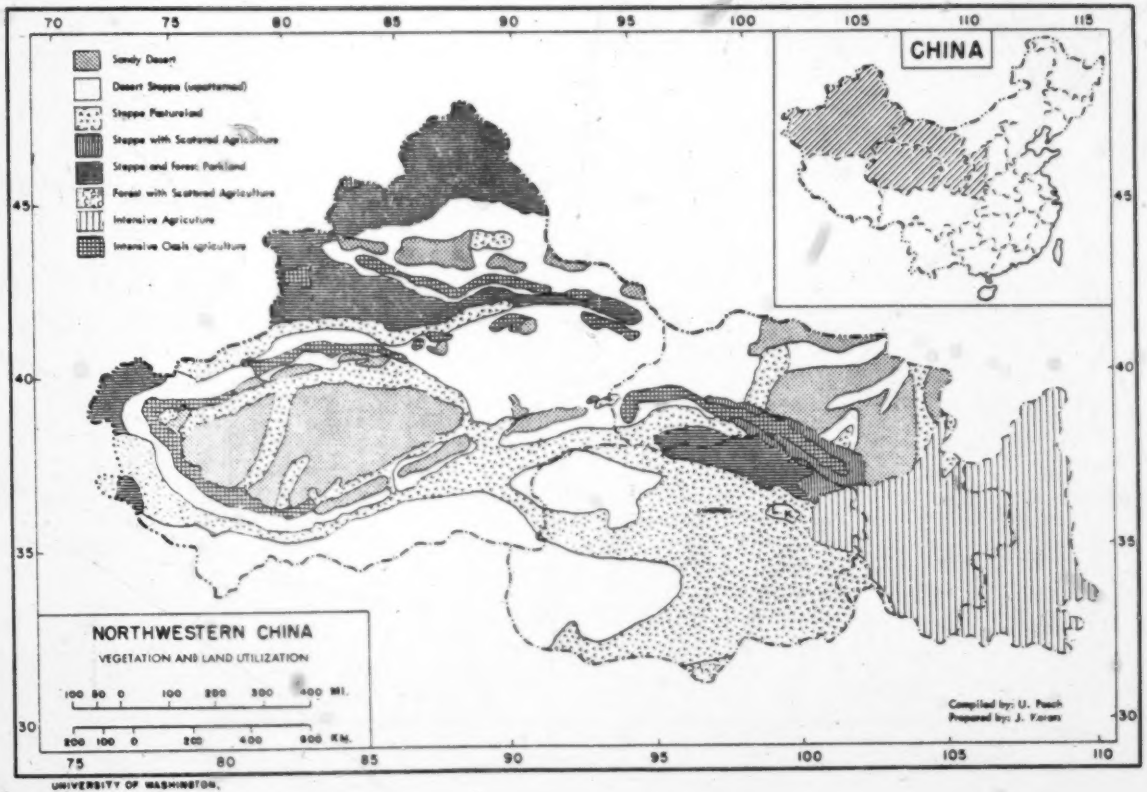

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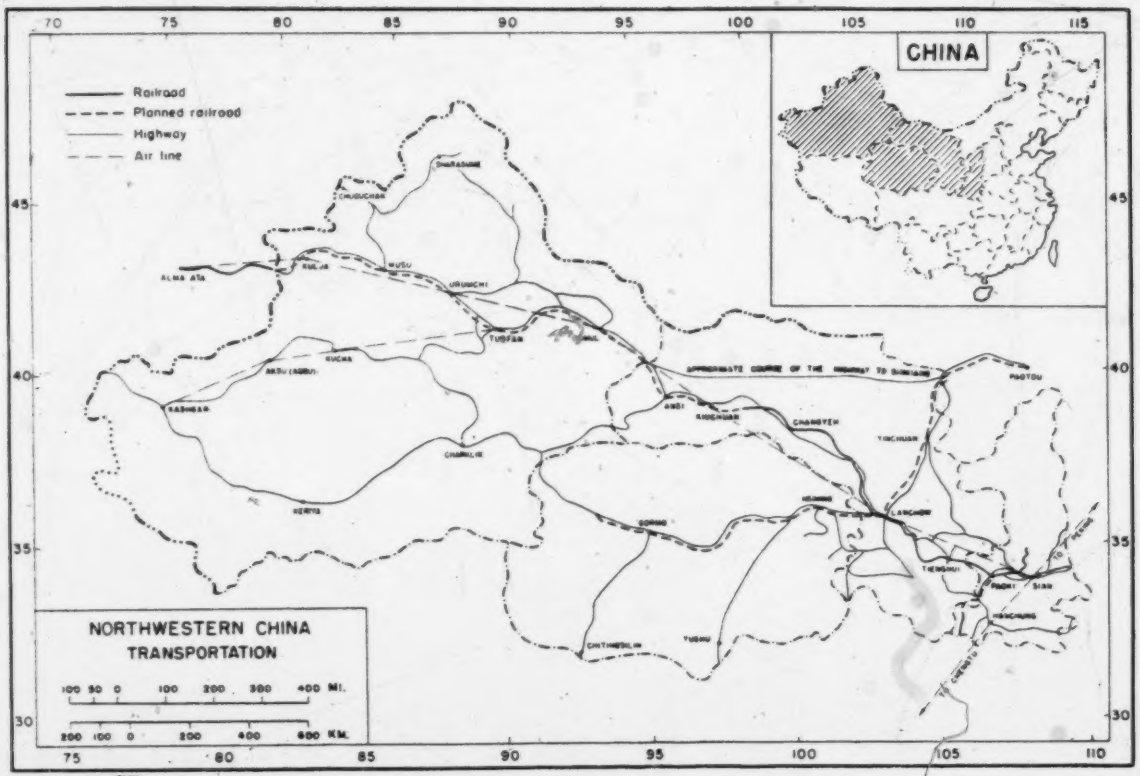

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AFL3
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when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that : 'Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits ; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 site but marked by a shrine flanked with two high
[131] poles. A stake roughly carved to suggest the form of a
[778] man was driven into the ground, and its rounded knob was thick with the oil which generations of carters have poured over it as a libation.

We hastened on, and before nightfall came in sight of the Pass, which bears the strange name of 'The Ravine of Baboons.' It was not encouraging to catch sight of a group of soldiers watching us through field-glasses from an eminence. At the entrance to the Ravine we found a military tent pitched, and the guards waiting to question us. The N.C.O. was none too well-mannered. He scoffed at the idea of our carrying so heavy a load of books, and said: 'If you tell me stories like that I'll search your baggage through!' We then produced our passports, which he scrutinised. They were important-looking documents, and evidently impressed him, perhaps the more so because he was wholly illiterate, as we discovered next day. The mere sight of them, however, had a wholesome effect upon him, for he handed them back with an apology for not being able to offer us tea in his tent. We continued our way through the narrow Pass for another two miles, and at every turn of the road soldiers appeared. When we reached the little village we were at once surrounded by a crowd of military, and an officer coming on the scene told us we could not proceed until such a time as the Governor, by telegram, should have indicated his
485 willingness for us to do so. He directed us then to the only vacant room in the place, which was situated in an inn court so small that the carts had to stand in the road outside. The room itself was wretched beyond description. It had no door, while a hole in the wall served as window, so that we were unable for a moment to escape the inspection of the crowd of soldiers. The

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

CHAPTER V Geography and Economic Development

Mountains, Deserts, Steppes, and People

131 NOWHERE in the world is the influence of geography on people
133 more dramatic than in Inner Asia. Sinkiang lies in the heart of a continent, as remote as possible from moisture-bearing winds from the oceans. On three sides it is enclosed by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau. The snow-clad Tien Shan or Heavenly Mountains, rising to heights of 23,000 feet, extend across the province from west to east, dividing it into two unequal parts. The southern two thirds are the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern third is Jungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

133 The Tarim Basin is a desert which at its lowest point is actually
132 below sea level. Here men cannot live and farm by rainfall, which averages less than four inches a year. Water is the gift of the great mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south, rising in places to more than 20,000 feet. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the east.

[p. 152]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

In Jungaria there is a little more rain, as much as ten inches a year in the more favored places, and here the desert is neither so vast nor so forbidding as in the Tarim Basin. There are fringes of grazing land on the slopes of the Altai in the north, the Tien Shan in the south, and other ranges in the west, but the herds must move frequently and the men who own them must move too, leading a nomadic life. Men learned to live in this land of poor rainfall only by learning how to master the animals which ate the grass which they themselves could not eat.

In addition to irrigated agriculture there is some dry farming in Jungaria, particularly in the river valleys along the Soviet frontier. Along this frontier, which rarely follows the watershed, three important rivers have their source in Sinkiang and their main course in Soviet territory. They are the Black Irtish, the only Sinkiang river whose waters reach the sea, and the Emil and the Ili, which are routes of communication between Soviet and Chinese territory.

The broad and fertile Ili Valley is enclosed between two arms of the Tien Shan which open toward the west into Soviet territory. It thus forms a distinct region which has closer geographic ties with Soviet territory than with Sinkiang itself. Its forests, mines, rich mountain pastures, and fertile arable lands offer the best prospects for economic development north of the Tarim Basin, but it has never enjoyed a sufficiently long period of peace and sound administration to permit exploitation of its resources. It has been fought over during the successive waves of migration and was largely depopulated in the eighteenth century. At present the valley supports an agricultural and nomadic population of less than half a million.

Both oasis agriculture and pastoral nomadism are such highly specialized ways of life that throughout the history of Inner Asia men never learned how to combine them. Cultivators and herdsmen fought each other, traded with each other, and sometimes ruled each other, but they never fused together in a new, mixed, and permanent society.

The totally new factor of machine-powered industrialism is

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

131 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

sized black "Chhota Mao," while the black kitten which was brought to the door by a poor Kashgar woman in the spring and speedily became first favourite was generally known as "Wee Squeakie." *Chong*, I may explain, is Turki for "big," *mao* Chinese for "cat," and *chhota* Hindustani for "small," so that four different languages (or five if you include Scotch) were represented in the nomenclature of the Consulate pussies.

They were happy days we spent at Chini Bagh, and only too quickly did they pass; hardly, it seemed, were we back from one tour before it was time to prepare for another. For halcyon days, halcyon weather is needed; and here the climate played its part right nobly. For those who love the sun and yet like a winter that *is* a winter, the climate of Kashgar approaches perfection. During the whole of our time there was not a single day on which the sun did not shine, if only for an hour, and on four out of five it shone all the time. Not always with its full strength, indeed, because of the dust-haze already described; but it shone. The average rainfall throughout the year at Kashgar is about two inches. Between the beginning of March and the end of July showers and rain-storms are liable to occur, but there is always ample warning, so that they cause a minimum of inconvenience to lovers of *la vie au grand air*. The Turki farmer likes a drop or two of rain during the early summer, but it must not be overdone. Some years ago during a drought the inhabitants of Kashgar requested a certain popular mulla to pray for rain. He did so with great fervour, and shortly afterwards rain fell in torrents, ruining the crops. Whereupon, at the petition of the Kashgaris, the Amban punished the unfortunate mulla with a thousand stripes! I remember during the first rain we had at Kashgar being astonished to see out of the window the gardener hurrying indoors with the geraniums; on being questioned he explained that, as every one knew, rain-water was injurious to flowers and he was taking the geraniums in to save their lives. When it does rain, it is inadvisable to go out until the ground has dried, for the loess clay becomes so slippery with wet that it is almost impossible to keep one's footing. Owing to the extreme "continentality" of the climate—Chinese Turkistan lies further from the sea than any country in the world—the annual range of temperature averages 100° Fahrenheit; the lowest readings in January being in the neighbourhood of zero, while the highest shade temperature in August is 103°

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to 105°. Another climatic feature arising from "continentality" is the fact that April is much hotter than October, which is the warmer month in other regions of the globe. 132

In winter the ground freezes to a depth of a foot and a half, and all irrigation water stops owing to the choking of the canals with ice between 15th November and the end of February. Yet the Kashgar winter is not at all a formidable affair. The skies indeed are sometimes grey with dust-haze, and for several days in January the thermometer does not rise above freezing-point. But the sun shines most of the time, while as for wind, that terror of cold lands, we had none worth mentioning. Ringed round on three sides by lofty ranges, Kashgar is mercifully windless in winter, so that in spite of the hard and prolonged frost the cold is not severe. We made ourselves very cosy in the evenings in front of roaring wood fires. One of the first things we did to the Consulate was to instal good British open fireplaces, not being content with the cheerless Russian stoves we found in the house: vast shiny black cylinders like the funnels of monstrous locomotives, which disfigured and either under- or over-heated every room. There are usually one or two light snowfalls during the winter, but the snow melts very quickly in the strong sun, except where there is underlying ice. In spring and early summer occasional storms with rain or dust or both vary the monotony of the eternal sunshine, and are also to be welcomed for the exquisite clearness of the air which follows them. At any time in July or August the weather may become, for short spells at a time, unpleasantly warm according to European though not to Indian standards; punkahs are unknown, though I must confess I should sometimes have been glad of one. But the nights are seldom oppressively hot, except occasionally just before a storm. Another fly—to use an appropriate metaphor—in the ointment of a Kashgar summer is the insect life. 136 Mosquitoes and sand-flies are a trial, though not to be compared with those of an Indian plains station; the former are smaller and less robust than those of Hindustan, and both can be effectively circumvented by a mixture of citronella oil and kerosene. At night muslin sand-fly curtains are advisable, unless one is sleeping in the open air and well away from walls.

One would have expected that the cities of Chinese Turkistan, where ideas regarding sanitation and hygiene are of the most primitive, would be hotbeds of disease and regularly 164 364

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IX

DESERT, RIVER AND MOUNTAIN

ABOUT the tenth of February the grip of frost upon the land began to relax noticeably, the surface of the ice on the skating-ponds became day by day more slushy and the sun's rays developed a hitting power which surprised us so early in the season. A fortnight later, amid general jubilation, the first muddy water appeared in the irrigation-channels, forerunner of the life-giving floods which in another two months would be sweeping down from the great ranges. Kashgar awoke and stretched itself after its winter sleep. All at once, it seemed, the poplars and willows put out their buds, the soil became soft and moist and the garden resounded with the chatter of starlings, the twitter of martens, the cooing of ring-doves and the hoo-hoo-hoo of the courting hoopoe. Spring was upon us, and at the Consulate our fancy lightly turned to thoughts of the Road. We planned a most attractive ten weeks' tour which would take us first to Merket, on the Yarkand River four marches to the east, thence down-river to Maralbashi and to fair Aqsu, 300 miles along the ancient Silk Road from Europe to Cathay, and back by Uch Turfan and the Mountains of Heaven. In the event, this programme had to be postponed to the autumn, except as regards Merket, but the spring tour that we did manage to carry out, though short, was interesting enough.

Sending our baggage-ponies and all our retinue except the indispensable Hafiz and Sangi Khan ahead the day before, we left Kashgar on 21st March and reached Yupogha, 51 miles east-south-east, the same evening. Our way at first led through a flat country of trees and reedy canals and old farms on the banks of quiet rivers; but the second day the cultivation became gradually more sparse and the country drier as we approached the Takla Makan. That night we slept at a thriving little market-village called Tarim Bazar, where

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER X

A MURDER CASE AND A DIFFICULT JOURNEY

EARLY summer in Kashgaria is a time of crystal-clear mornings and noonday skies of indigo flecked with argosies of creamy clouds. But the weather is by no means monotonously perfect. Every week or two comes a thickening of the atmosphere and an increasing sultriness which leads up to a *buran* or storm of dust and rain. Compared with those of South Persia or Upper India these *burans* are mild affairs, though further east round the edges of the Takla Makan they can be bad enough. A high wind, a pale brown sky, a consciousness of fine loess dust collecting in one's eyes and gritting on one's teeth; this goes on for some hours, perhaps the whole day, and then comes a drumming and a sputtering of warm rain which passes in an hour or two and leaves the air clean and sweet, the garden full of scent and the landscape of colour. Colour—that is the note of Kashgar in summer. Not only is Nature a rich mosaic of emerald and turquoise and ochre, but Man decks himself—and herself—in every colour of the rainbow. Accustomed to the dirty white or dust-coloured raiment of Upper India and Baluchistan, the effective but monotonous dark red of the women of Rajputana and Central India, the dead white or coal black affected by their sisters in Persia and Mespotamia, I did not know what the "gorgeous East" could be until I saw the bazaars at Kashgar on a summer's morning. The 'Id festival which comes at the end of the Ramazan fast happened to fall in May our first year. This is an occasion on which every one who can afford to do so, man, woman and child, comes out in new clothes—and almost every one can afford them, for the dyed silks of Khotan are dirt-cheap and even the superior products of Ferghana and Bokhara far from dear. To the many-hued cloaks, dresses and pork-pie hats

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

century before Christ; thousands of years before that dawn the Egyptian, Minoan, Sumerian and other great civilizations existed. Is it impossible that the Tarim Basin, in the heart of that Innermost Asia which is believed by many to be the cradle of the human race, may once have harboured a race as powerful and a culture as advanced as any that flourished on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates or the Indus? 172

All depends on the answer to the question: Was the water-supply ever much greater than it is now? In this connection the conclusions of Sir A. Stein in his latest publication[1] are of the utmost interest. Discussing whether the abandonment of Niya, Dandan Oilik and other sites may be assigned to a supposed climatic desiccation of Central Asia, or to some other cause or causes, he points out that definite archæological evidence forces us to two conclusions. 132 172

"One is that climatic conditions quite as arid as the present ones prevailed within the big trough of the Tarim Basin as far back as ancient remains and available records can take us. The other conclusion is that the amount of water carried by its rivers has greatly diminished during the same historical period."

How can these apparently contradictory propositions be reconciled? As a possible solution of this problem Sir Aurel propounds a remarkable theory which was verbally suggested to him in 1908 by Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, late Surveyor-General of India, and recently also proposed by Dr. von Ficker with regard to similar conditions in the Oxus basin.

"This theory" (he says) "seeks the reason for the diminished volume of the rivers in the shrinkage of the glaciers on the high ranges which are their main feeders. It accounts for the shrinkage itself by assuming that those glaciers comprise great reserves of ice which have been left behind by the last glacial period and have since been undergoing slow but continuous reduction through milder climatic conditions. This continued process would suffice to explain shrinkage in the irrigation resources during historical time without the climate of the basin as a whole having in the course of this period, very short in a geological sense as it seems, undergone any appreciable change."

In other words, the glaciers of the Kunlun may be no other than the dwindling remnants of the frozen cap that Asia wore in the last Ice Age. A link with the past indeed!

Sixteen centuries ago even a small stream like the Niya River flowed far out into the desert, watering a flourishing town 20 miles beyond its present disappearing-point at the

[1] "Geographical Journal," June, 1925, pp. 487–90.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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shrine of Imam Ja'far Sadiq.[1] Four or five thousand years ago, presumably, this river and others like it flowed in greater volume still, penetrating far beyond ancient Chingchueh and Dandan Oilik. Those were the days, perhaps, when the great Lop Sea to the east had not altogether dried up, and the "innumerable laughter" of its waves hid what are now the sharp-edged salt clods of the world's worst desert. It may be, then, that in the days when Sargon reigned in Babylon and Manes on the Nile, wide fertile lands and populous cities with a culture and an art of their own basked in the Central Asian sun, and that the glory and the wealth of a forgotten civilization lie hid for ever under the gigantic dunes of the Takla Makan.

[1] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 351.

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appearances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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132 thirty-four degrees Centigrade. The larger the annual difference, the more obvious is the seasonal differentiation.

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132 In Sinkiang, the highest temperature of the year is in July. The lowest temperature of the year is in January, in Southern Sinkiang, and in February in northern Sinkiang. The temperature curve is very sharp. The average temperature for the coldest month of the year is from minus seven to minus sixteen degrees Centigrade. Khotan, in southern Sinkiang, has minus seven degrees Centigrade; whereas Altai, in northern Sinkiang, has minus 16.9 degrees Centigrade. This variation of 9.9 degrees is explained not only by the locations and altitudes of these two places but mainly by the abrrier of the Tien-shan. All the recording stations of former Sinkiang Province generally have a mean January temperature below zero. The only difference is that there are three months below zero in southern Sinkiang and five months below zero in northern Sinkiang.

The obstruction of the Tien-shan greatly influences the climate. Statistics show that all the weather stations in southern Sinkiang have a mild temperature compared with those in northern Sinkiang. This is due to the fact that the former are well-sheltered by the mountain ranges. For example, the difference in latitude from Urumchi to Kucha is only two degrees, but the temperature in January in Kucha is minus fourteen degrees Centigrade and in Urumchi is minus 19.3 degrees Centigrade. Due to topographic differences, the variation is 5.3 degrees.

Summer temperatures are relatively uniform. In Sinkiang, for instance, the range of temperatures is twenty-two to twenty-five degrees. The July average is 24.2 degrees Centigrade at Urumchi, 23.9 degrees at Kucha, 23.1 degrees at Ili, and 22.2 degrees at Ta-chang. Altai, in the extreme north, has an exceptionally low average temperature, only 20.9 degrees Centigrade. In contrast, the stations in southern Sinkiang, such as Kashgar and Khotan, have a mean temperature for July of more than twenty-five degrees Centigrade. The hottest place in Sinkiang is Turfan, which has 33.7 degrees Centigrade in July. This is the place noted as a "fire district" (Ho-chou) in Chinese history. During its hot summer days, the natives retire to underground chambers. There are two explanations for this extreme heat. First, Turfan is in a depression; it is forty-five feet below sea level. Second, Turfan is surrounded by mountains. When the air masses move in, they are warmed and rise in a conventional current.

Continental climate changes rapidly, both daily and seasonally. It differs from south to north. For example, at Khotan the year range is 32.4 degrees Centigrade; at Kucha

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

N Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally,
132 it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year; whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from 'Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

S Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia.
132 Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist
[131] air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-
S nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

S 132 places not even as much as 4.5 millimeters falls through the year. There are no longer a series of records showing either the temperature or the precipitation of the area, but the available data show that the total precipitation consists of snow water as well as summer rain in certain parts of the province.

N 132 In the geographical distribution of rainfall there shows a marked contrast between the shady side of the mountainous areas and the oases. On the whole, the southeastern part of Kansu and Shensi receive a relatively greater rainfall than the northwestern sections. For instance, Wu-wei district, in the southeastern section of Kansu, has a comparatively high precipitation, and Chiu-ch'uan, because of its location N in the northwestern section of Kansu, has a precipitation that [241] is relatively low. The former is considered an area of agricultural dominance; the latter, due to less precipitation, makes for agricultural uncertainty.

Because the warmer southern air has been blocked by the Nan-shan and Chin-ling on the southern border of the region, the temperature of Kansu and Shensi is relatively lower than those places in the same latitude in eastern China. For instance, the January temperature in Peking is minus 4.7 degrees Centigrade; in Chiu-ch'uan it is about minus nine degrees Centigrade. In July the temperature in Peking is 25.3 degrees Centigrade, whereas in Chiu-ch'uan it is 23.8 degrees Centigrade. This is due not only to the influence of location - one near the coast and the other inland - but also to the fact that the mountain range runs from west to east as the barrier which shuts off the warm, moist winds from the southeastern coastal areas of China.

S 132 Furthermore, the distribution of precipitation of Sinkiang differs from south to north of the Province. The mean annual precipitation at Kashgar is 89.4 millimeters of which over two thirds, or around seventy three percent, falls in the spring and summer. At Urumchi it is 228.8 millimeters, of which twenty-four percent falls in winter; thirty-four percent falls in spring; fifteen percent falls in summer; and twenty-seven percent falls in autumn. At Kashgar the precipitation is greatest in summer and at Urumchi it falls largely in the spring and autumn months. The Takla Makan desert absorbs the limited moisture from the air. However, in northern Sinkiang the topographical features are comparatively open so that the Arctic Oceanic winds blow toward the area more easily. Thus precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year.

The dry air reduces cloudiness and thus increases sunshine. S [241] The agricultural activities of the area depend largely upon the brilliant sunshine for melting snow on the mountains for irrigation.

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132 irrigation. There is, therefore, a common saying in the area that sunshine equals rainfall.

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132 Generally speaking, Northwest China is affected by the high pressure of the Mongolian Plateau. It is windy throughout the year, particularly in the spring. There are also local cyclones on the Gobi desert during the hot summer. These cyclones are relatively short-lived and remain within one area. Winds blow more strongly in the spring than in other months of the year, because at this time the center of the high pressure area is moving toward the northern part of Central Asia and Northwest China is just beyond the edge of the high pressure. Since Sinkiang is in the high pressure circle in S
[132] the winter, the wind blows calmly. When the strong winds sweep down to the ground in spring or summer they do much damage to agricultural crops. Therefore, the places which face such strong winds are the places where agricultural products are relatively poor.

In summary climate is modified by topography and the distance of the area from the sea. Northwest China is located in the interior of China and is remote from seas. The huge mountains and the gigantic deserts render the climate generally dry throughout the year. According to Koppen's classification, the area lies in the zone of B climate; that is, the potential evaporation exceeds precipitation. Owing to topographical features' influence upon climatic changes, it is always drier on the southern and sunny sides of the mountains than on the S
[132] northern and shady sides of the ranges. In southern Sinkiang, for example, the climate is classified as a dry desert type; whereas, in northern Sinkiang, it is a steppe climate. This difference is mainly due to the amount of precipitation. In the steppe regions the precipitation is always greater than it is in the desert area.

In Northwest China, the temperature changes rapidly from day to day and season to season. Precipitation is greatest in the summer months but it is not reliable.

II. Mineral Resources.

N A. General Distribution and Some Specific Importance
135 Northwest China is a poverty-stricken area, due in part to insufficient fainfall and also because it was until recently, practically an unexplored region in regard to its natural resources. Although the coal reserve of Shensi is known to be rich (next only to its close neighbor, Shansi,) (if reported recent discoveries in the Northeast are left out of consideration), it has not been mined to any great extent due to the lack of a nearby market. The only other promising mineral is the

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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dare to detain us, and the head of the firm had given notice of the day we should cross the frontier; but we never knew a moment's peace till we were out of the hands of that gang. How different from General Feng's soldiers! We passed right through their fighting lines, and they never seized even our little donkey! The officer said, "These men are honest apprentices; they have a long journey ahead; no one is to touch them, their goods or their donkey!" That's something like an army!' 486

The following morning we reached 'Third Halt,' which we found to be a torrid place, lying in a cup of the hills. Our inn rooms were intolerably hot, and after a brief rest we got up and sat under the trees, hoping to escape from the flies, and also seize the advantage of any passing breeze. While resting there we heard the sound of the familiar camel-bell, and looking up watched a string of sixty of these beasts cross the village stream. The banks were muddy, and the awkwardness of the camel when walking on slippery ground was evident. These beasts frequently come to grief when attempting to travel on other than sandy roads, and broken legs are not infrequent at a river's edge. The driver was a Barkul man, which city is colonised by Chinese, many of whom make their living by grazing camels. The Turki is of no use as a camel driver. He is too impetuous, and seems unable to give these animals the peculiar care which they need. Strong, long-lived, and enduring, as they are under good conditions, they easily lose heart, and once overdriven never recover. Rough treatment, hustle or untoward difficulties play havoc with these creatures, whose temperamental qualities seem to be as strange as their physical peculiarities. Once their spirit is broken they are of no further use, and lie down and die. 361 132 492

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We [206] were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. [132] We were warned that at this season people were dying from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them- [342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better 3'12 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

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The chief interest of the town, to us, was the presence of two elderly men, brothers, who thirty years ago moved here from Hsiaoi in the Province of Shansi. They were Christians, having been converted from idolatry by the preaching of a Chinese pastor, Hsi by name, a Confucian scholar of repute, who became a devoted Christian, and was the first ordained Chinese minister of the Shansi Church.[1] From the time of their arrival they never made a secret of their Christian profession, and every Sunday the shop is closed. Divine service is conducted in the back premises by the elder brother, and all apprentices are required to attend. On Sunday morning the small Christian community gathered in the back shop for worship. The room had been swept, dusted, and polished for the occasion. The traditional Shansi hymns were sung to the traditional tunes, and these good men sat down with us after service to a traditional Shansi meal. Listening to their Shansi *patois*, it was hard to believe that we were not back in our own Province, as it was thirty years ago.

132 On Sunday afternoon the Tian Shan were enveloped in threatening, inky-black clouds, such as indicate a tremendous storm in the mountains, but the rain did not reach us until 10 p.m. Every arrangement had been made for a midnight start. Our carts were packed, and we had lain down in them for a little rest before leaving. No sooner had we done so than the storm burst, and the rain poured down until 6 a.m. By this time the courtyard was an indescribable mass of soaked rubbish, the pigs wallowed in pools of water, and it was impossible to cross from one side to the other.

[1] See *Life of Pastor Hsi*, by Mrs. Howard Taylor: *Fulfilment of a Dream*, by Mildred Cable.

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CHAPTER V Geography and Economic Development

Mountains, Deserts, Steppes, and People

131 NOWHERE in the world is the influence of geography on people more dramatic than in Inner Asia. Sinkiang lies in the heart of a •133 continent, as remote as possible from moisture-bearing winds from the oceans. On three sides it is enclosed by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau. The snow-clad Tien Shan or Heavenly Mountains, rising to heights of 23,000 feet, extend across the province from west to east, dividing it into two unequal parts. The southern two thirds are the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern third is Jungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

133 The Tarim Basin is a desert which at its lowest point is actually 132 below sea level. Here men cannot live and farm by rainfall, which averages less than four inches a year. Water is the gift of the great mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south, rising in places to more than 20,000 feet. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the east.

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In Jungaria there is a little more rain, as much as ten inches a year in the more favored places, and here the desert is neither so vast nor so forbidding as in the Tarim Basin. There are fringes of grazing land on the slopes of the Altai in the north, the Tien Shan in the south, and other ranges in the west, but the herds must move frequently and the men who own them must move too, leading a nomadic life. Men learned to live in this land of poor rainfall only by learning how to master the animals which ate the grass which they themselves could not eat. 133 132 311

In addition to irrigated agriculture there is some dry farming in Jungaria, particularly in the river valleys along the Soviet frontier. Along this frontier, which rarely follows the watershed, three important rivers have their source in Sinkiang and their main course in Soviet territory. They are the Black Irtish, the only Sinkiang river whose waters reach the sea, and the Emil and the Ili, which are routes of communication between Soviet and Chinese territory.

The broad and fertile Ili Valley is enclosed between two arms of the Tien Shan which open toward the west into Soviet territory. It thus forms a distinct region which has closer geographic ties with Soviet territory than with Sinkiang itself. Its forests, mines, rich mountain pastures, and fertile arable lands offer the best prospects for economic development north of the Tarim Basin, but it has never enjoyed a sufficiently long period of peace and sound administration to permit exploitation of its resources. It has been fought over during the successive waves of migration and was largely depopulated in the eighteenth century. At present the valley supports an agricultural and nomadic population of less than half a million.

Both oasis agriculture and pastoral nomadism are such highly specialized ways of life that throughout the history of Inner Asia men never learned how to combine them. Cultivators and herdsmen fought each other, traded with each other, and sometimes ruled each other, but they never fused together in a new, mixed, and permanent society.

The totally new factor of machine-powered industrialism is 000

178 The totally new factor of
154 machine-powered industrialism is
now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and
[412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry,
[382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of
[135] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by 241

nomads. There are Mongols in the Baitik Bogda who are both herders and cultivators.[3] Farming began among some of the Torgut Mongols along the Chingho, west of Manass, at the beginning of the present century.[4] In 1943, Kazakhs dug an irrigation canal from the bank of the Kunges, one of the main affluents of the Ili. Two kinds of change take place along the southern foot of the Tien Shan. Uighur owners of sheep in the oases send them up to the alpine meadows of the Kirghiz to pasture, and near Bai and Uch-Turfan Kirghiz, crowded out of these pastures, have taken to farming in the Taushkan and Kharabagh Valleys.[5]

Oasis Farming

There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: the oases of the south, which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches, and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming can be carried on, or still wider fringes of grazing land. The typical characteristics of oasis life are therefore much more sharply accentuated in the south. 133 241

The first oasis makers were probably men who lived along the banks of the rivers in the desert, and in the marshes, where they caught fish, hunted, and gathered wild food crops. A "crop" of the Lopliks of the Lob Depression, the most primitive surviving community in the Tarim Basin, is the tender shoots of the marsh reeds. When irrigation began, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problem required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slope at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the engineering problems were far too great. There were three reasons for the upstream shift: out on the plain, the slow speed of the water 241 312

[3] Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 462.
[4] Sung Po-lu, *History of Sinkiang*, 1913, chuan 2, p. 8 (in Chinese).
[5] R. C. F. Schomberg, "The Habitability of Chinese Turkestan," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXX No. 6, Dec. 1932, p. 510.

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241 silted up the canals; the flat level did not allow sufficient drain-
312 age from the fields, which gradually accumulated salts; the communities upstream had first access to the water. The drying up of Inner Asia has been blamed for the abandonment of ancient oases found out in the desert, but it is probable that the causes just described are more important than any change of climate in the last two thousand years.

312 Oasis engineering remains extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals, which branch in turn into the ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkistan to lift water from lower to higher levels.[6]

[133] Of the rivers of Sinkiang, the most important for irrigation is the Yarkand Darya, known in its upper reaches as the Zarafshan.[7]

[6] Two kinds of weirs are used to divert water from the river into the takeoff canal. Field notes of an Academia Sinica expedition describe a solid weir which was examined at the point where the Aksu Darya forks into two streams, the Kone Darya or Old River and the Yangi Darya or New River. A fork of this kind is often formed when a river channel silts up and later a freshet of high water comes down the choked channel; the force of the water bursts out at one side of the old main channel, and a subsidiary stream is formed, flowing away from the main stream. Since the Old River irrigates the oases of Aksu and Avat, a solid weir was built to divert some of the water of the New River back into the Old River. Trunks of the *toghrak*, or wild desert poplar, were used as stakes. Between these, cribs were woven with smaller branches and twigs and filled with stones and rubble. A weir of this kind is of limited efficiency. When the river reaches flood level in July and August the weir is battered down, too much of the water of the Aksu Darya discharges into the New River, and the crops in the oases fed by the Old River are imperiled. Solid weirs are used on the larger streams. On smaller streams, where the irrigators hope to be able to control the flow of water, draw-weirs are made with openings or sluices. In some localities, such as Kargalik, instead of building permanent sluice gates or panels the sluices are closed temporarily with rubble.

[7] The Yarkand Darya has also repeatedly changed its course. Thus the brilliant Chinese scholar Hsu Sung described how two tributaries of the Yarkand Darya joined in the second decade of the nineteenth century to form the oasis of Merket, but Sir Aurel Stein's maps show that the present

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The Khotan Darya, the Konche Darya, and the Kaidu Gol provide enough water for the branching canals and settlements along their courses. The Aksu Darya, the Muzart, which flows to the Kucha oasis, and the Kizil Su or Red River flowing through the Kashgar oasis all fail to supply enough water for the oases on their lower courses.

In volume of discharge the rivers of the Tarim system are far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya.[8] The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about 70 per cent is in the Tarim Basin. The total length of irrigation canals in Sinkiang was reported in 1943 to be 36,000 kilometers. The technique of utilization is defective in many ways. The lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salts deposited by irrigation has already been mentioned. There is a lack of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small-scale tanks, as a result of which it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste. A standard calculation, in irrigation engineering, is that a discharge of one cubic meter per second should irrigate over 6000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2530 acres.

A number of special practices in irrigation deserve description. Of these the most important is the *kariz* or underground irrigation channel, which is the characteristic feature of the Turfan oasis. A *kariz* is built by starting at ground level in the area which is to be irrigated and tunneling at a slight upward incline into the fan of detritus heaped up along the foothill range where it is hoped that water will be found. The tunneling is continued until the water table is reached. From the slope under which the tunnel runs, shafts are sunk down to the tunnel for ventilation. When the underground water is brought out to the open plain, it is carried farther by an ordinary canal. The length of a kariz

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junction is far downstream from Merket. It is this change of river channels that has probably caused the present severe shortage of water in Merket, the foremost cotton-growing oasis in Sinkiang.

[8] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 22.

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There is a controversy concerning the origin of the *kariz* which has a bearing on the ancient routes by which knowledge of various kinds was transmitted through Inner Asia into China and from China. Huntington asserted that the *kariz* was introduced into Sinkiang from Iran or Transcaspia, about 1780. Pelliot and Stein held almost the same view. On the other hand the eminent Chinese historian Wang Kuo-wei believes that it was first brought to Sinkiang from China after the opening up of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty. These references do not exhaust the problem, for the *kariz* principle was used by the Greeks on Samos, and by the Etruscans in Italy in the sixth century B.C. In Central Arabia it is known as *saqi*, and in Morocco as *foggara*. Subterranean irrigation canals were also built by the Incas in Peru.

Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. About 50 per cent of the water for irrigation in Komul comes from springs, as against 25 per cent each from *kariz* and rivers. In Kulja and several other large oases springs are used to irrigate rice fields, which require a very steady flow of water. In the miniature oasis of Kumish, south of Toksun, a spring with a discharge of only three cubic meters a day is the sole source of water for the irrigation of about eight acres of land. Closely related to springs are the streams which disappear in boulder fans and emerge again later in or beyond an oasis. The flow of such streams, which are called *sai*, is apt to be fluctuating; but except where they have been tapped by *kariz*, they are an important source of water which has not been fully utilized.

"Tanks" — as they are called in India — or small pits are used for the storage of drinking water in the towns of some oases, but not as reservoirs for irrigation water except in the dying oasis of Maralbashi. Most of the river water is taken off by oases lying upstream from Maralbashi, forcing the cultivators to store water when they can get it and keep it until they need to use it. Unfortunately the main reservoir has now silted up, so that unless a new one is dug the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

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312 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of
133 Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome.
731 It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more
631 fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two
423 bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

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438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

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APPENDIX V Regions of Sinkiang

THE PHYSICAL framework of Sinkiang falls into six divisions. Taken from north to south, they have been described by Dr. S. Ting of the Academia Sinica as: 133

1. *The Northern Highlands,* forming the northern rim of Jungaria. Most of this region reaches an altitude of 5000 feet, with some peaks of 13,000 feet in the great Altai range which forms most of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Republic. There are two subregions, the Burgun plateau and, between it and the Altai, the sunken valley of the Black Irtish. The waters of the Irtish flow into the Ob, and all across Siberia to the Arctic Ocean. No other streams from Sinkiang reach the ocean; all die in inland deserts or salt lakes.

2. *The Jungarian Basin,* at an elevation of 600 to 1500 feet, comprises two subregions, the Manass Basin and the Chingho plain, both overlooked from the south by the snowy crests of the Tien Shan, which, however, are often invisible because of the dust haze over the lowlands. The Manass River slows abruptly as it comes out of the mountains, and feeds a wide area of swamps. In the Chingho plain three rivers, the Ching, Kur, and Borotala, converge to form Ebi Nor, a lake with no outlet at an elevation of 700 feet. Its ancient shorelines are 300 feet above the present surface, and in the plain around it there are both swamps and sand dunes.

3. *The Tien Shan range* forms a region in itself, occupying nearly a quarter of the area of Sinkiang. For several hundred miles its crests are crowned with snow. The highest peak

[p. 273]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

133 is Khan Tengri, Lord of Heaven, with an altitude of over 23,000 feet. Below it is the greatest glacier, the Muzart, which is overlooked by magnificent cliffs of marble and porphyry. On the northern slopes of the main range there are deep evergreen forests and rich meadows, while the southern slopes are dry and unforested. Through gaps in the range run the main routes from Jungaria in the north to the Tarim Basin in the south. At the northwestern end of the range the Ili Valley, or Kulja plain, has an elevation of 2800 feet. With a rainfall of ten inches a year, this is the richest region in Sinkiang. Other subregions are the Turfan Depression which, under the shadow of peaks that range up to nearly 20,000 feet, drops to a depth of nearly 1000 feet below sea level; the Barkul Basin, and the Uch-Turfan Plain. The Bai Basin, though classed by some geographers with the Tarim Basin, is also assigned by Dr. Ting to the Tien Shan, because of its geological formation.

4. *The Tarim Basin* is a system of concentric zones. The rim of the basin is formed by the Tien Shan in the north, the Kunlun in the south, and the Pamirs and Alai in the west and northwest. At the foot of this rim there is a narrow belt of boulder fans enclosing the vast central desert of drifting sand dunes, the Taklamakan. The slope of the inner basin is from about 4000 feet in the west to about 2500 feet in the east. Into it flow the Khotan Darya, the Yarkand Darya, the Aksu Darya and the Konche Darya, which combine to form the Tarim River. Lesser streams like the Keriya and the Niya die in the desert before they reach the Tarim, while the Charchen reaches the Tarim only at its dying eastern end. The waters of the Tarim do not always reach their ancient terminal depression, the desert lake of Lob Nor, but end in vague reedy marshes. The oases of the Tarim Basin are formed on the rivers at the points where they leave the narrow, hard boulder fan to enter the wide desert.

5. *The Pei Shan Highlands* close off the eastern end of the Tarim Basin. The Pei Shan proper, or North Mountains, are a desert range forming the northern edge of the "Kansu Corridor" which reaches out from Northwest China to Sinkiang. The north-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

ern ranges of these mountains are called by the Mongols *Mechin Ola* or "Ape Mountains." Grouped with them, in Dr. Ting's classification, is the plateau called by the Chinese *Hsinghsinghsia* or "the Ravine of the Apes." In this whole region there are very ancient legends of "man apes" which capture human beings. Connected with these highlands are the Lob Plateau, known in Chinese as the White Dragon Heap, which rises east of the Lob Depression and marks the divide between the Tarim and the Sulu Rivers, and the Kuruk Tagh or Dry Mountains. The flat tops of all these heights mark the 5000 foot level of an ancient connected plateau. The Kuruk Tagh in particular are a very ancient formation of metamorphic rocks. Included under Dr. Ting's classification with the Pei Shan group instead of the Tien Shan formation is the subregion of the Kharashahr Basin, an intermontane trough enclosing the lake called Bagrach Kol at an altitude of 3300 feet, with desert to the east of it, sand dunes to the south, and swamps on its northern and western shores.

6. *The Kunlun Highlands* form the southern rampart of Sinkiang. Seen from the desert they form a mountain wall, but at their crest begins the northern plateau of Tibet, with heights of over 20,000 feet.

II

SINKIANG: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

131 SINKIANG or Chinese Turkestan is a spacious attractive land of about
161 550,000 square miles, approximately two and a half times the size of France. Yet the province is inhabited only by about four million persons, or an average of less than nine per square mile. By way of contrast Kiangsu Province, which contains Shanghai and other teeming port cities, is one-fourteenth the size of Sinkiang and yet, before the war, had a population density more than one hundred times as great!

131 By nature a distant and self-contained area, Sinkiang is enclosed on three sides by mountains and on one side by desert and barren terrain. On the west are the T'ien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains; to the south, the lofty K'unlun Mountains of Tibet; on the extreme north, the little visited Altai ranges; and on the east, the Gobi of Mongolia and the Tsaidam wastelands of Western Ch'inghai or Kokonor.

133 The interior of Sinkiang does have vast expanses of desert. But the T'ien Shan extend from west to east through the center of the province, the Manas and the Tarim River systems moisten immense parts in the north and south respectively, and there are not a few luxuriant, well-watered oases at the bases of her encircling and bisecting mountains. The forested slopes of the Altai ranges and the northern T'ien Shan, the fertile regions alongside the Manas River in the north and throughout the Tarim River basin in the south, and the numerous dot-like oases in the interior—these form the bases for provincial cities and east-west communications.

103 In early times Chinese often referred to what is now Sinkiang as *Hsi Yü* ("The Western Regions") or as *T'ien-shan-nan-lu* and *T'ien-shan-pei-lu,* i.e., a "Road South of the Heavenly Mountains" and a "Road North of the Heavenly Mountains." These two latter names fitted the natural caravan highways which progressed westward from Chinese Kansu Province on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

131 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet [132] above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved [181] of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

• /133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

quality not seen in lower snows, makes it an impressive spectacle. The wide floor of the Sariqol Valley is dotted with homely little farmsteads, each nestling snugly beside a clump of willows. The soil is remarkably good; wheat, barley and oats sown in May are reaped in October, and two crops of lucerne are usually taken. Sweet-smelling purple orchises, gentians, vetches of all colours and primulas of large size line the paths in June and July. 133 241 [134]

The Amban of Sariqol, our first acquaintance in the Chinese official world, was not a favourable example of his kind. He was an opium-smoker, and shortly after our arrival at Kashgar was relieved of his post. I called on him my first morning, as I was determined to be polite in spite of his having practically ignored us the previous day. As I arrived only half an hour after the appointed time, nothing was ready, and the Aqsaqal and I had to stand in the waiting-room of the "Yamen" or magistrate's quarters amid an interested crowd of bottle-washers and hangers-on, while a servant hurriedly brought in a small table, two chairs and some uninviting-looking sweetmeats. Finally the Amban came in and we both sat down. Pale green tea tasting strongly of hot water was our tipple; conversation, I regret to say, somewhat flagged, the old Amban being obviously under the influence of opium while my style was cramped by the "gallery" standing close around and following every syllable, every mouthful. I was relieved to be able to escape after twenty minutes or so of this entertainment. 574

The Amban was in better form when he returned my call the same afternoon, and did his best to make amends for his previous remissness. This encouraged us to invite him, his young son, the Commandant of the Garrison and his adjutant, and the Pir of the Maulais to tea the following afternoon. I found out afterwards that it was a mistake to ask the Pir, as the Chinese seldom sit at table with their subjects. D. spent the whole morning making scones and sweets, and the party was a great success. Conversation flourished, the Amban being quite talkative. He spoke in Chinese to the Adjutant, who translated into Turki to Nadir Beg, who translated into Persian to me and I into English to D. So:—

AMBAN (to Adjutant): How old is the *Tai-tai* (lady)?
ADJUTANT (to Nadir Beg): How old is the *Khanum*?
NADIR BEG (to me): How old is the *Mem-sahiba*?
I (to D.) How old are you?

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

•133 A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

631 Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

704 We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of 533 them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

When some of the crowd caught sight of our small party trotting quietly over the fields, to our surprise they turned and ran like rabbits; the alarm spread, and the next moment the whole crowd was scattering helter-skelter in all directions. Only a few fierce-looking dogs remained to receive us. Qari quickly realized what the matter was and informed us that we had broken up a dog-fighting meet. I sent Hafiz after the fugitives to tell them not to be frightened of us; gradually they trickled back and soon we were surrounded by a hundred or so sheepish-looking villagers, some of whom led heavily-built crop-eared dogs of the chow type. I thought at first that dog-fighting was forbidden, and that the sportsmen of Domoko had taken us for the arm of the law; but Qari assured me that this was not the case, and that the bolting of the crowd was due to nothing but pure funk. They saw five strangers riding towards them, and their instinct was to run. No wonder a handful of Chinese with a paper army keep perfect order throughout Kashgaria!

I was particularly anxious while at Keriya to obtain a view and if possible a telepanorama of the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a range belonging to the Kunlun system and extending from the south-east of Keriya 800 miles in a north-easterly direction. We were indeed vouchsafed a glimpse of the object of our desires, but a tantalizingly premature and inadequate one. In the late afternoon of the 30th November, on the road between Domoko and Qarakir Langar, we caught our breaths at the distant vision of two mighty peaks of the Mountains of Gold, both over 21,000 feet high, 65 miles away over the desert; but the next morning the fatal dust-haze which is far worse here even than at Kashgar had blotted them out, and we did not see them again.

A peculiarity of the Keriya district outside the cultivated area is the coarse grass which covers the country for hundreds of square miles. As there is practically no rainfall at all in this part of the world, these savannahs must be due to comparatively plentiful subsoil water percolating from the distant Kunlun. Chira and Gulakhma and other oases on the road to Keriya owe their existence to this water, which appears in frequent springs after an underground passage of forty or fifty miles beneath the belt of absolutely barren desert between the main road and the villages at the foot of the Kunlun.

There is an end-of-the-world feeling about Keriya which

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•133

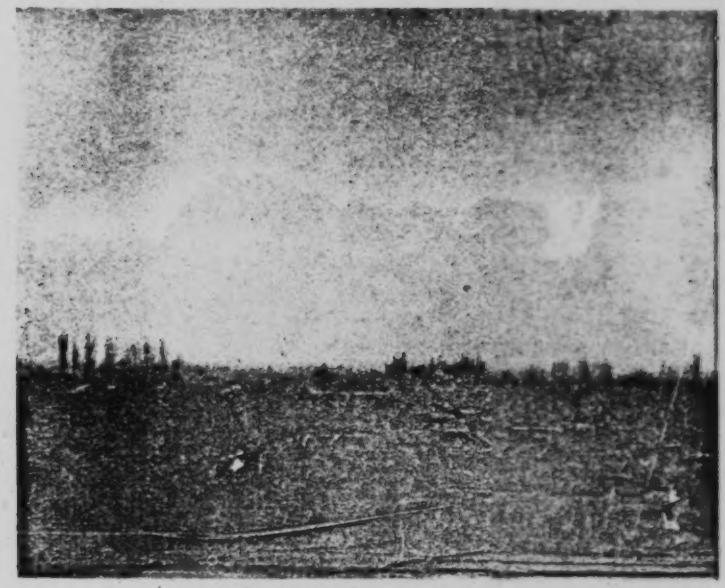
S.W.

PANORAMA FROM NEAR CHĀT, UPPER QARATASH
Elevation 12,500 feet

S.S.W.
ALPS OF QUNGUR

QUNGUR II (25,200)

QUNGUR I (25,146)



TELEPANORAMA OF KASHGAR RANGE FROM ¼ MILE S.W. OF KASHG
Elevation *circ.* 4,300 feet. Distance 58–66 miles

[Face p. 116 A]

Muz Tagh Ata (under cloud)

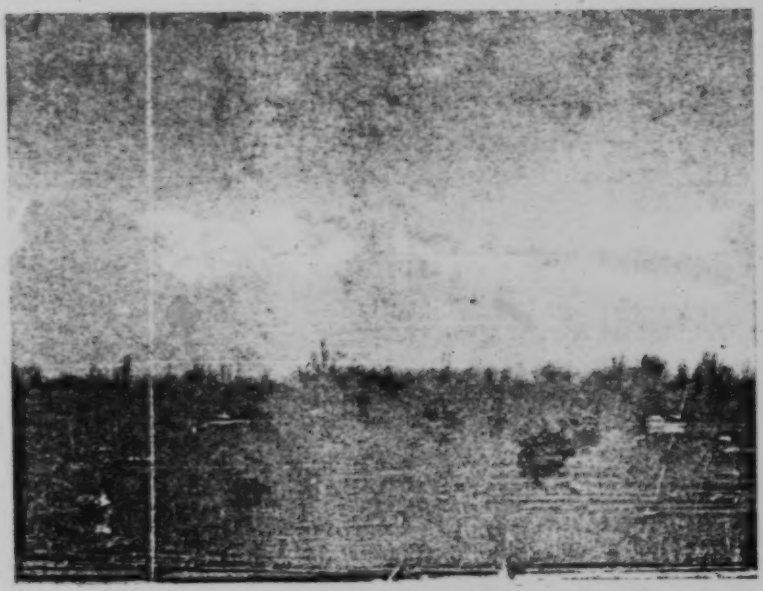
•/23

Upper Qaratash Valley

ATASH

NGUR I (25,140)

CHAI



.W. OF KASHGAR OLD CITY

Mouth of
(To

[Face p. 116 B]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

W.

133

S.W.

CHAKRAGIL | MASSIF (22,070) QARABOKTOR (20,570)

MOUTH OF GEZ DEFILE
(To Pamirs)

[Face p.116 C]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

QUNGUR II (25,200) SHIWAKTE GROUP

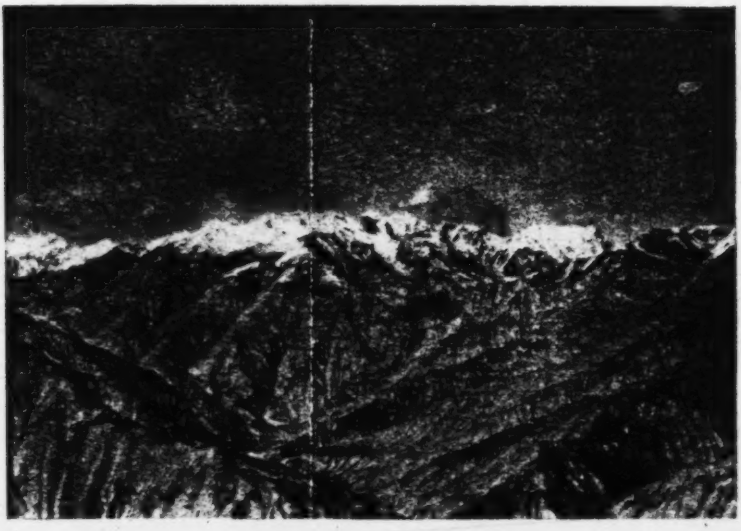
•133

ULUGH ART P. (16,610) W.

[Face p. 116 D]

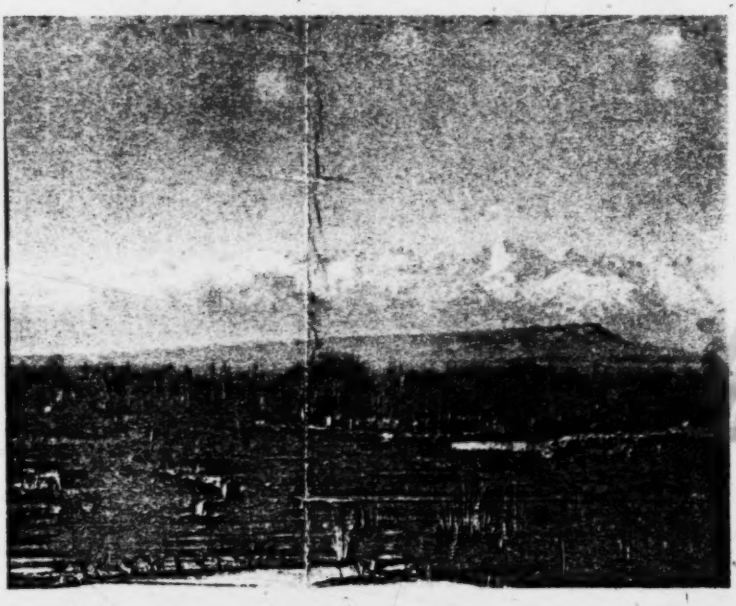
GROUP N.W. CHIMGHAN RANGE

133



JUNCTION OF CHIMGHAN AND QARATASH RS. JUNCTION OF GHIJAQ AND QARATASH RS.

510) W.S.W. BOSTAN TEREK MTS. (18,560)



[Face p. 116 E]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 and went all over the mountains. He seemed a good type of youth, sturdy, cheerful and independent.

•133 The Yai Dōbe plain, on which we now debouched, is a small but perfect example of the inland drainage basins characteristic of Central Asia. Situated at an average elevation of 5,000 feet, it is some 60 miles long by 15-20 broad and is enclosed on the north by one of the parallel ranges of the Tien Shan with peaks up to 13,000 feet, on the south and east by foothills rising to 8,000 feet. It has no outlet, but boasts its own miniature Lop Nor in the shape of a salt lake near its south-eastern corner. Like the *hāmūns* of Persian Baluchistan and Sistan, this lake varies in size according to the rainfall in the mountains, from practically nothing to a sheet of water 40 or 50 square miles in area. The rest of the Yai Dōbe plian is partly barren, partly covered with tamarisks and a sparse forest of desert poplar. Some of these trees attain a great age and size; they are not in the least like poplars, resembling rather the British oak. Here and there in the forest are springs of fresh or slightly brackish water, each with farmsteads or Kirghiz tents in the vicinity. In the spring and autumn the woodland is delightful, but in summer the mosquitos and gadflies for which both it and the Maralbashi jungles to the south are notorious make it uninhabitable by man or beast.

487 For fifty miles we marched across this curious plain. On September 5 we passed out of the desert-poplar forest and camped the same evening at the springs of Yairam Bulak. Here two families of Kirghiz had pitched their *aq-ois* near a couple of tiny crofts shaded by willows, landmarks 574 for miles in the great sweep of bare plain. We liked the Kirghiz of these hills and got on well with them, but we could not help noticing that they were less hospitable than their cousins of our beloved "Alps of Qungur." They never asked us into their *aq-ois*, nor did they seem to regard us guests as the others (often quite embarassingly) did. It struck me that there might be two reasons for this. In the first place, living on the Russian border, they are at once less secure and more sophisticated. In the second, a trade route much used by Turki merchants passes through their territory; these men, I was told, were in the habit of taking supplies whenever they 609 could and not paying for them. But the Tien Shan Kirghiz 487 could be friendly enough when once their confidence had been gained. The ladies of Yairam Bulak crowded round D., whose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 But the most curious feature of Old Aqsu appeared next day, when I found my way up one of the winding gullies of the loess bluffs. It is the extraordinary contrast between the two levels, between the land rendered fertile by irrigation from the Qum-Ariq below and the *sai* or gravel desert above. Below, as far as the eye can reach, stretches a rich, heavily-timbered champaign dotted with farms and seamed with irrigation-channels; five minutes' climb up one of the many clefts in the bluff, and you come out on to an absolutely empty desert. Except on those few days when the strangely-corrugated foot-hills and possibly the soaring ice-fields and glaciers of the Tien Shan appear like a vision in the north, half the circle of the horizon is a complete blank, without a bush or a mound to break its perfect smoothness. It is hard to believe that a few minutes ago you were in the midst of a landscape worthy of the brush of Constable or Corot. Some years ago an ambitious Amban sought to gain promotion by bringing a large area of this *sai* under cultivation to the south-east of the Old City. He spent 60,000 taels and much forced labour on deep canals and reservoirs and the construction of a small town of buildings connected with the new water-works. Everything was done with the utmost thoroughness and the scheme was most successful, except that the water would not flow along the canals, which had therefore to be abandoned. To this day the remains of the buildings and waterworks line the road to New Aqsu, clogged with drifts of fine loess dust and dwarfed to insignificance by the immense sweep of the desert behind them.

764 In Mussulman countries the dead are not as a rule buried in earth that might support the living, and here[1] too the uncultivable (because unirrigable) cliff-tops above the town are covered with domed tombs in seemingly countless myriads. A City of the Dead, in fact, with streets, squares and boulevards complete, overlooks the City of the Living as a perpetual *memento mori*. Looking up from the streets of the town, the domes of the cemeteries crown the bluffs at every point save one; only at the north-west end of the town the ruins of "Amir" Yakub Beg Bedaulat's fortress on one cliff and of his hospital on another, break the serried ranks of the 600 tombs. Bedaulat, knowing no doubt that his day would not last for ever, built his citadel of unbaked brick, and little is left of it though it was abandoned but fifty years ago. The place used to be easily accessible to sight-seers, but the only

1 [in old Aqsu -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 about and make it the main summer route to Tashqurghan. This would have meant the local people being forced to keep the track in repair, build bridges etc., as well as provide transport for officials using the route. I was interested to hear that two European travellers had been in the valley before, but neither of them had been further than the village of Pilal, 8 miles above Agh Aghzi; although the Oitagh Jilgha is easily accessible compared with the Kaying and other glens of the Alps of Qungur, no European had been to its head or across the Arpa Bel.

On 9th September we continued our march. Seven miles above Agh Aghzi the valley divides, the left or Pilal branch being inhabited by Taghliks and the right or At Oinak branch by Kirghiz. Passing Pilal village with its one immense plane-tree the track led up a wide valley at the head of which towered, incredibly high and blazing white even through the haze, the mighty ice-wall and splintered peaks of Chakragil.[1] Enticing "alps" below the forests of fir which clothed the steep sides of the valley beckoned to us, and we pressed on full of excited anticipation. The villagers had prepared a shepherd's hut for us two miles above Pilal at the mouth of the Arpa Jilgha which, ribbed with forest, led steeply up to the pass. But we would have none of it and camped two miles further up on a delectable meadow among thickets of fir, ash and rowan, perched high above the glacier stream and protected from the noonday sun by high wooded crags and pinnacles of limestone rock. Three *aq-ois* stood on another knoll just beyond and a crystal-clear stream bubbled out of mosses and grass near by. Here we spent three days, all we could spare, exploring the neighbourhood and making friends with the Taghliks.

•/33 It did not require a trained observer to realize that the region in which we found ourselves was a perfect paradise alike for the geologist and for the naturalist. Its chief peculiarity is the relatively low elevation of the head of the Oitagh Jilgha. This forms a kind of recess or alcove in the precipitous north-east face of Chakragil, 14,000 feet high, into which the glaciers fall and thus push down their snouts to a much lower level than

[1] This name seems to represent the words *Chikir Ôghil* or "the shepherd station of Chikir." I found a Chikir glen and pastures at the head of the Oitagh, on the north side. Stein gives the name "Chakragil" to the peak at the head of the Bostan Arche valley, some miles to the north-west, which he explored on his third journey. If a name is required for the whole massif, Chakragil would seem the most suitable one.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

137 The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

342 At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks
231 of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass
651 up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

133 From the provinces of Kansu and Chinghai northwestward is the former province of Sinkiang, or the New Dominion. The remoteness of Sinkiang from China Proper is emphasized by its size and the physical difficultires. Of the five gigantic mountain ranges in Asia, Sinkiang has three: the Altai, the Tien-shan, and the Kun-lun Mountains. The Tien-shan, or the Celestial Mountain, runs through the middle of the province and divides Sinkiang into two parts - northern Sinkiang and southern Sinkiang. Between the northern slope of the Tien-shan and the southern piedmont of the Altai Mountain, the Dzungarian Basin is located. This is covered by gravels, sands, and pebbles. On the other side of the Tien-shan, the Takla-Makan desert is situated. This part of Sinkiang is called the Tarim Basin. Locally, the Tarim means "the cultivable land." Here the important Tarim River runs along the north edge of the desert eastward to the Lop Nor and furnishes irrigation water to the people who live there. The Kun-lun Range forms a great mountain chain on the southern border of Sinkiang adjacent to the Tibetan Plateau. The topographical features of the province can be divided into five major divisions. They are: the northern mountain region or the Altai division; the Dzungarian Basin; the Tien-shan region; the Tarim Basin; and the Kun-lun region.

The northern mountain region extends from the northern fringe of the Dzungarian Basin to the Mongolian Plateau. The major mountain range in this region is the Altai. In Mongolian altai means "gold." The Altai mountain range is not only the boundary between Sinkiang to the west and Mongolia to the east, but the northern end of the range also functions as the boundary between China to the south and Russia to the north. From China's side, the mountain is not very high and the slopes are relatively gentle. The height is approximately 4,500 feet although a few peaks are about 12,000 feet high. There are a few small plains, for example the Burchun (Pu-er-chin) Plain, which is approximately 1,200 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The plain is formed on the right bank of the Kara Irtis River which originates from the Altai and runs westward to Lake Zaisan.

The Altai mountains are a block faulting structure. Faults appear on both sides of the mountain range. Only the middle part remained stationary as a horst. The ridge goes from the northwest to the southwest and disappears into the Mongolian Gobi. The southern slope of the Altai mountains is dominated by numerous rolling and dome-shaped hills where the Burchun and Urungu Rivers originate. On the southwest side there is a broup of dome-shaped mountains. The Tarbagatai Mountain, where Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) district is located, is the major group of this section. This part is around 2,100 feet above

133 sea-level, and it joins the Burchun plain on the east. The E-min River originates from this group.

The Dzungarian Basin: Dzungaria was the name derived from a Mongolian tribe who lived in this area for a long time. The basin covers the area from the fringes of the Burkan Plateau and the Burchun Plain at the north, the Ili Plain at the west, and the Cheng-hsi Basin to the south, along the piedmont of the Tien-shan. The basin is triangular in shape. The Altai runs from northwest to southeast, so that the east side of the basin is relatively higher than the west side. The surface elevation of the eastern part of the basin is around 1,500 feet, whereas, on the western part, it is only 600 feet in height. All the rivers run from east to west.

The Tien-shan Region: As the Tien-shan range runs from west to east, it separates the province into two sections - southern Sinkiang and northern Sinkiang. The range has been structured by numerous fault blocks; there are many horsts and grabens along both sides of the mountains. Moreover, they vary considerably in height and width and everywhere constitute a strongly marked dividing line between the great basin and the regions to the north. These comprise the wide plateaus of Dzungaria, stretching north to the fringe of the basin with a few well-irrigated, but isolated, areas and fertile plains and valleys. They do not, however, form any regular system and pattern. Since there is adequate moisture,
[241] agriculture is to be found both in the valleys and on the plains, especially in the Ili Valley and on the Fou-kang Plain. Farther north on the northern slope of the ranges, grazing land is found. It has, at all times, attracted waves of nomadic nations, from the Huns to the Kazakhs and the Mongols. The continuity of its rampart, the Tien-shan range, offers opportunities to
[487] nomadic neighbors on the north for plundering the oases and and trade routes in the south, since the mountain rampart is pierced at intervals by passes which are passable for mounted men and transport during a considerable portion of the year. To the southwest of the Turfan depression the wide valley of Karashahr descends from the grazing plateaus of Yulduz. It always has served as an open gate for nomadic inroads in the northwestern corner of the Tarim Basin. Farther to the west, under corresponding conditions, the great oases of Kucha and Kashgar are equally liable to attack across the Tienshan. The Tien-shan Region is the most important division in the province, because it occupies almost one-fourth of the provincial territory and there are many major cities and oases located on both sides of the ranges.

The Tarim Basin: This is the huge desert area between the

133 Tien-shan on the north and the Kun-lun Mountain range on the south. Generally speaking, this area can be divided into three sections: namely, the core desert area, the piedmont alluvial fans, and the isolated oases. In the core area of the Takla Makan Desert, the absence of moisture bars all animal and plant life. In the alluvial fans at the piedmonts of Tien-
[361] shan and the Kun-lun there are settlements and towns. However, they are rather widely separated. The alluvial fans
[137] are not all alike. In the higher plateaus of the southern fringe of the Takla-Makan near the Kun-lun ranges vegetation is to be found only at great elevations where the proximity of glaciers provides moisture and allows vegetation to grow for a few months of the year. It also is found in the extremely confined spaces that streams fed by these glaciers leave at the bottom of deep-cut, narrow gorges. Oases are strung singly like a chain, especially along the fringe of the southwestern corner of the Takla Makan desert. They are generally located between the hilly land and the desert and are of different sizes and conformations, depending upon the local relief.

The basin itself is higher on the southwestern corner, near the massive mountain ranges of the Pamirs. The elevation of this part of the basin is around 4,500 to 4,800 feet. It inclines gently towards the east and northeast, where the elevation is around 3,600 feet. Thus, the rivers run from the southwestern mountainous area, along the edge of the Takla Makan and toward the east. East of the Takla Makan is the oval depression of the Lop Nor where the Tarim River ends.

The structure of the basin is that of a depressed part of the Kun-lun range. The southern edge is higher than the northern edge, revealing that the southern edge of the basin was joined with the hilly land of the lower part of the Kun-lun range.

The Kun-lun Region: On the southern flank of the Tarim Basin the Kun-lun range extends in an unbroken line. It starts from the "roof of Asia" - the Pamirs - and forms a gigantic and massive feature of the southern border between Sinkiang and the Tibetan Plateau on the south. On this range lies the watershed between the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim Rivers. East of the Pamirs it separates into several high parallel ranges. These ranges are cut by the Yarkand River and its tributaries, the main feeders of the Tarim. At an elevation of some 16,500 feet above sea level there is the Kara-koram pass, which is the only practicable means of access to Ladak and the uppermost Indus Valley. Farther to the east, the Kun-lun raises a practically impenetrable barrier to any sort of traffic. The two rivers which water the Khotan oasis break through the northernmost main range, but their passage ends largely through extremely deep-cut and generally quite

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133 inaccessible gorges. To the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor, the mountains resume an easterly bearing and sink to a lower level. Beyond the eastern extremity of the Tarim Basin, the Kun-lun imperceptibly merges with the Ch'i-lien-shan along the southern edge of the Kansu Corridor. In the western portion its northern slopes, with their aridity and far advanced erosion, closely reporduce the physical features already familiar to us from the Kun-lun. The other branch extends eastward to Chinghai Province, forming the divide of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers.

Examination of the topographical features of northwestern China reveals that mountains, plateaus, deserts, and gravels dominate the land forms of the whole area. Level land is present along the various river banks; notably, the Ili Plain, the E-min Plain, the Kara-Irtis Plain, the Urumchi Plain, and at certain portions of the Tarim River. Human activities are largely restricted and limited by the unfavorable topography
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[361] and land forms. Cities are located at the piedmonts of the mountains, and oases are situated along the outer fringes of
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[161] the deserts by the side of water. The population of Northwest China is sparsely distributed through the whole section .

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132 C. Climate

Particularly in Northwest China, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution, and its reliability. Temperature, which in winter absolutely stops outside activities with its cold and which destroys crops through untimely frosts in spring and fall is next in importance.

The inland provinces of Northwest China are least influenced by ocean winds from the southeast and east, and the continentality is very obvious. The climate of Northwest China undergoes sharp fluctuations of temperature in summer and in winter, and uneven and unpredictable precipitation throughout the year.

According to collected data on temperatures from a few stations in Northwest China, Chiu-ch'uan for instance, the average temperature of January is minus nine degrees Centigrade. Tun-huang is minus seven degrees Centigrade. Because of a lower elevation than Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang is relatively warmer even though farther west. In July, Chiu-ch'uan has 23.8 degrees Centigrade, whereas Tun-huang has 27.1 degrees Centigrade. The annual differences of each of the stations in Kansu are over thirty degrees Centigrade. Chiu-ch'uan is thirty-three degrees Centigrade; Tun-huang is

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315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansu province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.) [1]

Oil Development in Sinkiang:

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315 To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in
[135] minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40), near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-tan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
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[133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1. [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was [433] flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an [433] American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chinese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.) 1

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest 654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures,

1. [See p. 129--Analyst]

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AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

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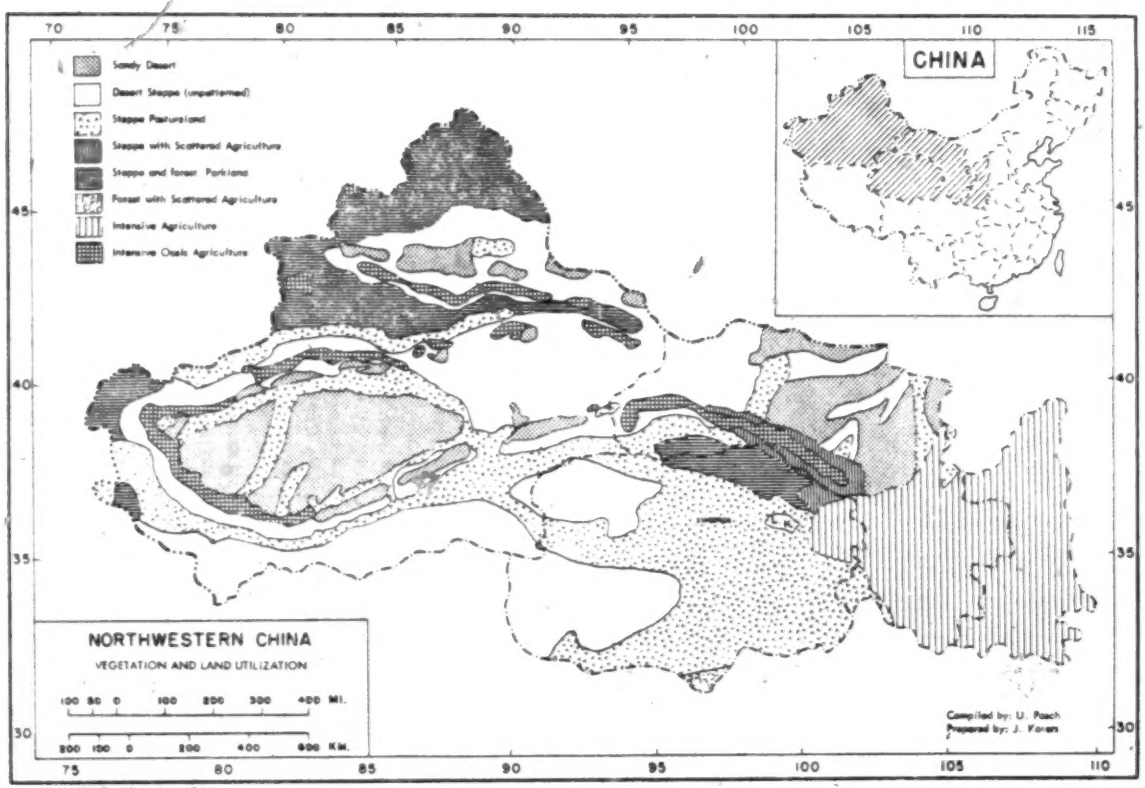

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following page 665

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Sinkiang AI 1

no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. 000
We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. 133 •
It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The 764
Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese 135
temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became 486
very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many 702
tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

491 033 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the 135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as 316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us

361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression

794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous, dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little

563 boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but 563
the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious 262
mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volun- 137
teered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude 361
to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The 485
Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found 133
a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy
plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had 000
only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst]

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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

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133 The next dawn found us at a beautiful spot called
312 Yatzchüan—'The Duck Pond.' It held a 'living spring,' that is to say, one in which the water is in constant motion, welling up from the sandy bed, sometimes with such force as to set the whole pond in ebullition. Every few minutes the depths were strongly disturbed, and a trembling column of sand would rise to the surface and then break in large bubbles. The oases through which we were passing were fed by the same water supply as that which irrigated the fields of Hami. It has been pointed out that the traveller must not allow himself to be deceived by the long, continuous blue line, indicating the flow of imaginary rivers connecting the ranges of the Barkul mountains and Karlik Tagh with visionary lakes. As a matter of fact, the water from the melted snows is lost in the gravel soil at the foot of these ranges, but reappears many miles away in such living springs as that by which we rested, or in a saline well in some depression of the desert. The Khan of Hami owns a house at this place, in which he stays when travelling on official business, and the caretaker allowed us the use of his rooms. They were clean and comfortable, but as bare as an inn. Near the front gate was his private mosque, decorated with a picture of Mecca. These buildings were throughout of mud, but the outer walls were yellow-washed, with a view of giving to the whole an imperial aspect.

133 On leaving the 'Duck Pond' we drove for twelve hours on a long, arid, stony, uphill stage, and shortly
[185] after sunrise arrived at an isolated inn. For several days each stage had brought us nearer to the foothills of the Barkul Range, and here we were so close that only three days' journey north-east divided us from the
133 town and lake of Barkul, both of which lie on the other
156 side of the Range. In these mountains are herds of wild

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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

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372 qualities. S[illegible] of the desert plants and roots supply fuel of fair quality, but in most places the people are dependent on animal droppings, cow dung being the best variety since, well dried, it gives out a glowing heat.

647 A visit to the Official brought us once more into the tragic conditions of Yamen life. A young man, with signs of the opium habit upon him, received us with the usual Chinese courtesy, and introduced his wife, who was a nice-looking and self-respecting girl; but there were other women in the household of such a character as must have made existence in Tsikioking a living death to her.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THROUGH THE CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS

• 133 At Tsikioking we were within a few miles of the
491 outer foothills of the Tian Shan, which, on the next stage, we were to traverse from south to north. No sign of the Pass, however, was evident, and it was not until we had covered the first few miles of gently rising ground that we found the road took a sudden turn, and we then quickly entered the mouth of a narrowing gorge. At the entrance to the ravine the yellow sand was piled up on the windward side of the rocks to the height of several hundred feet, but as we advanced naked blackness met the eye on every side, and from here on, a rift through the black rocks sliced a road right across the Celestial Range to the plain of Dzungaria.

For nine hours we followed a narrow path, the gradient rising so evenly as to be scarcely noticeable. The high rocks on either side were absolutely denuded,

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and of perpendicular strata. Great naked crags towered above us, and in some parts the side of the mountain was cut clean through as with a gigantic knife. Our previous experience of mountain passes had led us to expect a road which must rise and fall with the course of the mountain, and we were greatly astonished when, hour after hour, we still pursued a course with no semblance of a hill. The rugged grandeur of the scene was most impressive. On either side the loose boulders were flung in wild confusion, though never blocking the path so as to make it impassable to the carts. 133 491

As the night wore on the constant winding of the Pass, in which we could never see more than a few hundred feet ahead owing to its tortuous nature, made the stage seem interminable. It appeared as though, after so many hours, the next turn *must* bring an opening to view, but once again the road twisted and vanished round yet another corner. Suddenly, without warning, we emerged, and saw in the brilliant moonlight the inn of Towshui—' Head Spring '—which was a welcome sight indeed. [485]

During the winter months this gorge is closed by the snow, and many travellers have been lost in the drifts caused by the sweeping of the winds round the sharp corners ; the optional road via Turfan has then to be taken. The only signs of life in these desolate, barren, stony chasms were the birds of prey which hovered overhead. A Chinese traveller told us that once, when eating a wayside lunch in the gorge, he turned his head aside for an instant, and like lightning an eagle swept past, taking the bread from his hand. [136]

From Towshui to the next inn, which is Tashitow—' The Great Stone '—the road led over the watershed dividing Chinese Turkestan from Dzungaria. We drove over undulating downs, and as we descended the other [485]

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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As
491 we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance.
487 Geographically its position is notable, standing as it does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We
491 followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

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When we were about one mile from the gate of Kucheng, 494
a yell was heard, and our men hastily drew up, saying, '*Kwai che lai liao*'—the Express is coming! and in a swirl of dust, and with a wild jingle of many harness bells, three long-limbed, bony horses galloped madly past under the lash of the driver, who, having just caught sight of the town entrance, was bringing his team through the city gate and up the main street at a pace calculated to impress the populace! It was then that we saw the body of the cart was simply made of long poles lashed together, on which two passengers, clinging to the framework, were being hurled from side to side by the violence of the jolting. One glance at the 'Express' quickly satisfied us that such a mode of travel, while excellent for postal parcels, would be hideous torture to ordinary human beings if nerves formed any part of their anatomy, while some might scarcely survive the fifty-four hours of this frenzied mode of dispatch.

From Kucheng onwards it was no longer necessary to 484
make night stages. Hot as it was, the animals stood it 312
well, as each midday brought us to a wayside foodshop, where we were able to get something for ourselves and water for the mules, and the nights were now spent in towns of some importance. The direction of the road was south-west, as we had reached our most northerly point at Kucheng, and we were now following the line of the Tian Shan towards the dip which marks the position of Urumchi. The highest peak of this part of 133 •
the Tian Shan was now coming into sight, the great Bogdo-ola—'The Mount of God'—which rises twenty thousand feet, and is seen from a great distance. This summit, with its surrounding peaks, is of a grand and rugged shape, and lends distinction to the country which would be insignificant were it not for this arresting

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133 feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at
486 Tsimusa—' The City of Everlasting Trust '—and seeing a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no ' foreign devil ' should again darken his doors ! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the ' Inn of the Cursing Landlord ' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—' The Third Stage.'
133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes,
241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as : ' Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself.
492 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the backdoor of every house on the north side of the village, and

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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find 241
a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, 133
which is the most important stream in this part of 491
Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue 485
Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the 353
inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, [136]
still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, 233
covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian 221
nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was 000
beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

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491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a 133 village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for 491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

[312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a 579 region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the 167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

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noon when we left Ertaochiao on the understanding that it was but a very short distance to an inn, which, though situated in a desert district, and very small, was reported to be comfortable. Mr. Hunter then kindly went ahead to make preparations at the inn, and we followed him over a country which became increasingly desolate. The track led across a sandy waste, between tamarisk mounds and an occasional tuft of 'chi chi' grass. There was no telegraph wire to guide us, and hour after hour we drove on through the same monotonous scenery, with no distinctive marks and no sign of the inn we were seeking. Both drivers confessed themselves baffled, and as the darkness fell they had to admit that we had missed our way, and although they dismounted and walked about seeking a landmark, they found none. Moreover, travellers in these regions are loath to shout or to light camp-fires, for fear of revealing their whereabouts to horse-stealers. After a considerable time a voice was heard calling, which we recognised as that of Nimga, but on replying we were answered from another direction by Mr. Hunter, when gradually we all came together again and found that he, too, had missed the inn, so that we had no option but to push on. At midnight we were still going, but were suddenly brought to a standstill by entering a soft marshy ground, the extent and treachery of which it was impossible to gauge. Three of the carts of merchandise were already in the bog, from which they could not be extricated, so the horses' legs were secured with iron padlocks, while the whole party lay down on the ground, and in five minutes all were sound asleep. Four hours' drive on the next morning brought us at length to Chuguchak, where we were indeed glad to get our first substantial meal in twenty-four hours.

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to

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WAKHAN: OR HOW TO VARY A ROUTE

By MAJOR H. W. TILMAN, D.S.O., M.C.

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IT is a good many years since an Englishman crossed the Wakhjir Pass to follow the ancient route down the Oxus, so perhaps a brief note may be of interest. (Not that the lapse of time has effected many changes in Wakhan.) But before reaching Wakhan I should explain how I got there and in what circumstances.

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No traveller willingly follows a well-known route if there is a less known, so when returning last year from Kashgar to Gilgit I tried some slight variations. Between Kashgar and Tashkhurgan there is a choice of several routes, but all of them are moderately well known so that anyone with rooted objections to following the beaten track is not easily accommodated. One can reach the Little Kara Kul by three different ways and thence proceed west of the Muztagh Ata massif: or to the east of this there is the ordinary route by Yangi Hissar and the Chichiklik Pass, or a variation by way of the Karatash Valley which rejoins the ordinary route at Toile Bulung. But neither of these last two go near Muztagh Ata and since I much wanted to see the unexplored eastern side of the mountain I planned a roundabout deviation from the last-named route over the Karatash Pass and thence up the Tur Bulung nullah. At the head of this there is a pass marked on the map (Sheet 42 N, ¼ in.) with a query against it, which, if it could be crossed, would lead one down to rejoin the ordinary route at Chichiklik maidan.

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Accompanied by a Turki from Kashgar we crossed the Karatash Pass (16,338 feet) on ponies on September 17th in a fierce wind. The weather was, and continued to be, unsettled, so that I was disappointed of my principal hope of seeing Muztagh Ata close from the east. There were some yorts in the valley on the other side of the pass and to the south a glacier, covered with unblemished white névé, descended gradually from an easy-looking col. Had we been without baggage ponies it would have been tempting to embark on it to force a direct route to the south; instead, we went on down the valley past the Tur Bulung junction and as far as Kang Showar before we found any more yorts.

The Tur Bulung Pass was said to be unsuited to ponies so we sent them round by Little Kara Kul and Subashi, and ourselves, with a Kirghiz guide and a yak, went back up the Tur Bulung. Snow and heavy cloud prevented us from seeing anything but occasional glimpses of the 19,000-ft. eastern outlier of Muztagh Ata. Four miles up the Tur Bulung valley there is the snout of a big glacier of true debris-covered Himalayan type, quite unlike the clean white slabs of ice which spill over the gentle western slopes of Muztagh Ata like icing sugar on a bun. This glacier bore away south-west and then west into a wide bay, while the Tur Bulung stream, which we followed, comes down from the south-east from a wide upland valley—a hanging valley—a thousand feet or so above the glacier. Our guide called the glacier Kok Sel, which is also the name

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of a glacier of the Kungur group according to Sir Aurel Stein's map. This upper valley was well tenanted by Kirghiz at whose yorts we stopped that night just below the snow line.

The snow which fell that night obliterated all signs of the track, but in 2½ hours our guide took us unerringly to the top of the pass which he called Yambulak—not Tur Bulung. A glacier on the east side of Muztagh Ata is also called Yambulak. I guessed the height to be about 16,000 feet, and though the track is boulder-strewn, lightly laden ponies could cross the pass if clear of snow. From here we dropped about a thousand feet before climbing again to the Yangi Dawan which overlooks the Chichiklik maidan from the north. This great grassy plain lying at a height of 15,000 feet, in summer thick with grazing yaks, was now bare of life. It was a windy cold evening, so that we were lucky to find shelter in the squalid yort of a family who were trying to live like Kirghiz without the essential livestock. Their sole livestock were five sheep and they existed precariously on the bounty of stray travellers like ourselves. From here we reached Tashkurghan next day by the usual route down the horrible, bone-strewn Dershat defile.

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Between Tashkurghan and Gilgit the seeker after variety is hard put to it. As a variation to the Mintaka Pass route, that over the Kilik Pass, by reason of nearness and similarity, hardly qualifies, while the only other alternative seemed to be a very generous sweep to the east by the Oprang Valley and back into the Hunza Valley by the Shingshal route. But if in order to avoid the usual I must indulge in wide generous sweeps, there was a more interesting one to be made to the west over the Wakhjir Pass and back into India by either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass and so down the Karumbar Valley to Gilgit. It was unfortunately true that this route entailed crossing a frontier as well as a pass—and frontiers are usually the more difficult—but I should not have to be on the wrong side of it more than two days before nipping smartly back to the right side.

From Mintaka Karaul, where there is the last Chinese post, we followed the main valley westwards, leaving the Mintaka and Kilik Passes on our left. It is a fine open valley, comparatively rich in grass but bare of life—deserted, one supposes, on account of its proximity to the Russian frontier. We crossed the Wakhjir (16,150 feet) on September 28th accompanied by some Kirghiz whom we had met a few miles below the pass. They had come there only the day before and were one of some thirty families who, we were told, were migrating to Chinese territory from the Murghab Valley east of the Chakmaktin lake on account of incursions and harryings by Kirghiz from the Russian side. We camped at a yort on the bank of the river less than two miles below the ice cave at the snout of the unnamed glacier which is, I think, accepted now as the true source of the Oxus.

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A 361 [346] A 372

Between here and Bozai Gumbaz there were only a group of yorts on the south side of the river and a small homestead on the north bank where an attempt was being made to grow barley. "Gumbaz"—the conical mud cupola on a square base built in memory of some holy man—were far more numerous than people. There is peat on the flats on either bank of the river and many stacks of it drying were perhaps evidence of a

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

APPENDIX VI The Soils of Sinkiang

134 THE SOILS of Sinkiang have been formed by mechanical weathering caused by shortage of rainfall, dryness of the air, and high variation between day and night temperatures. Alkaline soils have formed where water seeping through alluvial fans along the edges of the foothills has deposited soluble salts on flat land below the fans.

Brown forest soils and the grassland soils of high meadows are found on the upper slopes of the Tien Shan. Going down the northern slopes of the Tien Shan, chestnut soils are found on the gentle slopes at the base of the range, succeeded farther out on the plain and in the depressions by alkaline soils, desert soils, and sand dunes. On the southern, drier side of the range, the vertical distribution is much more irregular. At the higher altitudes there is less brown forest soil and grassland soil than on the northern side. The foothill ranges are covered with barren rocks on exposed slopes, but there are light-colored chestnut soils and alkaline soils in hollows among the hills. In areas lying between drifting deserts and boulder fans the higher soils are alluvial, the lower soils alkaline; and farthest out from the mountains there stretch desert soils and sand dunes.

The northerly slope of the Kunlun, overlooking the Tarim Basin, matches the southerly face of the Tien Shan, except that there are no forests high up on the Kunlun and the soils found there are chiefly immature. There is no information about the soils of the Altai or northern rim of Jungaria.

Chestnut soils from lower mountain slopes on the southern edge of Jungaria and in the Kulja plain vary from dark to light brown.

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Their typical natural cover is short grass. Thin chestnut soils are suitable only for grazing, but thick layers permit dry farming. Alkaline soils are found in poorly drained lowlands and where irrigated alluvial soils have been alkalinized. Their crop productivity is low. They have been noted particularly between Kharashahr and Bugur, in Kharashahr, Yangi-Hissar, and Yarkand, and on both sides of the Khotan Darya and the Tarim. Desert soils which are low in organic matter but can be utilized for farming if irrigated are found in the oases of Komul, Pichang, Turfan, and Toksun.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

quality not seen in lower snows, makes it an impressive spectacle. The wide floor of the Sariqol Valley is dotted with homely little farmsteads, each nestling snugly beside a clump of willows. The soil is remarkably good; wheat, barley and oats sown in May are reaped in October, and two crops of lucerne are usually taken. Sweet-smelling purple orchises, gentians, vetches of all colours and primulas of large size line the paths in June and July.

The Amban of Sariqol, our first acquaintance in the Chinese official world, was not a favourable example of his kind. He was an opium-smoker, and shortly after our arrival at Kashgar was relieved of his post. I called on him my first morning, as I was determined to be polite in spite of his having practically ignored us the previous day. As I arrived only half an hour after the appointed time, nothing was ready, and the Aqsaqal and I had to stand in the waiting-room of the "Yamen" or magistrate's quarters amid an interested crowd of bottle-washers and hangers-on, while a servant hurriedly brought in a small table, two chairs and some uninviting-looking sweetmeats. Finally the Amban came in and we both sat down. Pale green tea tasting strongly of hot water was our tipple; conversation, I regret to say, somewhat flagged, the old Amban being obviously under the influence of opium while my style was cramped by the "gallery" standing close around and following every syllable, every mouthful. I was relieved to be able to escape after twenty minutes or so of this entertainment.

The Amban was in better form when he returned my call the same afternoon, and did his best to make amends for his previous remissness. This encouraged us to invite him, his young son, the Commandant of the Garrison and his adjutant, and the Pir of the Maulais to tea the following afternoon. I found out afterwards that it was a mistake to ask the Pir, as the Chinese seldom sit at table with their subjects. D. spent the whole morning making scones and sweets, and the party was a great success. Conversation flourished, the Amban being quite talkative. He spoke in Chinese to the Adjutant, who translated into Turki to Nadir Beg, who translated into Persian to me and I into English to D. So:—

AMBAN (to Adjutant): How old is the *Tai-tai* (lady)?
ADJUTANT (to Nadir Beg): How old is the *Khanum*?
NADIR BEG (to me): How old is the *Mem-sahiba*?
I (to D.) How old are you?

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich 487
fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows.

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us [712]
had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia.

Ighiz Yar ("The High Bluff") proved to be a pleasant 342
stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. [134]
Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters; they also opened on a cow-byre.

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four 487
of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

partially masked them! From south right round by west to north-east they stretched, the walls that screen Kashgar from the rest of Asia. To the north indeed the snowless outer ranges of the Tien Shan were not impressive, and higher peaks could only here and there be espied beyond. But right across the south-western horizon, sixty to a hundred miles away, stretched a mighty rampart of eternal snow, here irregular and serrated, there smooth-topped and broken only by the very highest massifs, which stood out like the marble bastions of a Citadel of the Gods. It was the Kashgar Range, a hundred miles long and from 18,000 to more than 25,000 feet high, which walls off the lofty table-land of the Pamirs from deserts and oases of the Tarim Basin.

It is difficult to analyse the fascination of lofty mountains seen afar off; so much depends upon their associations. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the climber thinks of the arêtes and chimneys and ice-slopes that await his scaling; the naturalist, the geologist and the surveyor of the new and varied world they offer, and the stalker of the mighty heads that surely lurk among their inmost sanctuaries. But to none do "the Hills" mean more than to Western dwellers in Eastern lands; and not only to those for whom they are a relief from the soul-destroying monotony of the plains, but also to all those who have heard the call of the Desert. To one who knows them both, the limitless freedom of desert horizons is the more exhilarating by contrast with the narrow paths of the mountains, while the springs and streams, the woods and flowers and grassy shoulders of the hills are the lovelier for the memory of arid wastes and empty sun-baked water-courses. So it was that for us, who knew so well the parched lands of Baluchistan and south-eastern Persia, much of the glamour of that distant line of snows lay in the promise they held of flowery meadows and deep glens full of greenery for our exploring, of "fresh woods and pastures new" tucked away among their crags and splintered ridges.

But the enchantment of the Kashgarian landscape is not solely of the kind that is lent by distance. The soil is of the curious formation known as "loess," which consists of nothing but fine desert dust, deposited from the air and firmly caked in layers of varying thickness. Loess has two peculiarities: one is its extraordinary fertility, which is such that you have only to poke a stick into the ground and water it regularly,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang AI:

[134] and it will grow into a full-sized tree; the other is its tendency to vertical rather than horizontal cleavage. The result of the 312 first is that wherever water can be brought (the climate of the plains is almost rainless, but water from the encircling mountains 241 is plentiful for irrigation) the land is closely cultivated, willows and poplars line every water-channel and the farmsteads are buried in foliage. The second peculiarity results in the landscape being broken up most picturesquely in the neighbourhood of the many rivers by perpendicular cliffs or river-bluffs, seldom more than thirty or forty feet high, but bold of outline and of a rich yellowish hue, with farmsteads perched on top of them and mills nestling below, trees and crops growing to their very edge and greenery in every cranny.

The whole aspect of the better-watered parts of the oases is one of immemorial peace and contentment and of a civilization, such as it is, that has persisted unchanged for centuries. Nowhere could be found a more striking illustration of the strength and permanence of a rural population with its roots deep in the soil, especially when that soil can only be made productive by means of an elaborate system of irrigation. 175 Politically, Kashgaria has had as stormy a history as any country in the world. During the last 2,000 years or a little more the Chinese have conquered it five times, and four times they have been evicted from it. The total period of their occupations up to date only amounts to about 425 years; during the remainder of the time Kashgaria has been the prey of one conquering people after another. Huns, Yüehchih or Indo-Scythians, Hephthalites or White Huns, Tibetans, Uigur Turks, Qara Khitai,[1] Mongols under Chingiz Khan, Dzungar Mongols and Turkis from the Transcaspian Khanates have all won and lost it in turn. Apart from these more cataclysmic changes, civil war has at various periods raged between the larger towns, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu. Yet [241] down through the ages generation after generation of peasants have yearly tapped the summer floods from the mountains and have raised their crops of wheat and barley, rice and millet, cotton and maize and melons, while wave after wave of conquest has rolled over their head. Whenever any conqueror or tyrant has interfered overmuch with the cultivator, his greed has been his downfall. A striking recent example of this

[1] The twelfth-century conquerors who gave their name to "Cathay." Stein, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 495.

It is a great place

172 for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

• 134 We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi" —the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate 342 is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small 181 boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside 825 every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

000 This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

sent up it to look for water came back saying that there was none for "two potais" (5 miles), only a spring high up among the mountains which they could not reach. I was not inclined to reload and toil many miles farther up the valley to the next halting-place, so I thought I would have a look myself. Half a mile up the side-glen the soil was damp, and a little farther I came upon a string of tiny pools. The flow was almost imperceptible, and a few yards further on the soil was again dry. But it was enough; we filled our buckets with sweet water, at the rate of about one per hour, and the animals were all watered by midnight. Evidently the Kirghiz (who were particularly shy at this place) had misled our servants and concealed the existence of the spring for fear lest we should drink up all the water and perhaps foul the supply. 487

Our next camp was a pleasant one, at Qaragor Kul ten thousand feet up among the very tops of the gently-rounded grey-green hills. Here there are no springs at all; a certain amount of rain falls, judging by the grass which covers the land, but there must be something in the geological structure which prevents the formation of springs. On the other hand there are several shallow basins in which the rain-water collects; the Kirghiz camp with their herds of ponies and flocks of sheep and goats beside one of these rain-ponds until they have drunk it dry, when they pass on to another. Qaragor and its neighbourhood lie within the jurisdiction of the Amban of Kelpin two marches to the south, an interesting place well off the beaten track which I would have liked to visit had there been time.

Next day we crossed two passes and descended a long glen, past patches of our first Tien Shan firs, to the wide valley of the Taushkan ("Hare") River. This stream, the main confluent of the Qum Ariq, which it joins close to Aqsu, breaks through from Semirechian territory, where it is known as the Kokshal. Its broad reaches and the snow-clad Tien Shan on its northern bank made a series of fine vistas for our delectation on the two marches to Uch Turfan. The soil of the valley is rich, and we passed through a series of picturesque villages, Somtash and Safarbai, Kok Oinak and Tusma, growing several kinds of root-crops, grain and lucerne, in the intervals between rocky ridges across which our under-sized pack animals scrambled wearily. [134] [241]

Uch Turfan which we reached on 11th September is a small town charmingly situated among groves of planes and tall

APPENDIX VII Oil in Sinkiang

315 IT HAS long been known that there are sources of oil in Sinkiang. Seepage oil, thinned out with vegetable oil, was traditionally used for lighting. The crude oil was also used for axle grease.

Deposits are known to lie along the Tien Shan, both north and south of the main range. More recently, oil has been struck in the extreme south of Sinkiang, at the edge of the Tibetan plateau.

East of Sinkiang, there is oil in the western "panhandle" of Kansu; still farther east, oil has been worked on a small scale in northern Shensi province, near the wartime Communist capital of Yenan. It does not appear to be known whether any or all of these deposits, which are the only known deposits in Chinese territory, are geologically related to the oil fields of the Caspian region, in Soviet territory, or to those of Iran in the Middle East.

135 315 In 1948, the Chinese National Resources Commission (NRC) confirmed press reports of the discovery of oil on the Sinkiang-Ch'inghai border, near the newly constructed highway connecting those two provinces. Mr. C. H. Wu, Secretary General of the NRC, stated that the field is located at Timurlik, near the border of the Tsaidam Basin, which forms the lowest part of the Tibetan plateau, between 80 and 92 degrees longitude and 36 and 40 degrees latitude. It was discovered by the exploration department of the Kansu-Ch'inghai branch of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation, an NRC subsidiary. According to Dr. Wu, a cursory survey reveals more than twenty horizons of oil sand in this field, the thickest horizon being three meters deep. All horizons occur in the Red Bed of the Tertiary Age.

Among the previously known fields, one near Urumchi has been

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

worked at times in the past when oil could not be obtained from Russia. This field is known to be of the Jurassic Age. 315 135

A small field, known as Jushantze, is located twenty kilometers southeast of Wusu, about halfway along the main trade route between Urumchi and Kulja. The wells, which are known to be shallow, produce a paraffin-base oil under natural pressure. There is no recent information on production.

When the Russians withdrew from Sinkiang in 1942 they capped and turned over to the provincial authorities 25 wells which had been producing 49–52 gravity oil at a depth of 4800 feet. It appears probable that these wells were in the Jushantze field. Although the Russians were quoted as stating that they would return at a later date to work the field again, they took most of the oil-field machinery with them when they withdrew. 315

(Sources: Information from Chinese National Resources Commission, supplied by United States Department of Commerce; see also Huang Chi-ch'ing, *Report on Geological Investigation of Some Oil-Fields in Sinkiang*, by T. K. Huang and others. Nanking, National Geological Survey of China, 1947; No. 21 of Series A of *Memoirs* of Geological Survey of China. Text in English.) 315 113

000 A Sinkiang pilgrim, so the story goes, set out from Ha-mi one day early in this century to see the wondrous iron bridge that an American company had built over the Yellow River near Lan-chou, Kansu. Midway on his journey out of the province and down the panhandle corridor of Western Kansu this Sinkiang man, Ma by name, came upon a Lan-chou countryman also named Ma. From early childhood this second Ma had heard such unbelievable stories about the Ha-mi melons grown in Sinkiang that he was at last setting out to see them for himself. Sipping tea at a roadside inn, the two passed the time of day and soon waxed friendly.

"So far as our Iron Bridge is concerned," stated the Ma of Lan-chou, "it is the highest yet. At this date last year a man fell over the side and, when I left, his body had not yet reached the water."

"H-m-m," murmured the Ma of Ha-mi. "Yes, that's high. But as far as our melons are concerned, you are wasting your time traveling all the way to Ha-mi to see them. They grow to such a size, you know, that by this time next year they will be with you in Lan-chou."

438 Sinkiang *(Hsin-chiang)* has often been called the "New Dominion," and to Chinese, exaggerations notwithstanding, this "new" frontier land has for centuries been full of the wonderful, the picturesque, the bizarre, the new. In the olden days one who brought Ha-mi melons to the capital of the Middle Kingdom would merit special favor, and even today the clippers that soar across Northwest China from Sinkiang to Szechwan inevitably carry a few, now and then, as rare delicacies for the people of Chungking. A rice kernel a half inch long is said to have been developed in the Sinkiang oasis of Aqsu during Manchu Dynasty times, the grapes of Turfan have long been considered unequaled in sweetness and perfection, and today it is the fabulous wealth of Sinkiang's undeveloped natural resources that is inspiring wondrous tales.

35 Like a legend, the news of riches in Sinkiang has run through China in the past decade—and not without reason. For the North Road and South Road are both plentifully supplied with mineral goods. Certain strategic materials are not present, it is true, but in the North Sinkiang triangle bounded by the three Regions of I-li, T'a Ch'eng, and Tihwa

alone, resources are available in such an abundance as can furnish the 135
foundation for a thriving industrialization.

Iron, coal, copper and gold have been found near Sui-ting (I-li). 135
Henceforth this important center on the Soviet-Chinese border may 316
take its prosperous tea and fur trade for granted and brag, instead, of blazing furnaces. T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), a frontier locality on the road from the Turksib Railway and probably the only city to have boomed more than Sui-ting, is already boasting of the iron vein one hundred and thirty miles long which runs right through the town, and of the Black Oil Mountain nearby. The oil appears abundantly in the form of springs and is especially black and thick. It is probably a tar, for it gets hard and has been used in the laying out and paving of the new provincial highways. There is coal too, not far away. But miners are nothing new for T'a Ch'eng; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were thousands of them prospecting in the fifty square miles or so of gold mines roundabout, or so the old people say.

Tihwa (Urumchi), the provincial capital, with a population judged 135
at around 100,000, dominates both the North and South Roads: hence its 361
military and political importance. Nowadays, not to be outdone, it has also been showing great industrial promise. Most of its houses are heated with oil or coal produced in the vicinity. One visitor to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's headquarters saw a piece of coal so huge that it took two men to carry it.

Farther south, Kashgar (Su-fu), largest oasis in Sinkiang and hub of 361
both transport and political interests from the neighboring lands of 315
Northwest India, Afghanistan, and Soviet Turkestan, is also blessed 648
with natural resources. Kashgar oil, though often merely "scooped out" by primitive means, has long provided the city with gasoline, kerosene, machine oil, and grease. Even Ma Titai, old-school Commander-in-Chief of the Kashgar district at the close of World War I, guessed at the worth of the oil in his domain. He put most of his personal army to the task of tapping wells for him, and almost negotiated a deal with Soviet Russians of Ferghana for modern machinery. The Russians had said they would supply the machinery and would personally see to its being escorted to Kashgar, when Ma's plans hit a snag. His ambitions

MAP OF SINKIANG
MINERAL RESOURCES
KEY
Petroleum
Iron
Coal
Copper
Gold
SOVIET RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
INDIA
TIBET
CH'INGHAI
KANSU
SINKIANG
T'A CH'ENG (Chuguchak)
ZAISAN
HA-PA-HO
PU-ERH-CHING
CH'ENG-HUA (Sharasume)
KOBDO
PU-LUN-T'O-HAI
PU-ERH-KEN
CHI'I-LIU-HAI
HO-SHIH-T'O-LO-KAI
SUI-TING (I-li)
I-NING (Ning-yüan)
CHING-HO
WU-SU
SUI-LAI (Manas)
CH'ANG-CH'I
TOU-K'ANG
FU-YÜAN
TIHWA (Urumchi)
KU CH'ENG-TZU (Ch'i-t'ai)
MU-LEI-HO
CH'I-CHIO-CHING
BARKOL (Chen-hsi)
KASHGAR
YANGI HISSAR
WEN-HSIU
AQSU
PA-CHU (Maralbashi)
SO-CH'E
KARGHALIK (Yeh Ch'eng)
PAI CH'ENG
KUCHA
KORLA
TOQSUN
TURFAN
KARASHAHR (Yen-ch'i)
SHAN-SHAN
HA-MI (Qomul)
HUANG-LU-KANG
CHUAN-CH'ENG-TZU
HSING-HSING HSIA
TA-CH'ÜAN
PAI-TUN-TZU
TUN-HUANG
WU-ERH-T'ENG
KERIYA (Yü-t'ien)
CH'IEH-MO (Cherchen)
ERH-CH'IANG (Charklik)
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943

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232 The administration of the New Sinkiang has taken significant steps to assist the peasants in the solving of their agricultural and animal husbandry problems. Field stations have been set up in every county with, among other services, eight veterinary hospitals and one veterinary school. There are province-wide facilities by which farmers may rent farm machinery otherwise unavailable. Experimental irrigation stations, forestry offices, and weather bureaus have all been established under Sheng's administration. These are epoch-making innovations for this once relatively isolated "desert" area.

Mineral Resources

● 135 Chinese reports have long testified to the rich mineral potential of Sinkiang Province, but the Occident has only recently attempted systematic study of that testimony. Now it is learned that numerous oil fields have been put into operation in Sinkiang. "Prosperous," though primitive, iron foundries have existed since the time of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), and now the Sinkiang iron veins are being rapidly opened. Excellent coal is found near Tihwa, Kashgar, and Yangi Hissar. The gold fields of the Altai Mountains are among the richest in Asia; and good-quality copper ore is being extracted from a number of deposits. Almost virgin mineral riches lie in the soil of Sinkiang, and serious attempts have recently been made to bring them into full utility.

Petroleum. A so-called "Ferghana Series" of oil-bearing strata runs into Kashgaria from Russian Turkestan and extends along the foot of the T'ien Shan past Aqsu to Kucha (K'u-ch'e). What may be an extension of this same series reappears again in the region of the Sinkiang North Road. The extent to which this series now is being utilized is indicated by the next table which names some of the fields of the province.

315 Samuel Chao gives a figure of 85,000 catties as the annual production of Sinkiang mineral oil. But in the past there has only been fractional utilization of the provincial oil potential; there has not, moreover, been sufficient public information on the more recent developments, which have no doubt shot the figure considerably higher.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

316 the appalling conditions under which the gold-miners work in the Zailik valley, 13,500 feet up among the peaks to the .135 south-west of Polu; the well-known mines of Surghak and Chizghan, 60–85 miles E.S.E. of Keriya, employ 2,000 labourers even under the Chinese system. Gold is continually being found in new places between Chizghan and Tunhwang in Kansu province, 700 miles eastward. I heard at Keriya of three new mines, all rich, to which there had been miniature "gold-rushes" during the previous two or three years. All the mines between Polu and Cherchen are under the control of the Amban of Keriya, who farms them out to a Beg for a fixed annual weight of gold-dust to be delivered to the Chinese at the fixed rate of 25 taels per tael weight, about five-sevenths of the average market price at Khotan. The Beg is not supposed to extract more than that amount from the mines, but of course he does. He finds, pays and feeds his own miners, whose numbers are augmented at Surghak by numerous convicts. The Chinese do not allow the local people to wash for gold except for the Beg, and as his total output is limited by contract he does not often give the inhabitants of a village like Polu leave to wash for him. As a special favour we were given a demonstration of the primitive methods used. Three boys crawled into a hole in the conglomerate bank of the Polu stream and passed out tray after tray of blueish gravelly earth; a fourth washed it in a wooden pan shaped like a very shallow cone with a slit in it. From each trayful the boy got from two to seven tiny grains of gold, some red, some yellow; in a quarter of an hour he had washed out a quantity which he told us was worth a tenga (*2d.*) at the Beg's rates. In a day's work, he told us, he would get anything from one-tenth of a tael to 10 taels worth (*3d.*–£1 *7s.*).

609 The men of Polu are exceptionally friendly and hospitable to Europeans, a fact noticed by Deasy, Stein and the few 000 other travellers who have come this way. The villagers still remember Deasy, though his visit took place as long ago as 1897. The stable in which his ponies were kept is pointed out with pride, also the room in which stayed the Chinese *ssu-yeh* or secretary who was sent by the Amban of Keriya to watch Deasy and prevent him at all costs from finding the secret path over the Kunlun.[1] One of the *bais* or chief men, Tokhta Khalfa, told me with pride that it was his father, Rahim Khalfa, who really helped Deasy to cross the mountains.

[1] Deasy, "In Tibet and Chinese Turkistan," p. 308.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 range. But when we tried it the first morning, down came the clouds and we had to turn back half-way. I had also hoped to obtain a close view of the needle-like Shiwakte group from some vantage-point near the head of the Tigarmansu Jilgha; but the peaks which shut in the head of the valley never cleared of cloud at all. I had therefore to confine my attentions to the valley itself, of which I made a plane-table sketch. At the foot of the ancient terminal moraine on which the camp was pitched we found a remarkable phenomenon; a flood of shell-pink water gushed out from among the roots of the great firs and joined the glacier stream, the waters of which it perceptibly tinged with its own exquisite hue. Two miles above the camp, at the foot of the existing glacier 13,350 feet above the sea, we found the source of the pink colour; in the moraine were beds of red clay over which a strong stream flowed from the glacier for a hundred yards before disappearing into the earth. At various points in the valley I noticed a greenish tinge in the rocks, which suggested copper. The Kirghiz told me that a rich vein of copper ore had once been worked in a terrifying and barely accessible cleft which they pointed out to me, high up on the precipitous north-west face of Kŏk Dŏng; it was so rich that in spite of the primitiveness of their methods the Kirghiz had for years smelted the ore and made pots and pans and cartridge cases out of the copper. In recent years the mine had been abandoned and its very existence kept dark for fear of the Titai's men hearing about it, as this would have meant the mine being taken over and the Kirghiz forced to work in it for the benefit of the Titai. It was for the same reason that they kept so quiet about the track over the At Bel Pass from the Yapchan Jilgha, which we should never have found for ourselves if old Samsaq Bai had not shown it to us. The Tigarmansu glen is accessible by this track alone, at any rate in summer; there is no exit from its upper end, and its lower reaches lie through a deep and narrow gorge impassable in the high-water season.

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On our way back to the Yapchan alp, where we had left our ents, we visited Samsaq Bai and his clan, who were encamped this year just behind the fir-clad crest of one of the great precipices of Zor Qir. A grassy ridge dotted with clumps of juniper and fir, very much like a well-laid-out park, jutted out 1,500 feet above the Yapchan valley like the prow of a ship; all round the *aq-ois* the turf was starred with purple anemones, gentians and marigolds. The grazing was rich and the view

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132 irrigation. There is, therefore, a common saying in the area that sunshine equals rainfall.

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132 Generally speaking, Northwest China is affected by the high pressure of the Mongolian Plateau. It is windy throughout the year, particularly in the spring. There are also local cyclones on the Gobi desert during the hot summer. These cyclones are relatively short-lived and remain within one area. Winds blow more strongly in the spring than in other months of the year, because at this time the center of the high pressure area is moving toward the northern part of Central Asia and Northwest China is just beyond the edge of the high
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[132] pressure. Since Sinkiang is in the high pressure circle in the winter, the wind blows calmly. When the strong winds sweep down to the ground in spring or summer they do much damage to agricultural crops. Therefore, the places which face such strong winds are the places where agricultural products are relatively poor.

In summary climate is modified by topography and the distance of the area from the sea. Northwest China is located in the interior of China and is remote from seas. The huge mountains and the gigantic deserts render the climate generally dry throughout the year. According to Koppen's classification, the area lies in the zone of B climate; that is, the potential evaporation exceeds precipitation. Owing to topographical features' influence upon climatic changes, it is always drier on the southern and sunny sides of the mountains than on the
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[132] northern and shady sides of the ranges. In southern Sinkiang, for example, the climate is classified as a dry desert type; whereas, in northern Sinkiang, it is a steppe climate. This difference is mainly due to the amount of precipitation. In the steppe regions the precipitation is always greater than it is in the desert area.

In Northwest China, the temperature changes rapidly from day to day and season to season. Precipitation is greatest in the summer months but it is not reliable.

II. Mineral Resources.

N A. General Distribution and Some Specific Importance
135 Northwest China is a poverty-stricken area, due in part to insufficient rainfall and also because it was until recently, practically an unexplored region in regard to its natural resources. Although the coal reserve of Shensi is known to be rich (next only to its close neighbor, Shansi,) (if reported recent discoveries in the Northeast are left out of consideration), it has not been mined to any great extent due to the lack of a nearby market. The only other promising mineral is the

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition , some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.
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[13] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones
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S of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
[439] tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

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315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansu province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.)[1]

Oil Development in Sinkiang:

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315 To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in
[135] minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40), near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-tan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha
S (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
[133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1, [See p. 128--Analyst]

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315 oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June,
654 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum
N production are discovered.
315 Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing structures have been increasingly revealed.

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[654] Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they
N have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin.
[654] Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

N b. Coal
135 Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if
S claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted).
[135] With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

N 135 region, even excluding Shansi, ranks high and accounts for about half the coal deposits of all China. The known coal S reserve of Shensi amounts to over 72,950 million tons and [135] that of Sinkiang is over 35,000 million, about half that of Shensi. Most of the coal deposits of the Northwest are of good quality and have been exploited very little. Thus they provide sufficient fuel for industrial development for a considerable length of time.

N 316 Some New Coal Discoveries:

Some new discoveries of coal deposits have been reported. In addition to the previously mentioned, newly discovered big coal field in west Kansu, which is estimated to have a reserve four times that of A-kan-chen colliery, one of the major coal mines in Kansu, new coal deposits are found in the vicinity of Ching-tai in north Kansu in 1954. Large scale and detailed prospecting is now under way. Also, many prospecting teams are searching for mineral deposits in the Chiu-chuan (Su-chou) district of northwest Kansu and in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai province. (FBIS, Daily Report, No. 102, 1955). Mining machinery and other equipment are now being sent from Sian, the capital of Shensi, to the site of the deposits. Drilling teams arrived and have been working since early May, 1955; it is said when put into operation, the new coal field will supply Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, and Kan su-Sinkiang Railway and the Paotow-Lanchow Railway lines, both of which are now under rapid construction. (NCNA April 24, 1955). Deposits of good quality coal have also been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin, Chinghai, where oil is being prospected. The coal deposits consist of seven seams totalling some twenty-five meters in thickness. They are suitable for open-cut working (NCNA, June 19, 1955).

S 135 In Sinkiang, coal deposits are widely distributed. They are found in the vicinity of Aksu, Kucha, Kurin, Turfan, Urumchi, along both shores of the Ili river, and in the north of Chuguchak. In addition to the above-mentioned places, high quality coal deposits are located along the northern slope of the Tien-shan mountains in Wu-su district. The Sinkiang coal belongs to Jurassic formation. The deposits are of exceptional good quality with thick seams. Most are bituminous and some may be good for coking industrial uses.

Sinkiang's coal deposits were estimated at over 35,000 million metric tons in 1955 (32,000 million in 1950), fourteen percent of China's total. The richest coal beds in the province are those of the Ili valley and near Urumchi. There are good anthracite beds in both places. Similar beds are also found S near Aksu, Kucha, Yenchi and Hissar. Geological teams were 316 sent in early 1955 to investigate the two large coal fields in

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lüeh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, N 316 where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The [433] total annual production is less than 2,000 tons.

In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and N [433] Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern 135 and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain S near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The 316 iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. S Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is 327 producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [398] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine [392] tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and S the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found 135 useful. (See Tables V and VI.)[1]

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter

1. [See p. 131--Analyst]

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135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold,
S platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively
316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of
[508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet
S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining
[491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B, cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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a. Copper:

135 Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality. It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the
S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near
N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent
316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.)[1]

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b. Gold and Platinum:

135 Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread, stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains
S too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan,
316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1. [See p. 132-- Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined. Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River, S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot- [433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik: ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sin-kiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province. (See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content S in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very [316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih, Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in Sinkiang.

N 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

135 The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

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135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in
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[135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

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b. Borax:

317 Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko
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and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang,
[317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine
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[433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

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c. Jade and other precious Stones.

135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern
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[439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

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●135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.
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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve
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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,
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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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131 A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu
161 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang All

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AF1

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII. Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE IX. The Best Known Gold Fields of Sinkiang*

Locale	Field	Comment
Altai	Tung-kou Hsi-kou Chien-kou Hou-kou Chung-kou Ha-hsiung-kou Pan-tang-kou	2 1/2 lb. nuggets mined; highest quality
Barkol (Chensi)	Hsiao-liu-kou	
Cherchen (Chieh-Mo)	unnamed	
Chi-tai (Ku Cheng Tzu)	unnamed	
Sui-ting (Ili)	Chio-li-Ko R.	
Keriya (Yutien)	A-ha-ta-Ko Shan Chia-pa-shan Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung	unnamed	
Ta-cheng (Chuguchak)	Ha-tu-shan	placer, between T'a-erh-ta-mu-tu and Su-erh-tu rivers
Tihwa (Urumchi)	unnamed	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 114-17.

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic." These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih=chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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*668 one of the most important industrial areas in China for three
433 reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown
S great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent
668 out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports
433 of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Com-
(135) munist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second,
the geographical location of this area is such that it would be
the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic
N point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it
S would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting
(177) technical aid from Russia.

S Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Com-
668 munists have paid special attention to the future development of
433 this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists took over, there was very little industrial production. But in 1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts, which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percentages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of 1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be increased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of 1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

491 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took
133 the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the
135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as
316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard, which had never left us all through our travels, had so accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic, so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were the only travellers on that road who would dare to take such a journey without observing this ritual, and such an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of our carters, who two months previously would have been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt. The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1 [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 *mazlum-kishi* is the Turki for "woman" and means literally "oppressed person"). However, small-talk is not so necessary when you have plenty of diseases, as these oppressed ones apparently had, and D. scored another social success. A couple of hours later we were settling into comfortable *aq-ois* provided by Father Christmas on a meadow by the Kinkol River. Near by grew many mushrooms, a rare treat. On the mountain-sides all round we could hear the red-legged partridges calling; I accepted their invitation, and a brace of them soon graced our camp larder. I may mention that between Yambulak and Kichik Karaul not a day passed that we did not bag partridges or hares, or both, for the pot. Next day I had a misfortune in the shape of a nasty fall with the black horse, which came down suddenly at the trot and threw me on to a sharp stone, which bruised my thigh somewhat severely, causing me to faint twice with the pain. I rode the rest of the march (and the two following days) on a yak or pony with my leg in a sling, neither a comfortable nor a rapid mode of progression. This delayed us very much and we took a day longer to get into Kashgar than we would otherwise have done.

Further down the valley became very wild and rugged, and raging glacier-torrents from the Qizil Tagh or "Red Mountains" on our right had to be crossed as well as the main stream. Here, at a place called Sasik Tika, we noticed a single poverty-stricken *aq-oi*. I distinctly remember commenting on the sinister look of the valley at this point. I was reminded of this the following spring, when I was present at the trial by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar of the Kirghiz to whom the *aq-oi* belonged for the murder of a Chitrali traveller.[1]

137 Soon after leaving the next camp, Toqoi Bashi, the first real trees we had seen since Tashqurghan appeared, and after that we were never without some. Short, thick-set trees they were, with fluted bark and small, pointed leaves; further down the valley some of them attained great size. We did not then know to what species they belonged, but they afterwards became very familiar. They were the desert poplar (*P. varifolia*, Turki *toghraq*) which is the characteristic tree of the Tarim Basin and, outside the oases, the only one that grows at all freely.

487 That night we camped at the first settled village of Kashgaria, Kichik Qaraul or "The Little Fort" It was pleasant to sit on the grass and munch juicy melons, nectarines and

[1] For an account of this trial, see Ch. X.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

so that there was nothing stilted about these functions. I was surprised to find that, though they all knew some Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, only one of my Turki friends spoke Persian. That tongue, however, was our regular means of communication with the British subjects of Chitrali or Afghan extraction, including some of the Aqsaqals.

We were not very much at headquarters in spring, summer and autumn, but when we were our spare time was fully occupied with rides and walks, tea-basket picnics, tennis with the Indian clerks on our excellent hard court, and so on. In winter there was skating on perfect ice from about 20th November to 10th February, as well as excellent duck- and snipe-shooting. My attempts to make a small practice-rink in the lower garden were not a success; nothing would induce the water to remain under the ice as it formed. But there are many marsh-lakes throughout the Kashgar oasis which, as early as the middle of November, carry a foot or more of mirror-smooth black ice. The nearest of these natural rinks was six miles along the Aqsu road, and there was another one, much larger, among the marshes of Salarma five miles south-west of the New City. Two or three afternoons a week I rode out to one or other of these lakes, and often D. came with me or followed later with guns and the tea-basket. A couple of hours' exhilarating practice on the perfect ice would be followed by tea on a sunny bank, after which we would take our guns and an orderly to neighbouring haunts of duck and teal that we knew of, seldom returning empty-handed.

On days when there was not time to go out to the lakes there was plenty of shooting close at hand. The Tümen Su, which flows past the Consulate-General, the Qizil Su two miles to the south, the Yaman Yar and other rivers, together with the innumerable springs along their banks, are frequented between October and March not only by the mallard and teal which breed in Kashgaria but by countless hosts of duck, geese and snipe of all kinds passing to and fro between the colder lands to the north and the lakes of Afghanistan, East Persia and North-western India. One day in November we counted no less than twenty-three gaggles of geese in the sky at the same moment, winging their way south-eastwards from beyond the Mountains of Heaven. A spring among the frozen rice-fields immediately below our garden wall was the haunt for weeks of several duck and a couple of snipe,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

which were so confiding that we came to regard them as pets and spared them from the pot; but less than a mile away, under the eastern wall of the city, was a large area of rice-fields kept moist by slightly warm springs, where on good days one could rely on putting up twenty or thirty couple of snipe. As for duck, I counted no less than eight different quiet spots within two miles where we could be reasonably sure of a shot at any time of the day.

We had also our various hobbies. I spent hours puzzling out the results of my plane-tabling among the "Alps of Qungur" and elsewhere, and had also my enlarging apparatus (worked with an incandescent spirit lamp) with which I turned out many hundreds of pictures from my ever-increasing collection of negatives. The garden was D.'s chief joy and pride, but she also gathered the Consulate children round her two or three afternoons a week and taught them sewing, gardening, outdoor games and other accomplishments as well as such Girl-Guide and Wolf-Cub ideas as were appropriate in the circumstances. There was also a perfect menagerie of pets, useful or ornamental, to look after; these included at various times (and mostly at the same time) three cats, four snow-cock, three gazelles, fourteen hens, five ducks, a white pony about the size of a Shetland which I bought at Qizil Bazar for the equivalent of eighteen shillings, eight rabbits and a camel. The gazelles and the poultry all came to a tragic end at one time or another at the jaws of the semi-wild dogs which are such a pest in Kashgaria. These brutes hunt in packs at night when they are supposed to be guarding their masters' houses, and though I repulsed several of their attacks with my gun and killed some of them, they always came back, scrambling over the high walls of the garden with extraordinary agility. The loss of the poultry was particularly sad, for the cock, a magnficent bird of great size with all the colours of the rainbow in his plumage, had been picked up by us at a farm near Yarkand, while D. had brought back two beautiful hens three hundred miles or more from Khotan and Aqsu respectively. D. was breeding from these three birds and had raised two fine sets of chickens, when the dogs broke into their house and killed the whole lot one night. The feline members of the community were perhaps the most important of all; D. and I are both cat-lovers, and there is no doubt that the pussies ruled the Consulate. Their names reflected our polyglot habits at Kashgar, for the big tabby was "Chong Mao," the middle-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to 105°. Another climatic feature arising from "continentality" is the fact that April is much hotter than October, which is the warmer month in other regions of the globe. 132

In winter the ground freezes to a depth of a foot and a half, and all irrigation water stops owing to the choking of the canals with ice between 15th November and the end of February. Yet the Kashgar winter is not at all a formidable affair. The skies indeed are sometimes grey with dust-haze, and for several days in January the thermometer does not rise above freezing-point. But the sun shines most of the time, while as for wind, that terror of cold lands, we had none worth mentioning. Ringed round on three sides by lofty ranges, Kashgar is mercifully windless in winter, so that in spite of the hard and prolonged frost the cold is not severe. We made ourselves very cosy in the evenings in front of roaring wood fires. One of the first things we did to the Consulate was to instal good British open fireplaces, not being content with the cheerless Russian stoves we found in the house: vast shiny black cylinders like the funnels of monstrous locomotives, which disfigured and either under- or over-heated every room. There are usually one or two light snowfalls during the winter, but the snow melts very quickly in the strong sun, except where there is underlying ice. In spring and early summer occasional storms with rain or dust or both vary the monotony of the eternal sunshine, and are also to be welcomed for the exquisite clearness of the air which follows them. At any time in July or August the weather may become, for short spells at a time, unpleasantly warm according to European though not to Indian standards; punkahs are unknown, though I must confess I should sometimes have been glad of one. But the nights are seldom oppressively hot, except occasionally just before a storm. Another fly—to use an appropriate metaphor—in the ointment of a Kashgar summer is the insect life. 136 Mosquitoes and sand-flies are a trial, though not to be compared with those of an Indian plains station; the former are smaller and less robust than those of Hindustan, and both can be effectively circumvented by a mixture of citronella oil and kerosene. At night muslin sand-fly curtains are advisable, unless one is sleeping in the open air and well away from walls.

One would have expected that the cities of Chinese Turkistan, where ideas regarding sanitation and hygiene are of the most primitive, would be hotbeds of disease and regularly 164 364

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600 very well, and the negatives of it which I took up with me to-day were most useful in enabling me to identify the various peaks. Again I spent three hours on the top, mapping and photographing, but this time there were no contretemps on the way down and we returned to camp before sunset. D. and Nazaroff have had a good day too. They went out shooting rock-pigeons this morning and got two each, and in the afternoon D. gave a tea-party to the Kirghiz women and children of the valley. This has caused great excitement. Seven women and two children came, all there are in the valley, bringing their own wooden bowls like school-children their mugs to a treat. D. had plenty of bread baked for the occasion in one of the *aq-ois* and had also made some drop-scones herself; she bought quantities of rich yaks' milk in the morning and used up in the tea most of our remaining supply of sugar, which the ladies with squeaks of delight scooped with their fingers out of the bottom of their bowls.

Khanterek, 21st October, 1922.

All the Kirghiz, including D.'s guests of yesterday, came to see us off this morning and seemed genuinely sorry to bid us adieu, begging us to come again next year. The Chopkana pass proved 11,500 feet high and fairly easy, though loaded camels could not have crossed
• 136 it. At the top, under the crags of Kaying Beli, I went after a covey of snow-cock, which the Kirghiz call *ulai*, but they were far too wild. This bird seems to be the same as the *rām chikor* of the Himalayas, and is the size of a bustard; he is a true partridge and is marked like a chikor, but, living like the ptarmigan on or near the snow-line, he has more white about him. His bill is curved like a hawk's, very
361 curious in a partridge. Just below the pass on the north side is the highest summer *yailāq* or camping-place of the Kirghiz, a pretty "alp" with firs; there was nobody there, but a mile further down at Ui-chi we found small crofts and tents and three or four families
291 of Kirghiz. Two of the women wore most wonderful head-dresses, peaked fore and aft and garnished with red embroidery, quite different from the flat-topped turbans of the ladies of the Pamirs. Apparently only the richer ones wear this curious head-dress. All the Kirghiz
600 crowded round D. for medicine; her daily "sick parade" has become quite an institution and is probably the chief reason of our popularity.

The Chopkana people have brought down an *aq-oi* for us to the little apricot grove by the bridge. We have come down 3,000 feet from Kaying and 5,000 from the top of the pass, and the warmth in this sheltered spot is delightful. To-morrow the caravan goes to Saman only, as we want to reconnoitre the Achiq Jilgha, a side-glen at the top of which I am told there is a pass leading over the Gez River and the main winter road between Kashgar and the Pamirs.

The problems of travel in the wilds have been enormously simplified for us on this pioneer trip by the admirable behaviour of our men, all of whom work splendidly so that everything runs with clockwork precision. Our programme on an average march is as follows. At seven Ahmad Bakhsh brings tea to our respective tents, shortly followed by Yakub and the tub. Yakub has had the bath-water simmering in its oil-tins on his own particular fire since the night before; the same tins provide the hot water required in the kitchen. By

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very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

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case arose in connexion with the murder of a British subject by his son at a village in the Yarkand district, and it became necessary for me to confer with the Amban of Yarkand at his headquarters. The march of 45 miles to Yarkand occupied a day and a half and led us through country which alternated between desert-poplar forest, marshes and cultivation. The display of bird life among the marshes along the right bank of the Yarkand River was astonishing. We saw none of the rainbow-plumaged "Shaw's pheasant" supposed to haunt these jungles, but among the reedy lakes and water-channels all along the road there was every now and again a mighty cackling and splashing of duck, geese, teal, cormorants, cranes, terns, plovers, coots, water-hens and many kinds of lesser fowl. A Paradise indeed for the naturalist and even for our ignorant selves, could we but have spared a few days to explore these little-known wilds with gun and camera. The Yarkand oasis was entered at Abad, a village of several hundred families living on land brought into cultivation twenty years before by an Amban called Liu, who used prison labour to dig a canal from the Yarkand River. This was one of several instances I came across in the Yarkand neighbourhood of cultivation being extended by enterprising and ambitious Magistrates. The area of this great oasis must be now at least twice what it was fifty years ago under the indigenous rule of Yakub Beg.

The five days my work occupied at Yarkand passed pleasantly enough at the garden of the Bar Gah, now a mass of snowy blossom, and while I sat in conclave with Amban or Aqsaqal, D. amused herself with shopping in the kaleidoscopic bazaars and exchanging visits with Swedish, Chinese, Indian and Turki friends. Once she was entertained at tea in the grand manner by the entire community of Hindu traders at their big caravanserai in the middle of the Old City, during the course of which a bowing young *bunnia* informed her that he knew the *Generail-Consul-Sahib* (i.e. me) quite well, as he had been a waiter at the United Services Club at Simla in 1920 when I had quarters there! Since then he had given up the job in order to join his brother who represented an Amritsar firm at Yarkand. Her visit to the Yamen to see the wife of the Amban was a somewhat difficult one. She found a child of eighteen, a forlorn, rather pathetic little figure dressed up like a doll, who almost died of nervousness and said through her Turki maid, "Please forgive me, I don't

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within a few hundred yards; in one field a pair of horses and another of bullocks, on another plot a fine pair of yaks was harnessed to the plough. Crossing another quite easy pass we dropped down into the Sarai Jilgha, a much less fertile valley, with only two very poor families of Kirghiz in it. [231] 487

On 8th April we crossed our third and highest pass in the Qizil Tagh, the Sarai Davan, 11,500 feet. It was steep and had a regular knife-edge top, but was not difficult and our carrier's ponies which were accustomed to the Karakoram road made light of it. Descending from the pass by a steep and narrow nullah we debouched on the Kinkol Valley at Kichik Qaraul, where we were on the Tashqurghan-Kashgar road up which we had come the previous July. We had thus left the "Red Mountains" behind us.

An attractive feature of the Qizil Tagh is the partridge shooting. We were there at the wrong time of year for it, but we shot a few birds for the pot now and then, and from the number of coveys we saw it was evident that in autumn a party of two or three guns would get a very good bag indeed in any one of the three valleys we visited. The only country in which I have seen as many red-legged partridge (*chikor*) as in the Qizil Tagh is the valleys of the Sulaiman Mountains in the north of British Baluchistan. The pursuit of the chikor or *keklik* (so called in Turki from the noise they make, kik-alik-alik-alik) is one of the most strenuous forms of sport I know. The birds are usually found near a steep, often precipitous, hillside; at the slightest alarm they run for it and climb, and you have to pound up after them as hard as you can. Without beaters, the difficulty usually is to put them up. Shooting for the pot, as I always did on these tours, I usually took a long shot at a runner, in which case the covey would often get up and in their agitation break back over my head, in which case I got a shot with my left barrel. This performance I could hardly describe as a "right and left," so I called it a "ground and air." [136]

Marching up the Kinkol valley we struck westwards up the Chumbuz Jilgha, a promising glen, of which I had made a note for future exploration the previous July. It led up into another small blank patch in Sir. A. Stein's map, and my object was to survey it roughly and cross by a pass called the Kizmak which I knew led over from its head into the upper Qaratash Valley. Lest the Kizmak should prove really bad—it had never been crossed by European—I decided to send most

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562 the exception rather than the rule, and most of them simply treat the men as their equals, though perhaps finding them a little stupid!"

In the Chopkana Jilgha there was a Turki girl from Yangi Hissar married to a Kirghiz. D. noticed at once how different she was from the others, more sophisticated and not nearly so efficient. She was a fish out of water, poor girl, and not at all happy. The only specimen of a Turki-Kirghiz hybrid we came across was a youngish, unhealthy-looking little man called Tash Mulla who attached himself to us in the Yapchan Jilgha. He was rather too clever and pushing, and we did not like him as well as some of the pure Kirghiz.

462 The strength and hardiness of the women are astonishing. They are splendid workers, not only doing all the household work but milking the yaks, cows, sheep and goats, weaving the rugs and other woollen articles, making the rope, pitching and striking the *aq-ois* and performing many other duties. The men are inclined to be lazy and are fond of twanging the guitar until a late hour and lying abed of a morning. But they are wiry and capable of great exertions, and they do not by any means leave all the work to the women, as is usually said of the men in other Kirghiz communities. They are responsible for the cultivation of the barley-fields, as well as for the safety of the flocks and herds on the mountain-side. Anyone who thinks that Kirghiz men enjoy a sinecure can try looking after thirty self-willed yaks or a couple of hundred sheep on a grazing-ground 5,000 feet from top to bottom and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

136 There could be no more interesting hunting-ground for the naturalist than these narrow but well-watered and sheltered valleys, islanded between the belt of utterly barren foothills on one side and the snowy wastes of the great ranges on the other. There must have been many interesting local variations, possibly even new species, among the plentiful fauna of the Kaying Valley alone, had we but possessed the knowledge and skill to collect them. Snow leopards exist, but fortunately for the Kirghiz are uncommon; one killed a yak calf and ten sheep just before we arrived in June 1923. I saw several herds of ibex; it was hard not to be able to go after them, but a man cannot serve two masters and I had to choose between the delights of the chase and the sterner but more fruitful cult of the plane-table. Wolves exist in some of the valleys, but the Kirghiz had cleared Kaying of them. Red foxes, as I have already mentioned, are occasionally trapped,

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136 and we saw plenty of golden marmots at a height of 12,000 feet. A curious rodent about the size of a guinea-pig lived in the fir-forest at 11,000 feet, also a very small red stoat. Hares were plentiful among the juniper woods at 10,000 feet. The highest point at which I found animal life was 16,000 feet, where I saw running about on the snow a small eight-legged spider which is probably the same as that seen by the climbers of Mount Everest at an immense altitude. I also noticed a minute animal like a lizard about an inch long on the moraine of the Torbashi Glacier at 14,500 feet. Birds also are well represented, and include the black eagle, several kinds of hawk, red-legged partridge, Tibetan snow-cock, chough, raven, long-tailed magpie, rock-pigeon and many of the common small birds of northern Europe.

137 I have already spoken of the amazing profusion of wild flowers which in June and July turned the terminal moraines of the glaciers, as well as the marshes, meadows and forest glades into veritable gardens. We did as much amateur botanizing as our other pursuits and our total ignorance of botany permitted. In the course of our two summer visits to Kâying Bashi we pressed some thirty-seven varieties and secured the seeds of seven or eight. D. also painted most of the prettier ones in water-colours. The flower that excited us most was a sweet-smelling kind of crawling purple stock, which grew only in small isolated patches among the loose stones of glacier moraines between 13,000 and 14,000 feet above the sea, by far the highest-growing flower we found. On our return to England we presented our small collection to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. To a layman, the interesting thing about it, according to the Kew experts, was that it belonged to a distinctly Central Asian rather than a Himalayan type, although the valleys in question are only about 180 miles as the crow flies from similar regions in Northern Kashmir, the flora of which is Himalayan. Like most of the flowers, the conifers of the Alps of Qungur belong to the Tien Shan rather than to the Himalayas; with the exception of the small fir-woods seen by us in the Qizil Tagh and heard of in one or two places in the Yarkand River valley, they mark the extreme south-eastern limit of the Tien Shan fir (*Picea schrenkiana*). For twelve hundred miles eastward, the whole length of the great Kunlun and Altyn Tagh Ranges, not a fir-tree is to be found; then come the forests of the Nan Shan, which flourish under moisture-laden winds from the far Pacific.

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487 want to guide us, though I gave him money and promised him more. Once I thought he had given us the slip among the gorges of the red hills, but we found him again. It was half past eight and pitch dark before our ears were at last greeted by the welcome sound of dogs barking, and a few minutes later we were warming ourselves at a roaring coal fire in a cosy room at the Haji's farm. The old man himself was not there, but his sons welcomed us most kindly and feasted our men royally on mutton and maize bread.

Next morning the air was clearer than ever, and we realized how attractive was the country into which we had stumbled blindly, as it were, the night before. The ranch—for the place corresponded somewhat to my idea of a South American *estancia*—lay in the midst of an immense sweep of grassy upland, above which to the north rose snow-clad ridges fringed with firs. That day's march, from Yetim Dōbe to Qizil Bulak near the foot of the Muzart Pass, was one of the most enjoyable I have ever performed. Our guide, one of the 137 Haji's sons, led us over one little pass after another, in and out of charming green valleys, some inhabited, others not, some clothed only with wild rose and barberry, others dotted with clumps of trees resplendent in gorgeous autumn tints, orange, russet, gold and scarlet. We lunched contentedly off cold partridge sandwiches and cake under a clump of desert poplars in the middle of a hay-field perched up on a hill-side opposite the snows; a picturesque Sart woman gathered wisps of mown hay near by and loaded them on a quaint wheel-less bullock-cart. She was not in the least shy, and exchanged 136 remarks with us the while. On this and the following day we enjoyed such sport after small game as I had never known before. I was accustomed in the mountains to the south of Kashgar to getting as many red-legged partridge on the march as I liked, with a few sand-grouse, pigeons and perhaps a duck or two thrown in; but never had I found myself in such a small-game shooter's paradise as the southern valleys of the Central Tien Shan. Without straying a hundred yards from the road I shot (1) red-legged partridge, (2) *sisi*, a kind of very small and succulent partridge common in Baluchistan and Persia, but not seen by us elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, (3) sand-grouse, (4) teal, (5) hares, (6) blue pigeons, besides which I missed an easy chance at a pair of those fine birds (7) imperial sandgrouse. I may mention here that on this tour altogether we came across no less than fourteen different

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kinds of small game, and that without going off the road. Besides the seven enumerated above, we saw, either in the mountains or in the jungles of the Tarim River valley, the following: (8) Shaw's pheasant, (9) duck, including mallard pintail, gadwall, golden-eye, and red-crested pochard, (10) snipe, (11) woodcock, (12) geese, (13) plover, (14) Tibetan snow-cock. Of these I shot specimens of all except woodcock and Tibetan snow-cock. The former we saw at Maralbashi flying through a garden; the latter I came across in large numbers at 11,000–12,000 feet while stalking ibex up the Yangi Art Jilgha.

Of many pictures that live in our memory of that delightful march, perhaps the most vivid is of the shrine of Qara-sakal Atam, "My Father Blackbeard." It is situated in the loveliest little glen imaginable. A limpid stream plashes down through open meadows from the fir-clad ridges of the Central Tier Shan, until it joins the main valley through a narrow neck between two backbones of reddish rock. Just above this neck is a coppice of fine old mountain ashes and desert poplars enclosing a glade of smooth turf and a bubbling spring. Barberry bushes, now a mass of carmine berries, and the brilliant orange-yellow of the trees in their autumn finery blend perfectly with the rich russets and ochres of the surrounding rocks; looking northwards, the grassy steppe sweeps right up to the distant forest above which again tower the snow-clad Mountains of Heaven. Father Blackbeard's shrine is only a bunch of sticks, festooned with votive rags and embellished with the horns of wild sheep; but whoever he was and whenever he lived, he is marked as having been a saint of taste—for did he not choose the most beautiful spot in all the Tien Shan to be his hermitage?

Two long but easy marches down the open and partially-cultivated valley of the Muzart River brought us to the small town of Bai on the Aqsu-Kucha road. Here we found the Mir Munshi awaiting us; he had come out from Kashgar to help me with my work at Bai and Aqsu. We stayed four days at the roomy Chinese rest-house at Bai, most of which I spent interviewing various British subjects from Kucha, three marches further on. The town, which is the headquarters of a third-class Magistrate, is an undistinguished Sleepy Hollow of a place, populated by Turkis and Chinese Muhammadan Tungans in the proportion of about three to one. It was our first experience of the latter race *en masse*, and we were

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had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

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and all but one of his men from thirst, and was with within an ace of perishing himself.

I was interested in the shepherds who lived at the cottage. There were three brothers with their families, the men being in the employ of one of the Maralbashi Begs, Abid Beg. For herding and shearing their master's sheep they received one fleece in ten; out of this wool they made ropes and sacking which they bartered at Maralbashi for flour and cloth. They also trapped foxes and netted fish, which in this river are large and quite good eating. Finally, they grew melons, of which they sold more than they ate. The soil, being salt, was good for melons but for no other crop. The three brothers had at first formed a joint family, but had afterwards ceased to do so owing to quarrels. They continued to live together at the farm, but whereas formerly they had owned three cocks in common, now each family owned one cock, and so on.

Recrossing the Tarim on 7th November we marched to Maralbashi, camping on the way at the foot of the highest and boldest of the miniature mountain-ranges of the district, the Mazar Tagh. Outside the town we were received most kindly by our friend the Russian-speaking Amban whom we had met at Merket, Chiu Da-heng. We stayed in the garden of the British Aqsaqal, a venerable Chitrali merchant; here pheasants came to feed every morning and woodcock flitted among the trees, for the charm of Maralbashi is in the proximity of the Tarim jungle, the wild life of which hems it in on all sides. Near by the dying Kashgar River flowed sluggishly, its waters destined to be spent in cultivation ere ever they could join the Tarim. On its bank stood a charming little tiled and whitewashed mausoleum built by our host in memory of his father.

We were guests at the Yamen more than once, and there had an opportunity of studying at close quarters some fine specimens Mr. Chiu kept of the peculiar swamp deer of the country. The stag we saw was distinctly larger than the average Scottish red deer and its horns were longer, smoother and more slender; its snout was long with a narrow, thin muzzle. In colour it resembled the red deer, except that its tail was light brown instead of dark. The hind was also bigger than her Scottish counterpart. There was also a fawn, a delightful, little animal with a thick, dark brown coat.

For the five marches between Maralbashi and Kashgar (145 miles) we were lucky in having perfect weather. The

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weaker pilgrims had been lost in the snow, thereby acquiring as much merit as if they had reached Mecca. They had nothing but praise for the authorities in Chitral, at Peshawar, on the Indian railways and at Bombay, where the official "Protector of Pilgrims" had put them on a specially-chartered steamer for Jeddah. In the Hijaz their troubles had recommenced, heat and disease claiming more victims than the snows of the Hindu Kush, besides which they had been held up for weeks by Bedouin robbers between Mecca and Medina. Returning by the same route, the survivors had found little or no snow on the passes and had had a comparatively easy journey.

Another interesting meeting was with a fine-looking old Kirghiz in a rich cloak and green turban at Subashi. This man, Khokan Beg, by name, told me that in Tsarist times he had been a great man in the Russian Pamirs, no less than the Mingbashi (Headman of a Thousand Households) of Great Qara Kul. Then a Pharaoh had arisen who knew him not, and he had migrated to Chinese territory with his wives and his sons and his daughters and flocks and his herds and everything that was his. He also told me that nine or ten years before he had entertained "a great British Consul and his wife from Kashgar," after whom he inquired; these can have been no other than General Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, who visited the Russian Pamirs in 1915.

The Pamirs are well known to be the habitat of *Ovis Poli*, one of the three largest kinds of wild sheep in the world, the other two being *O. Ammon*, of Tibet, and *O. Karelini*, of the Tien Shan. Nowadays, however, good heads are very rare on the Chinese side of the frontier, especially in the more accessible regions. I gathered at Subashi, which used at one time to be a good centre, that most of the Kirghiz nowadays have guns of a sort and that they shoot down the sheep indiscriminately for food. The only corner of Chinese territory in which *Ovis Poli* are still to be found in some numbers is in the Qara Zak and neighbouring valleys, two or three marches north-west of Bulunkul. A pair of horns was brought to me which had come from the Russian side; evidently it was expected that I would want to take a trophy home with me, and would pay a good price. The measurements were 56 inches in length and 15¼ girth.

Even if there had been a chance of a stalk, as I had hoped, I should have had some difficulty in working it in, for thanks

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 3
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard,
which had never left us all through our travels, had so
accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its
skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic,
so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding
ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as
prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning
incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas
expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense
nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the
Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with
its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were
the only travellers on that road who would dare to take
such a journey without observing this ritual, and such
an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we
enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god
in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey
without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of
our carters, who two months previously would have
been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave
without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and
by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of
the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the
others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of
its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt.
The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1 [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles [405] required for temple worship. This shop was also the post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which com- 485 posed the village were built at the foot of a high, over- [136] hanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

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133 The next dawn found us at a beautiful spot called
312 Yatzchüan—'The Duck Pond.' It held a 'living spring,' that is to say, one in which the water is in constant motion, welling up from the sandy bed, sometimes with such force as to set the whole pond in ebullition. Every few minutes the depths were strongly disturbed, and a trembling column of sand would rise to the surface and then break in large bubbles. The oases through which we were passing were fed by the same water supply as that which irrigated the fields of Hami. It has been pointed out that the traveller must not allow himself to be deceived by the long, continuous blue line, indicating the flow of imaginary rivers connecting the ranges of the Barkul mountains and Karlik Tagh with visionary lakes. As a matter of fact, the water from the melted snows is lost in the gravel soil at the foot of these ranges, but reappears many miles away in such living springs as that by which we rested, or in a saline well in some depression of the desert. The Khan of Hami owns a house at this place, in which he stays when travelling on official business, and the caretaker allowed us the use of his rooms. They were clean and comfortable, but as bare as an inn. Near the front gate was his private mosque, decorated with a picture of Mecca. These buildings were throughout of mud, but the outer walls were yellow-washed, with a view of giving to the whole an imperial aspect.

133 On leaving the 'Duck Pond' we drove for twelve hours on a long, arid, stony, uphill stage, and shortly
[185] after sunrise arrived at an isolated inn. For several days each stage had brought us nearer to the foothills of the Barkul Range, and here we were so close that only three days' journey north-east divided us from the town and lake of Barkul, both of which lie on the other
133 56 side of the Range. In these mountains are herds of wild

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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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and of perpendicular strata. Great naked crags towered above us, and in some parts the side of the mountain was cut clean through as with a gigantic knife. Our previous experience of mountain passes had led us to expect a road which must rise and fall with the course of the mountain, and we were greatly astonished when, hour after hour, we still pursued a course with no semblance of a hill. The rugged grandeur of the scene was most impressive. On either side the loose boulders were flung in wild confusion, though never blocking the path so as to make it impassable to the carts. 133 491

As the night wore on the constant winding of the Pass, in which we could never see more than a few hundred feet ahead owing to its tortuous nature, made the stage seem interminable. It appeared as though, after so many hours, the next turn *must* bring an opening to view, but once again the road twisted and vanished round yet another corner. Suddenly, without warning, we emerged, and saw in the brilliant moonlight the inn of Towshui—' Head Spring '—which was a welcome sight indeed. [485]

During the winter months this gorge is closed by the snow, and many travellers have been lost in the drifts caused by the sweeping of the winds round the sharp corners ; the optional road via Turfan has then to be taken. The only signs of life in these desolate, barren, stony chasms were the birds of prey which hovered overhead. A Chinese traveller told us that once, when eating a wayside lunch in the gorge, he turned his head aside for an instant, and like lightning an eagle swept past, taking the bread from his hand. [136]

From Towshui to the next inn, which is Tashitow—' The Great Stone '—the road led over the watershed dividing Chinese Turkestan from Dzungaria. We drove over undulating downs, and as we descended the other [485]

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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 1360
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountain and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the backdoor of every house on the north side of the village, and

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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, which is the most important stream in this part of Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to
361 Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called
136 Behya—'The Town of Seagulls'—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically
[487] and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia
361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that 'the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. 'Certainly,' we said, 'show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, 'Here they come again!' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To 'save face' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

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487 milking the sheep and goats by the water's edge while the men and children looked on.

[231] Next morning we awoke to find a brilliant sun shining on a cheerful scene composed of yaks, yak-calves, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, curly-headed children, rainbow-clothed white-turbaned women and one to two shaggy men (the rest were still in bed), against a background of fat mushroom-like *aq-ois*, foaming river and steep green hill-side. I had decided to halt a day at this pleasant spot, partly to give the caravan a rest, partly in order to reconnoitre on foot a pass called the Merki Davan by which I hoped to cross into the upper Qara-tash valley and thus gain access to one of the blank patches on the map which Sir Aurel Stein had advised me to explore. To cut a long story short,[1] Gerard Price and I, assisted by Juma Beg with his men and yaks, reached a height of 16,500 feet on a snowy spur, from which point we could see that the "pass" was quite out of the question for our caravan. It was nothing but a lofty ridge of rock at least 17,000 feet high, deep in snow even on the south side and defended also by steep ice-slopes.

[758] Meanwhile D. passed a strenuous but amusing day with the Kirghiz ladies, all of whom clamoured (mostly quite unnecessarily) for medical treatment and seemed to appreciate presents of quinine tabloids and castor oil even more than the beads and other small gifts which D. had brought for them. At any rate, she made herself very popular, for next morning when we marched down the valley their farewells were most affectionate and they walked at her stirrup quite a long way down the valley. One of the younger ones was perfectly lovely; the coloured sketch of her which was done by D. on this occasion and is reproduced as a frontispiece to this book does not flatter her unduly. As a rule, however, the faces of the Kirghiz women, though broad-browed and pleasing, are too flat for beauty.

[37] As we filed down the Yambulak valley it became ever narrower and its sides higher and steeper. The profusion of wild flowers was a revelation; anemones, primulas, king-cups, columbines, antirrhinums, campanulas, asphodel and many others of which we did not know the names grew in masses, especially in places where the sheep and goats could not get at them. Cascades of wild roses grew out of every

[1] For an account of this climb, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925, p. 388.

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487 *mazlum-kishi* is the Turki for "woman" and means literally "oppressed person"). However, small-talk is not so necessary when you have plenty of diseases, as these oppressed ones apparently had, and D. scored another social success. A couple of hours later we were settling into comfortable *aq-ois* provided by Father Christmas on a meadow by the Kinkol River. Near by grew many mushrooms, a rare treat. On the mountain-sides all round we could hear the red-legged partridges calling; I accepted their invitation, and a brace of them soon graced our camp larder. I may mention that between Yambulak and Kichik Karaul not a day passed that we did not bag partridges or hares, or both, for the pot. Next day I had a misfortune in the shape of a nasty fall with the black horse, which came down suddenly at the trot and threw me on to a sharp stone, which bruised my thigh somewhat severely, causing me to faint twice with the pain. I rode the rest of the march (and the two following days) on a yak or pony with my leg in a sling, neither a comfortable nor a rapid mode of progression. This delayed us very much and we took a day longer to get into Kashgar than we would otherwise have done.

Further down the valley became very wild and rugged, and raging glacier-torrents from the Qizil Tagh or "Red Mountains" on our right had to be crossed as well as the main stream. Here, at a place called Sasik Tika, we noticed a single poverty-stricken *aq-oi*. I distinctly remember commenting on the sinister look of the valley at this point. I was reminded of this the following spring, when I was present at the trial by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar of the Kirghiz to whom the *aq-oi* belonged for the murder of a Chitrali traveller.[1]

137 Soon after leaving the next camp, Toqoi Bashi, the first real trees we had seen since Tashqurghan appeared, and after that we were never without some. Short, thick-set trees they were, with fluted bark and small, pointed leaves; further down the valley some of them attained great size. We did not then know to what species they belonged, but they afterwards became very familiar. They were the desert poplar (*P. varifolia*, Turki *toghraq*) which is the characteristic tree of the Tarim Basin and, outside the oases, the only one that grows at all freely.

487 That night we camped at the first settled village of Kashgaria, Kichik Qaraul or "The Little Fort" It was pleasant to sit on the grass and munch juicy melons, nectarines and

[1] For an account of this trial, see Ch. X.

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487 toddling down to the ice-covered stream with blackened copper water-jugs to fill, a pretty sight. Later, when our camp was pitched, came three cheerful vast-turbaned, apple-cheeked ladies, with their sewing and their babies, and made themselves comfortable on the grass in front of D.'s tent, chatting with us and among themselves until D. should be ready to receive them inside. Then they crowded into her tent and hung excitedly over her unpacking. Though accustomed to friendliness and naturalness on the part of the Kirghiz, D. was at first a little puzzled at the remarkable lack of shyness of these women, on our very first appearance among them; but the mystery was soon solved. As she was setting out her toilet-table one of them suddenly pounced on a box of *trèfle incarnat* with cries of "Ufpah! Ufpah!" which means "powder-puff." D. was astonished, until they explained. One of them, it appeared, was the daughter of old Ibrahim Beg of Yambulak, and had recently been on a visit to her parents, who had told her all about our stay in their valley last July on our way to Kashgar. Consequently, the Suget ladies knew all that D. had then said and done, how she had given those of Yambulak cold cream for their hands and had initiated them in the mysteries of powder and puff, how she had promised them gloves and had painted a picture of the Beg's pretty daughter-in-law, and many other items of breathless interest. So D. knew what was expected of her, and ere long the camp resounded with their delighted gigglings as they powdered their noses and preened themselves in front of D.'s camp mirror.

Soon after leaving Suget Ayaghi we passed through a remarkable cleft in the high rocky wall and found ourselves in a wide sunny valley with snow-clad peaks at its head. Here, at a height of about 9,000 feet, were the summer pastures of the Suget Kirghiz and two of their cottages. There were no trees, but high up on the flanks of the central peaks we could see patches of fir-forest. This, we were told, was the valley to which the missionaries from Yarkand had come more than once for their summer camp. Leaving the Suget Jilgha by a pass just over 10,000 feet high we descended into a pleasant little valley called the Tam Jilgha, so called from the number of stone houses (*tām*) it contained. Poplars grew in it, remarkable at a height of over 9,000 feet, and there was quite a respectable area of cultivation, chiefly barley. Here we saw three different kinds of animal being used in the plough

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136 and we saw plenty of golden marmots at a height of 12,000 feet. A curious rodent about the size of a guinea-pig lived in the fir-forest at 11,000 feet, also a very small red stoat. Hares were plentiful among the juniper woods at 10,000 feet. The highest point at which I found animal life was 16,000 feet, where I saw running about on the snow a small eight-legged spider which is probably the same as that seen by the climbers of Mount Everest at an immense altitude. I also noticed a minute animal like a lizard about an inch long on the moraine of the Torbashi Glacier at 14,500 feet. Birds also are well represented, and include the black eagle, several kinds of hawk, red-legged partridge, Tibetan snow-cock, chough, raven, long-tailed magpie, rock-pigeon and many of the common small birds of northern Europe.

137 I have already spoken of the amazing profusion of wild flowers which in June and July turned the terminal moraines of the glaciers, as well as the marshes, meadows and forest glades into veritable gardens. We did as much amateur botanizing as our other pursuits and our total ignorance of botany permitted. In the course of our two summer visits to Kâying Bashi we pressed some thirty-seven varieties and secured the seeds of seven or eight. D. also painted most of the prettier ones in water-colours. The flower that excited us most was a sweet-smelling kind of crawling purple stock, which grew only in small isolated patches among the loose stones of glacier moraines between 13,000 and 14,000 feet above the sea, by far the highest-growing flower we found. On our return to England we presented our small collection to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. To a layman, the interesting thing about it, according to the Kew experts, was that it belonged to a distinctly Central Asian rather than a Himalayan type, although the valleys in question are only about 180 miles as the crow flies from similar regions in Northern Kashmir, the flora of which is Himalayan. Like most of the flowers, the conifers of the Alps of Qungur belong to the Tien Shan rather than to the Himalayas; with the exception of the small fir-woods seen by us in the Qizil Tagh and heard of in one or two places in the Yarkand River valley, they mark the extreme south-eastern limit of the Tien Shan fir (*Picea schrenkiana*). For twelve hundred miles eastward, the whole length of the great Kunlun and Altyn Tagh Ranges, not a fir-tree is to be found; then come the forests of the Nan Shan, which flourish under moisture-laden winds from the far Pacific.

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487 want to guide us, though I gave him money and promised him more. Once I thought he had given us the slip among the gorges of the red hills, but we found him again. It was half past eight and pitch dark before our ears were at last greeted by the welcome sound of dogs barking, and a few minutes later we were warming ourselves at a roaring coal fire in a cosy room at the Haji's farm. The old man himself was not there, but his sons welcomed us most kindly and feasted our men royally on mutton and maize bread.

Next morning the air was clearer than ever, and we realized how attractive was the country into which we had stumbled blindly, as it were, the night before. The ranch—for the place corresponded somewhat to my idea of a South American *estancia*—lay in the midst of an immense sweep of grassy upland, above which to the north rose snow-clad ridges fringed with firs. That day's march, from Yetim Dōbe to Qizil Bulak near the foot of the Muzart Pass, was one of the most enjoyable I have ever performed. Our guide, one of the • 137 Haji's sons, led us over one little pass after another, in and out of charming green valleys, some inhabited, others not, some clothed only with wild rose and barberry, others dotted with clumps of trees resplendent in gorgeous autumn tints, orange, russet, gold and scarlet. We lunched contentedly off cold partridge sandwiches and cake under a clump of desert poplars in the middle of a hay-field perched up on a hill-side opposite the snows; a picturesque Sart woman gathered wisps of mown hay near by and loaded them on a quaint wheel-less bullock-cart. She was not in the least shy, and exchanged 136 remarks with us the while. On this and the following day we enjoyed such sport after small game as I had never known before. I was accustomed in the mountains to the south of Kashgar to getting as many red-legged partridge on the march as I liked, with a few sand-grouse, pigeons and perhaps a duck or two thrown in; but never had I found myself in such a small-game shooter's paradise as the southern valleys of the Central Tien Shan. Without straying a hundred yards from the road I shot (1) red-legged partridge, (2) *sisi*, a kind of very small and succulent partridge common in Baluchistan and Persia, but not seen by us elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, (3) sand-grouse, (4) teal, (5) hares, (6) blue pigeons, besides which I missed an easy chance at a pair of those fine birds (7) imperial sandgrouse. I may mention here that on this tour altogether we came across no less than fourteen different

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of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited 778
the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312]
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

137 The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

342 At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks
231 of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass
651 up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

133 Tien-shan on the north and the Kun-lun Mountain range on the south. Generally speaking, this area can be divided into three sections: namely, the core desert area, the piedmont alluvial fans, and the isolated oases. In the core area of the Takla Makan Desert, the absence of moisture bars all animal [361] and plant life. In the alluvial fans at the piedmonts of Tien-shan and the Kun-lun there are settlements and towns. However, they are rather widely separated. The alluvial fans [137] are not all alike. In the higher plateaus of the southern fringe of the Takla-Makan near the Kun-lun ranges vegetation is to be found only at great elevations where the proximity of glaciers provides moisture and allows vegetation to grow for a few months of the year. It also is found in the extremely confined spaces that streams fed by these glaciers leave at the bottom of deep-cut, narrow gorges. Oases are strung singly like a chain, especially along the fringe of the southwestern corner of the Takla Makan desert. They are generally located between the hilly land and the desert and are of different sizes and conformations, depending upon the local relief.

The basin itself is higher on the southwestern corner, near the massive mountain ranges of the Pamirs. The elevation of this part of the basin is around 4,500 to 4,800 feet. It inclines gently towards the east and northeast, where the elevation is around 3,600 feet. Thus, the rivers run from the southwestern mountainous area, along the edge of the Takla Makan and toward the east. East of the Takla Makan is the oval depression of the Lop Nor where the Tarim River ends.

The structure of the basin is that of a depressed part of the Kun-lun range. The southern edge is higher than the northern edge, revealing that the southern edge of the basin was joined with the hilly land of the lower part of the Kun-lun range.

The Kun-lun Region: On the southern flank of the Tarim Basin the Kun-lun range extends in an unbroken line. It starts from the "roof of Asia" - the Pamirs - and forms a gigantic and massive feature of the southern border between Sinkiang and the Tibetan Plateau on the south. On this range lies the watershed between the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim Rivers. East of the Pamirs it separates into several high parallel ranges. These ranges are cut by the Yarkand River and its tributaries, the main feeders of the Tarim. At an elevation of some 16,500 feet above sea level there is the Kara-koram pass, which is the only practicable means of access to Ladak and the uppermost Indus Valley. Farther to the east, the Kun-lun raises a practically impenetrable barrier to any sort of traffic. The two rivers which water the Khotan oasis break through the northernmost main range, but their passage ends largely through extremely deep-cut and generally quite

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but 563
the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious 262
mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volun- 137
teered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude 361
to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—' The 485
Elms '—where by the side of the village pond we found 133
a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had 000
only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

1 [Chang Mushui -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point
491 we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the
• 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance,
[205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls
[487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which
[206] lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer.
[132] We were warned that at this season people were dying
[342] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected themselves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better
372 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

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144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[556] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga
region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have
lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian
merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from
Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small
group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols,
but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their
new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken
in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[233] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[342] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.
[614]

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call the Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours *175 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already [167] M settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) 175 was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the [167] experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Hami, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 745

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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• 142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes
563 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
[361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20.

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 648 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They maintained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

161 ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

463 The population is divided, economically, between those who live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry.
771 Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

144 Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197

634

tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 197 162

197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
162 of speakers of each, is as follows:[3]

	I Altaic		
A. *Turkic*[4]			
1. Uighur	2,941,000		
2. Kazakh	319,000		
3. Kirghiz	65,000		
4. Uzbek	8,000		
5. Tatar	5,000		
		3,338,000	
B. *Mongolian*			
6. Mongolian		63,000	
C. *Tungusic*			
7. Manchu		12,000	
		TOTAL	3,413,000
	II Indo-Chinese		
8. Chinese	294,000		
		TOTAL	294,000
	III Indo-European		
9. Iranian	9,000		
10. Russian	13,000		
		TOTAL	22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

the frequently loose and unscientific use of terms by foreign travelers and, much more important, by political motives on the part of Chinese administrators and Turkic nationalist leaders. 144 114

It is paradoxical that the sorting out of the peoples of Sinkiang is made more difficult by the fact that there is a rich Russian and Western literature about Sinkiang. For nearly a century there has been incessant publication of books about Inner Asia by explorers, archaeologists, geographers and casual travelers. Unfortunately, in the greater part of the foreign literature the descriptions of racial type, national grouping and political affiliation are excessively loose. For example, an American writer refers to the "distinctly Aryan" features of a regional group, to a "Kirghiz race," and to evidence of "Turkish and Mongol blood" in Kashgar.[5] "Aryan" can only be used properly in the description of languages, not of races, and even as a linguistic term it has now largely been abandoned, while peoples who speak the Turkish, Kirghiz, or Mongol languages may be of the most various and mixed origin.

Loose terminology in the foreign literature leads merely to misunderstanding or irritation, but it is politically dangerous when it is used to clothe the theories of administrators who are in a position to act. Contemporary Chinese political theories applied to concepts of race and nationality are of critical importance where Chinese administrative policy is confronted at every turn by growing nationalist movements which compete both with each other and with the projects of Chinese politicians. It is therefore essential to sort out the terms used both by Chinese administrators and by nationalist leaders, before attempting an accurate and rational classification of the many peoples who make up the population of Sinkiang.

In China, attempts to classify the peoples of Sinkiang in ways which reinforce political theories have led to four main trends. 829

The first trend is called *Ta Han Chu-i,* the "Greater Chinese Theory," by the Chinese who do not support it, and by Mongol, Uighur, and other nationalists who fear it. According to this defi- 563* 186

[5] William James Morden, *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts,* New York, London, 1927.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563 174 When the Uighurs penetrated to the Tarim area, they had already felt the influence of Manichaeism through Sogdian traders. After their contact with the settled population, numbers of the Uighurs were converted to Buddhism. In turn they established their own language among the indigenous people. Both groups were also influenced at an early period by Nestorian Christianity.

Subsequently Islam became the dominant religion in the whole area. The Kashgar region was first converted in the tenth century, but Islam spread slowly and did not completely drive out Buddhism until the sixteenth century.

The period of Uighur domination was brought to an end in the first quarter of the twelfth century by the invasion of the Khara Khitai, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century were in turn overthrown by Jenghis Khan. Mongol Khans continued to rule over the area even after the Mongol (Yüan) Dynasty was overthrown in China. The period of Mongol ascendancy was marked by a dual system of administration in which native princes, ecclesiastical leaders, and commune elders retained a considerable degree of authority. With the weakening of the Mongol hold the Moslem prelates, called *khojas,* were able to take over complete control in 1566 and establish what was virtually a theocratic state. Their influence continued to some extent even after the invasion by the Jungar Mongols in 1650 and the replacement of Jungar rule by the Manchus in 1756.

*563 174 144 In the checkered history of Sinkiang the Uighurs appear as only one of many invading peoples. Despite the fact that in the process of amalgamating with the indigenous population the Uighurs were able to impose their own language on the other peoples, the total importance of their influence should not be exaggerated. Physically the present population of the Tarim Basin is more akin to the Alpine than to the Mongoloid type. The culture, way of life, and other aspects of the present population also owe little to the Uighurs who rode out of Mongolia in the ninth century.

*563 174 The revived use of the name Uighur in Sinkiang, though justi-

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—
175 815 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XII

ARCHÆOLOGY, ART, LEGENDS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Nous admirons l'Asie bien que sa sagesse ne puisse rien nous apprendre, pour la même raison qui pousse les Américains à visiter l'Europe; parce que nous avons besoin de retrouver, d'admirer, de sauver les restes des vieilles civilisations qualitatives, que nous détruisons impitoyablement tous les jours pour augmenter notre richesse et notre puissance.

C'est la tragédie du monde moderne; on ne le répétera jamais assez. Les vieilles civilisations qualitatives, qui avaient pour but la perfection et non la puissance, sont notre paradis perdu.

". . . On trouve encore en Asie ce qu'on ne trouve presque plus en Europe, des restes *vivants* de ce grand passé: mœurs, traditions, méthodes d'éducation, vertus.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO

THE traveller who enters Chinese Turkistan for the first time from the south cannot fail to be impressed by the fairness of complexion and almost European cast of features displayed by many of the inhabitants, compared with the populations he has left behind him in Kashmir and Upper India. It has, indeed, been proved from the anthropological materials collected by Sir A. Stein that the race which inhabits the Tarim Basin still retains a large proportion of the fine *Homo alpinus* type.[1] This, it is true, is found in its purity only in a few secluded mountain regions, notably among the Tajiks of the Sarikol Valley and the Taghliks or "mountaineers" of Pakhpo near the head-waters of the Tiznaf River.[2] On the plains, and especially in districts such as Kashgar and Aqsu which lie on the "highway of the nations," there is a noticeable admixture of Turkish and Mongol blood. Still, on the whole it may be said that the prevailing type among the dwellers in the oases on the western

[1] "Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 495.
[2] Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 150.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•144 and southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert is the same as that still found among the valleys of the Italian Alps and the Caucasus—found, too, by Stein in the third-century graves of Loulan at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.

I have already referred in Chapter V to the illustration afforded by Kashgaria of the racial continuity and persistence of a population firmly rooted in the soil, especially when the extreme fertility of that soil depends entirely upon an elaborate system of irrigation. This permanence is in striking contrast with the state of perpetual change and flux which has through the ages characterized the history of Central Asia as a whole. Throughout the vast spaces of Mongolia, Dzungaria and Turkistan the winds of migration and conquest have swept to and fro; from the Gobi Desert to the Euxine, from Châlons to the Yellow Sea, the great nomad peoples, Hun and Turk and Mongol, have ransacked the world in the lust of dominion and the search for new grazings. Over the Tarim Basin, too, they have passed time after time, but they have left little impress upon it. The reason is not far to seek. With a rainfall of but two or three inches per annum, the grass that pastoral peoples need scarcely exists.

> "Nature" (says Stein) "by denying grazing-grounds to the vast basin between Kunlun and Tien Shan, has protected it against ever becoming the scene of great migratory movements and of such upheavals as are bound to accompany them." [1]

It is the aridity of its climate, then, as well as the seclusion afforded by some of the greatest mountain ranges of the planet, that has preserved the population of the Tarim Basin relatively intact since the dawn of its history in the second century before Christ. But it is not this continuity alone that lends such exceptional interest to the history of the region. There are people with as high a lineage in other 177 secluded parts of Asia and Europe. The peculiar feature of the history of the Tarim Basin is the fact that throughout a vast period of historical time it served as the channel through which the ancient civilizations of China on the one side and of Persia and India on the other maintained contact and to an appreciable extent reacted upon each other.

176 From the second century before Christ to the eighth century of our era there flourished in these oases a civilization in which, though it was predominantly Indo-Scythian, cultural

[1] "Geographical Journal," May, 1925, p. 403.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
563 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature

538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
[538] Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

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361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

I: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [787] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, N [177] be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] S 563 262 [272]

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 [146] S N [151]

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

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233

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor.* Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a S N 779 829 man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic S 595 563 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom S [562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make [152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [580] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than ~~to take~~ a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

S N 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

S N 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

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S N VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

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S N 563 153 799 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [827] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 635 669 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppression of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Moslems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 175 635 575 668 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 635 175 648 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 635 175 185 631 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms. By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft, and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation. Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 635 175 648 167 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang. At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 635 175 648 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 648 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral
159 in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out
635 the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own
648 initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan
159 and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sin-
635 kiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the conniv-
[682] ance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at
[661] a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog-
[648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling
159 inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and
635 inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for
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175 159 635 669 578 rebellion.

The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 159 635 669 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides. In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

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5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in comparison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

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IV. The Rise of the Communists

While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang, events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

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The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he maintained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
• 159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
175 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
159 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
669 protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the
[563] arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:

When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China

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through her children's eyes, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953, pp. 49-50.)

2) In the 2nd district of P'i-shan County in Sinkiang, there were a large portion of the farmers thinking that since the land they received from the Communists before was taken back by the Communists for redistribution in the land reform, there is no guarantee that the land they received this time will not be taken away from them at a later date. Hence, quite a number of them were not anxious to prepare for the spring ploughing. After the propaganda work of the members of the Party and the Youth Corps, these peasants learned that the lands they had received before were only given on a temporary basis. The lands they got through land reform are really theirs now. This propaganda dissolved the peasants' mistaken thoughts and doubts.... For instance, before the doubts were dispelled, peasant T'u-ta-a-hung slept in his room all the day long instead of going out to cultivate the land. Now he is working hard on his land and even refuses to rest at noon time. (Sinkiang jih-pao, April 8, 1953.)

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B. Factors not Contributing to Success

1. Sporadic nature of campaigns

However, these successes do not indicate that the Communist propaganda program has been carried out without exceptions. As early as 1949, some writers who were responsible for manufacturing propaganda found it difficult to praise the new regime. Then when propaganda became a part of the huge Party machine in the newly-conquered mainland, it developed other problems. At first, the movements were sporadic and geared to deadlines. Whenever the Party leader decided to promote a certain program, the rank and file had to work day and night to promote the theme. Once the interest changed, the whole program would be abruptly dropped and a new program would be rushed to fit the new propaganda purpose. This was criticized by the Communists themselves:

"In September, 1953, Mr. Jen....wrote a short article ridiculing several bureaucratic persons who did not consider seriously letters sent in by the people. He mailed it to a newspaper... After one month, the newspaper editor returned his manuscript with the following comment:

'The central propaganda mission concerning the serious handling of people's letters is over now....Therefore we sent your honorable manuscript back to you...'

To the surprise of the editor, on November 4th, Jen-min jih-pao published an editorial: 'Push one step forward in the work of handling letters sent in by the people'. Then all of a sudden the editorial department of that newspaper wrote to comrade Jen,

BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

Burkhan Shahidi
Chinese name: Pao-erh-han

159 Burkhan was the last governor of Sinkiang under the Nationalist Government, and the first governor of Sinkiang under the Communist regime. He is a Uighur, born in 1894 at Aqsu, Sinkiang. In 1912 he went to Berlin, Germany, and in 1916 was graduated from the University of Berlin specializing in economics and political science. Following his return from Germany, he took different positions in the local government in Sinkiang. Under the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen (1927-1933) he was in charge of foreign affairs. Later he was sent to Germany again to investigate political and economic conditions. Under the administration of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, for some time, he served as commissioner in the Altai (A-shan) region. In 1937 he was appointed by the Nationalist Government as the consul to Saizan, Soviet Central Asia. When he returned home the next year he was accused by Governor Sheng as a German spy and was imprisoned for seven years until the end of 1944, when Governor Sheng was relieved of his governorship.

159 669 631 In the early stages of the Sinkiang disturbances, which lasted from 1944 to 1949, Burkhan played a rather insignificant role. Under the administration of Governor Wu Chung-hsin, 1944-1945, he served as deputy commissioner for civil affairs, and later as the political commissioner of the first region. When the Sinkiang disorders developed to such an extent that the Central government had to send a special representative, General Chang Chih-chung, to Sinkiang with the hope of settling the differences between the rebellious tribes in Ining and the so-called Youth Corps of Eastern Turkestan, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as Governor of Sinkiang in 1946, and Burkhan was appointed as one of the lieutenant governors.

The Sinkiang situation continued to develop from bad to worse. Unable to solve the complicated problem, Chang Chih-chung in 1947 recommended Maksud Sabri (Mai-ssu-wu-te) a member of the Kuomintang and a minority leader in Sinkiang, for governor. In May 1947 the Central government appointed Maksud in the hope that he, being a native, could better handle the situation. Rebellious forces, however, aimed their attack at Maksud. At this crucial time, Burkhan suggested to Chang [648] Chih-chung, who was still political chief for the Nationalist Government in the Northwest, that the only possible way to settle the Sinkiang problem and improve relations between Sinkiang and the Soviet Union was to remove General Sung Hsi-lien,

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159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
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[643] 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.
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159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist
159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

S 159 669 648 631 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

S 159 648 631 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office. In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had S [458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years. S 159 668 669 631 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists, and the whole of north China was also put under the control of the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

N * [668] [669] In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist general, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commanders of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

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159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

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159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
*668 Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
631 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

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• 159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
668 Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
631 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi, member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

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Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

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Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sinkiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

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Li Ching-lin

Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

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Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)

In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

159 669 635 668 648 At the same time the Pei-t'a-shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 648 669 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist

A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940, opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

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159 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the gov-
648 ernment of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional
669 post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

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159 Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian
N Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-
[701] 1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

N When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he
159 served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council
631 of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

N Pai Ju-ping: Communist
159 A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the per-
631 iod of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as
*668 the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

159 trative Council, he [illegible] vice-chairman of the council. In the
668 province of Sinkiang, he was from 1950 to 1955 vice-chairman of
631 the provincial People's Government, director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Provincial People's Government, and commander of the Fifth Army. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the first session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee, which did the ground work in preparing the establishment of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. In October 1955, when the SUAR was formally inaugurated, he was elected the chairman, but after a month, for reasons unknown, he resigned and Burkhan Shahidi again became chairman.

Saifuddin's membership in the Chinese Communist Party was disclosed in 1950, but he may have been an undercover agent before. He served as the fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP (later reorganized as the Sinkiang Committee) from 1950.

In the mass organizations, Saifuddin is chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and he was also a member of the national committee of the China Peace Committee, an organization formed to carry out the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign. Since December 1954 he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

159 Saifuddin's rise to recognition started from the revolt at Ili
668 in 1944 when the so-called People's Committee for the Republic
[669] of Eastern Turkestan was organized in opposition to the provincial government of Sinkiang and also to the Nationalist Government. Saifuddin was appointed Minister of Education at that time and was also in charge of the Youth Corps. By January 1945 the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally established. Saifuddin was one of the lieutenants of Akmedjan Kasimi, a leader in the Ili coalition, who in 1948 organized his supporters into the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and became editor of its organ, The Progressive Daily. When Akhmedjan and two others were killed in a plane crash en route to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September 1949, Saifuddin assumed the leadership of the Sinkiang League which, in 1950, was renamed the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and which furnished seventeen thousand experienced minority cadres to staff the government agencies in Sinkiang. Through their efforts, the Ili region in Sinkiang forged ahead of the rest of the province in land reform, in collectivization, in the recruitment of activists into the ranks of the cadres, and in meeting the requirements for the establishment of regional autonomy.

How trustworthy and loyal are the members of the Sinkiang League to the Communist cause is, however, still a question. The fact that many of them still entertain separatist opinions

159 668 may be seen in the speeches of Saifuddin and Burkhan, exhorting them to abandon their opposition to Chinese rule and forswear their pan-Turkanistic and pan-Islamic views, which were denounced as reactionary. Although Saifuddin has climbed high in the Communist heirarchy and holds concurrent positions in the central government, the regional and provincial government and also the Communist Party, his power rests upon his following, and the fact that he was unsure of them may have been a reason for his resignation as chairman of the SUAR a month after his election.

159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai

One of the most important modern figures in the political arena of Northwest China during the more recent years is Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Sheng was born in 1895 in the district of K'aiyuan in Liaoning Province in Manchuria, of a middle-class farming family. After he was graduated from an agricultural middle school in Mukden he went to Shanghai to attend the Chinese School of Public Affairs, Chung-kuo kung-hsueh, at Wusung (Woosung), majoring in economics and political sciences, and was graduated in 1915. Unwilling to take part in the civil service examinations under the administration of Yüan Shih-k'ai, he went to Japan to pursue further studies. Shortly the question of Shantung came up in the Versailles Conference, and Sheng was sent back to China as a representative of overseas students to take part in the movement against the transfer of territorial rights to Japan. After the movement was over he joined the Military Academy of Kwangtung at Kukong. His military career began when he served as a second lieutenant in the army of General Kuo Sung-ling in Manchuria. Because of his good record in the army he was chosen to be sent to Japan's Military Academy. In the year of 1925 when Kuo Sung-ling resisted Chang Tso-lin for the latter's pro-Japan attitude, Sheng came back to join Kuo's side. When Kuo was defeated by Chang, Sheng went back to Japan to continue his military training. Chang Tso-lin complained to Japanese authorities and Sheng Shih-ts'ai was ousted from the Military Academy. Thanks to the assistance of Sun Ch'uan-fang, Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) and Chiang Kai-shek, Sheng was able to complete his training.

He came back to China in 1927, just in time to take part in the Northern Expedition launched by Chiang Kai-shek. When the expedition was finally successful he served for a short time in the office of the chief of staff as a section chief. Then he began to seek opportunities in the border areas.

159 669 In 1930 he was invited to Sinkiang where he served first as chief of staff in the office of the commander of Frontier Defense. But his real opportunity came when the Moslem rebel,

159 669 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi) from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 669 648 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the successful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai 159 648 allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

(643) During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became absolute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union. 159 Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relation-
648 ship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor
159 was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

S 159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

S [645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

N 159 631 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N 159 *668 631 Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia. Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N 159 631 [635] Sun, Tso-pin

In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

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• 159 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer
631 A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao
701 Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

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159 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a
701 very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist

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159 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army,
669 T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinki-
668 ang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N Teng Pao-san: Army officer
159 A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy
* 668 commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Con-
701 struction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

N 159 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be
S 669 recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frus-
648 trated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia; Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike fore-
S 635 sight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten,"
S 159 and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the
668 liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945,
648 organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

S 159 668 648

in Europe, while his National Turkistanian Unity Committee, in which he is president, has, unofficially, the support of such countries as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries, with the exception of Iraq, the committee has a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish tribe of East and West Turkistan. Among his many activities, Vali Kajum-Khan has also the supervision of the political and ideological education of exiled Turkistanian youths. He publishes various Turkistanian newspapers and maintains important contacts with his native country.

N 159 *668 S 159 668

Wang Chen (1908-): Army officer, Communist Party member

Born in 1908 in Hunan in a poor farmer's family. Studied in grade school for three years. Railway worker. member of railway workers' union, 1924; joined Communist Party, 1927; member of the Executive Committee of Communist Youth, 1928; secretary of Communist Party at Liu-yang, Hunan; political commissioner, First Independent Division of Hunan and Kiangsi, 1932; political commissioner, Sixth Division, 1934; chief of staff to General Li Hsien-nien, 1937; since 1952, first secretary in the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Communist Party; in 1950-52, commander, First Field Army, Acting Commander, Sinkiang Military Area. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang Chen's outstanding status in the Party is due partly to his long membership in the Party and partly to his excellent record and achievement both as an army officer and as a worker. He participated in the Long March, 1935-36. He won fame in the army when he led a vanguard unit which marched from the Yellow River down to Kwangtung Province, hailed as another "long March." When he was stationed at Yenan, the capital of the Communists, he was given the task of utilizing the soldiers to do production jobs, and the result was that the army became a self-supported team which not only got no help from the government, but paid taxes to help support the government. When the military campaign of the Communists began, Wang Chen played a rather significant role by taking over the whole of the Northwest territory. First he received the surrender of Kansu on September 23, 1949; then on October 21, 1949, he flew to Sinkiang and took over that province.

In Sinkiang, Wang's first job was to crush the opposition, whom he denounced as counter-revolutionaries. His troops took part in destroying the forces of Osman Batur and in pursuing the fleeing Kazakhs to the border of India. In his capacity as first secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP, a post he held for only a year, he helped further the so-called united front of the workers and farmers.

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Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official

First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

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Wang Feng: Communist Party official

Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the Department of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the Northwest. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

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Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official

Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Executive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of

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N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[193] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

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159 **Yang Tzu-lien: Democratic League member, government**
631 **official**

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950 - 1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

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159 Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and government official
701 Chinese name: Ching-fu
631 A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

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CHAPTER IV The Peoples of Sinkiang

The Population

THE NUMBER of people living in Sinkiang is a matter of considerable debate. No satisfactory census of the population has ever been made. Widely varying estimates range from 2,000,000 to 8,000,000. The figure of 3,730,000 was reached by a survey made by the office of the provincial police in 1940–1941, and this estimate is likely to stand as the best available until a more precise survey is conducted.[1] 161

About two thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited. The pastoral areas, which are thinly populated, include about a quarter of the province but only a little more than 10 per cent of the population. The cultivated areas, the most thickly settled in the province, make up less than 5 per cent of the total area but contain almost 90 per cent of the people. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tien Shan, or, more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. The four administrative districts of Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand contain over two thirds of the people of the whole prov-

[1] The geographic distribution of the population is indicated, though only with approximate accuracy, by the figures obtained by the 1940–1941 survey for the ten administrative districts into which the province is divided. (See map.) These divisions, listed in order of the numerical importance of their population, are as follows:

Kashgar	900,000	Kulja	351,000
Khotan	605,000	Chuguchak	144,000
Aksu	581,000	Kharashahr	106,000
Yarkand	561,000	Sharasume	63,000
Urumchi	372,000	Komul	48,000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

161 ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

463 The population is divided, economically, between those who
771 live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry. Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

144 Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun,* at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 ● 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Mongol
Tadjik

of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (*Sarikolis, Tajiks*). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknow-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

[p. 138]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Manchu

*563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were estab-
167 lished as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from
the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria,
174 famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sin-
174 kiang were massacred, but the village communities defended
themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and
● 161 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the prov-
361 ince. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region,
101 virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though
241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a con-
231 siderable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their tradi-
191 tional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
● 161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite
871 their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

II

SINKIANG: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

131 SINKIANG or Chinese Turkestan is a spacious attractive land of about
161 550,000 square miles, approximately two and a half times the size of France. Yet the province is inhabited only by about four million persons, or an average of less than nine per square mile. By way of contrast Kiangsu Province, which contains Shanghai and other teeming port cities, is one-fourteenth the size of Sinkiang and yet, before the war, had a population density more than one hundred times as great!

131 By nature a distant and self-contained area, Sinkiang is enclosed on three sides by mountains and on one side by desert and barren terrain. On the west are the T'ien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains; to the south, the lofty K'unlun Mountains of Tibet; on the extreme north, the little visited Altai ranges; and on the east, the Gobi of Mongolia and the Tsaidam wastelands of Western Ch'inghai or Kokonor.

133 The interior of Sinkiang does have vast expanses of desert. But the T'ien Shan extend from west to east through the center of the province, the Manas and the Tarim River systems moisten immense parts in the north and south respectively, and there are not a few luxuriant, well-watered oases at the bases of her encircling and bisecting mountains. The forested slopes of the Altai ranges and the northern T'ien Shan, the fertile regions alongside the Manas River in the north and throughout the Tarim River basin in the south, and the numerous dot-like oases in the interior—these form the bases for provincial cities and east-west communications.

103 In early times Chinese often referred to what is now Sinkiang as *Hsi Yü* ("The Western Regions") or as *T'ien-shan-nan-lu* and *T'ien-shan-pei-lu,* i.e., a "Road South of the Heavenly Mountains" and a "Road North of the Heavenly Mountains." These two latter names fitted the natural caravan highways which progressed westward from Chinese Kansu Province on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

———, "Will China Save Its Far West?" *Asia* (December, 1939). 113
Zashchuk, G., "La situation économique de Sindsian," *Novyi Vostok (Nouvel Orient)*, No. 26-27 (1929), pp. 105-24.

The author has also consulted editions of the *China Year Book* which were issued from 1931 to 1939 as well as editions of the *Chinese Year Book* issued in the period, 1935 to 1941. Newspapers and periodicals not otherwise mentioned which have proved especially helpful include: the *China Daily News, Chinese News Service, Chinese Times, Contemporary China, Far Eastern Survey, Hsin Hua Jih-pao, Hsin-chiang Jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily News), Izvestiia, Kuo Min Wai Chiao, Life, New York Times,* and *PM*.

REFERENCE NOTES

(Listed by page number according to occurrence in the text)

30. *Chinese News Service*, October 5, 23, November 27, 1943; January 10, 19, February 3, 4, 16, 1944; *Kuo Min Wai Chiao*, I, 1 (January, 1943), p. 43; Samuel Chao, "China's Northwest Revitalized," *China at War*, XI, 2 (August, 1943); Li Yao-san, "K'en-min Tao Hsin-chiang Ch'ü-liao," *I-shih Pao*, September 22 (?), 1943. The author is indebted to William L. Holland, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York City, for use of this last-named source. The author here wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Holland also for the use of certain other materials. These include: Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *Ta Kung Pao*, November 15-16, 1942; "Hsi-pei K'ai-fa Sheng Chung Chih Hsin-chiang Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi," *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*, VIII, 5 (November, 1942); Lu Ko, "Hsin Hsin-chiang ti Chang-ch'eng: Sheng Shih-chi Hsien-sheng Fang-wen Chi," *Shang-wu Jih-pao*, November 10, 1942; and Tung Ching-kua, "Hsi-pei chih Sheng: Wu Sheng Ts'an-cheng-yüan T'an-hua; Chien-she Wan Tuan Chiao-t'ung Ti-i," *I-shih Pao*, October 22, 1942. Y. Y. Hsu, also of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has made a rough abstract of material from the four last named clippings, and the author has consulted that abstract as well as the original material. Holland has also made available two additional clippings: "Hsin-chiang Feng-ching Hsien," *Hsin Shu Pao*, September 12, 1943; and "Ti-hua T'ung-hsün," *Sao Tang Pao*, September 16, 1943; and he has permitted the author to consult Samuel Ming-chiu Chao's unpublished manuscript entitled, *China's Northwest* (dated Chungking, September 15, 1940). 000

32. There are apparently no definitive figures on the area of Sinkiang Province, and the various estimates have ranged from 400,000 to well over 700,000 square miles. Similarly, estimates of the Sinkiang population have differed—running from as low as one to as high as six million persons. The *China Handbook 1937-1943 A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War* (Ministry of Information of the Republic of China, compilers, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1943, pp. 1 and 2) offers a 1938 figure of 1,828,418 square kilometers (which converts roughly into 131 161

131 705,953 square miles) for the area, and a 1933 figure of 4,360,020 for the population of the province. In 1939 Owen Lattimore judged the Sinkiang area to be *"of the order of"*
161 600,000 square miles and the Sinkiang population *"of the order of"* 3,500,000 persons. *Vide: Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (American Geographical Society, Research Series No. 21, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 10-11.

Since the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power, however, the Sinkiang people speak locally of their population as "four million persons." Cf. Tu Chung-yüan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai yü Hsin Hsin-chiang*, fourth edition, Chungking [etc.], Life Book Company, 1939, p. 54; and Chao Lieh, "Hsin-chiang chin Ching-lu," *Kuei-lin Ta Kung Pao*, September 8, 1941. The present writer accepts the figure from the latter two sources as a rough, but probably sound estimate for today. So far as area is concerned, moreover, he is inclined to agree with the figure of 550,579 square miles offered for Chinese Turkestan by *The China Year Book, 1934* (H. G. W. Woodhead, editor, Shanghai, The North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd.), p. 2.

The China Year Book, 1934 gives 38,610 square miles as the area and 896 as the population per square mile of Kiangsu Province. In contrast, the population density of Sinkiang (on the basis of a 4,000,000 provincial total) would be slightly less than some eight persons per square mile. If one accepted figures of the *China Handbook 1937-1943*, the Sinkiang population density could even be calculated at a smaller amount, some six persons per square mile!

For other useful information on this general subject, cf. especially Council of International Affairs, *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39 Issue* (Commercial Press, Chungking), p. 121; Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsin-chiang Ching-ying Lun* (third edition, China, Cheng Chung Book Company, 1939), p. 51; and Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *The China Year Book, 1934*, pp. 80-81. The author wishes to remark at this point that he is indebted considerably to the last article for its concisely summarized facts regarding the land, people, and early history of Sinkiang.

000 32. For information on the terrain of Sinkiang and concerning the designations which Chinese have formerly used for the area, *vide* Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 5, and 9; Owen Lattimore *High Tartary* (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1930), pp. 34-35; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, especially his "Outline Map of Sinkiang;" *vide* also V. K. Ting, Wong Wen-hao, and Tseng Shih-ying, *Chung-kuo Fen Sheng Hsin T'u* (Shen Pao, Shanghai, 1936), pp. 54-55.

33. Cf. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, especially pp. 172-173; and *vide* Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia* (Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 57-59, 79-83, 105, 108, 109, 145, 196, and 245.

34. The iron bridge, witnessed by the author while he was in Lan-chou, 1939-1940, bears a sign reading: "1909 Telce & Schroeter Tientsin 1909 American Bridge Co., New York U.S.A. 1908 1907."

It has been the fashion for writers on this subject to refer to the Chinese characters for Sinkiang (*Hsin-chiang*) in English as "The New Dominion." *Vide*, for example, Peter Fleming, *News From Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 29, note 1. However, a literal translation of the characters involved can furnish material for lively academic debate. The character *hsin*, ordinarily translated as "new," is made up of the following component parts: *li* (a man standing erect over the earth), *mu* (a tree), and *chin* (an ax with a splinter underneath). The character *chiang*, ordinarily referred to in this case as "dominion," is made up of the following parts: *t'u* (earth), *kung* (a bow), and *chiang* (a character which in itself can be substituted for the *chiang* in question, and one which depicts two partitioned

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land [651] revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the •[161] fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. 311 We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, 631 notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door.

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion.

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns.

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks. Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 1. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [31] [6] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

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A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

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All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

S 133 inaccessible gorges. To the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor, the mountains resume an easterly bearing and sink to a lower level. Beyond the eastern extremity of the Tarim Basin, the Kun-lun imperceptibly merges with the Ch'i-lien-shan along the southern edge of the Kansu Corridor. In the western portion its northern slopes, with their aridity and far advanced erosion, closely reporduce the physical features already familiar to us from the Kun-lun. The other branch extends eastward to Chinghai Province, forming the divide of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers.

Examination of the topographical features of northwestern China reveals that mountains, plateaus, deserts, and gravels dominate the land forms of the whole area. Level land is present along the various river banks; notably, the Ili Plain, the E-min Plain, the Kara-Irtis Plain, the Urumchi Plain, and at certain portions of the Tarim River. Human activities are largely restricted and limited by the unfavorable topography S [361] and land forms. Cities are located at the piedmonts of the mountains, and oases are situated along the outer fringes of S [161] the deserts by the side of water. The population of Northwest China is sparsely distributed through the whole section .

N 132 C. Climate

Particularly in Northwest China, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution, and its reliability. Temperature, which in winter absolutely stops outside activities with its cold and which destroys crops through untimely frosts in spring and fall is next in importance.

The inland provinces of Northwest China are least influenced by ocean winds from the southeast and east, and the continentality is very obvious. The climate of Northwest China undergoes sharp fluctuations of temperature in summer and in winter, and uneven and unpredictable precipitation throughout the year.

According to collected data on temperatures from a few stations in Northwest China, Chiu-ch'uan for instance, the average temperature of January is minus nine degrees Centigrade. Tun-huang is minus seven degrees Centigrade. Because of a lower elevation than Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang is relatively warmer even though farther west. In July, Chiu-ch'uan has 23.8 degrees Centigrade, whereas Tun-huang has 27.1 degrees Centigrade. The annual differences of each of the stations in Kansu are over thirty degrees Centigrade. Chiu-ch'uan is thirty-three degrees Centigrade; Tun-huang is

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

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132 Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally, it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year; whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

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132 Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia.
[131] Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-
S nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve

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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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131 A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu

161 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civiliation.

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161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5 per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile, for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution between the eastern and western parts of the region, their distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance
1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
• [161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[1]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

N 161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, N S [167] judged by some current information, the large increase of population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N 635 161 D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, Occupation, and Urban Centers

(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was S [161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N 635 162 Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1 •

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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C. P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1 ●

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N I. Introduction
121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

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N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
● 161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

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162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

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[114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people	
2) Dungans	about 100,000 "	(Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Öläts	15,000	people
2) Torguts	18,000	"
3) Khoshuts	21,000	"
4) Chahar	8,000	"

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

N *563 829 N [558]

S N 563 101 B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [197] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice
[461] shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[433] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197

634

tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 197 162

197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
162 of speakers of each, is as follows:[3]

		I Altaic		
A. *Turkic*[4]				
1. Uighur	2,941,000			
2. Kazakh	319,000			
3. Kirghiz	65,000			
4. Uzbek	8,000			
5. Tatar	5,000			
		3,338,000		
B. *Mongolian*				
6. Mongolian		63,000		
C. *Tungusic*				
7. Manchu		12,000		
			TOTAL	3,413,000
		II Indo-Chinese		
8. Chinese	294,000			
			TOTAL	294,000
		III Indo-European		
9. Iranian	9,000			
10. Russian	13,000			
			TOTAL	22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

487 Sinkiang, "farther than any country from the sea," was once traversed by an old trans-Eurasian Silk Road. Medieval caravans, of Marco Polo's time and before, threaded their way laboriously along it in almost endless lines bearing goods from West to East and back. First high over the jagged Karakorum and Pamir Mountains, then in a gradual winding descent, went the old Silk Road, and along it coursed the trade and embassies of antiquity. Once at the watered bases of Sinkiang's snow-tipped mountains, the trail became covered with string upon string of desert camels, who plodded from oasis to oasis until, past the ancient kingdom of Khotan and the waters of the now-vanished Lob Nor, they wended their way eastward out of Sinkiang to the court of old Cathay.

Advent of fifteenth-century maritime travel turned traders to the sea; and the old caravan trek lost its one-time prominence. Central Asia, which had served as a natural land gateway between Europe and the Orient, was left to lapse into petty internal tribulations, slumber, and finally stagnation. Not until 1931, when Japan began World War II by her invasion of Manchuria, was this remote Sinkiang hinterland at last roughly awakened.

162 Up to then Sinkiang Province was a picturesque but ill-esteemed old-style Chinese dependency, a frontier land of Central Asiatic tribesmen ruled over by a minority of "Han" Chinese officials. It was an open land of lean Kalmuck nomads and hardy Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping like mad across the steppes, of rugged mountains and luxuriant oases and ancient ruins buried in the Takla Makan, a land of mosques and lamaseries and century-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Tungkans; in short, a land of perhaps the most colorful mixture of race and custom and habitat that ever did exist. Market day in a bazaar might find dark bearded Uighurs from Kashgar in long, bright-colored coats together with veiled and white-cloaked women, a crowd which perhaps would include booted Kirgiz, so-called Aryan Sarikolis from the Taghdumbash Pamir, perhaps outcast unveiled Dulani women from Maralbashi, and a scattering of foreigners from Afghanistan, India, and Russian Turkestan.

000 Like all frontiersmen, the people of Sinkiang are given to tall tales.

VI

RACIAL EQUALITY

THOUGH ESTIMATES of the Sinkiang population have run from as low as one to as high as six million, since the present Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power the local people speak of their population as "four million persons." The great majority of these "four million" appear to be a combination of so-called Turkic-Tatar and "Alpine" racial stocks. The remainder are divided between a "ruling" group of so-called "Han" Chinese, a group of "Tung-kan" or Moslem Chinese, and groups of other minorities which include Manchus, Mongols, Kirgiz, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Russians. 162

So far as Occidentals are concerned, "Racial Equality" in Sinkiang might, in general, mean justice and equal opportunity for and between these little known ethnic groups. So far as Sinkiang herself is concerned, however, it would seem to mean mainly a military, political, economic, and social readjustment between a minority of "Han" Chinese overlords and a majority of Chinese subject peoples. The "Han" overlords of Sinkiang, it turns out, are the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has normally been acquainted; under their rule in times past the natives of Sinkiang were not given their full measure of freedom and equality. The fact that old-style Chinese rule has been in recent years confronted with the neighboring system of Soviet Russian cultural autonomy, has in the main forced the need for change. 563

The Moslem Wei-wu-erh

Most of the Turkic-"Alpine" ethnic groups in the province speak a relatively pure Eastern Turki tongue and believe in Mohammedanism. This majority, whom Chinese from farther east have given a name which may have a rather derogatory meaning—*Ch'an-t'ou* (Chanto or "Turban Head")—are to be found almost everywhere and yet each local group has in a way been able to retain or to develop some claim to distinctiveness. Thus there is a tendency to call the people of Kashgar "Kashgarliq;" those of Turfan, "Turfanliq," those of Korla (K'u-erh-

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Manti*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long
163 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen, the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. Theirs was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices, and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as of war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce, and was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Han-Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang-Occidental, commerce.

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the 563
Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a 167
resolute way.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated [162]
Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to 563
only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia.

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long vari- [291]
colored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and
cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly [273]
good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka
to a rare imported brandy.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71–2.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals, and the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of semi-stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, combining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All, Sinkiang All

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

kinds of small game, and that without going off the road. Besides the seven enumerated above, we saw, either in the mountains or in the jungles of the Tarim River valley, the following: (8) Shaw's pheasant, (9) duck, including mallard pintail, gadwall, golden-eye, and red-crested pochard, (10) snipe, (11) woodcock, (12) geese, (13) plover, (14) Tibetan snow-cock. Of these I shot specimens of all except woodcock and Tibetan snow-cock. The former we saw at Maralbashi flying through a garden; the latter I came across in large numbers at 11,000–12,000 feet while stalking ibex up the Yangi Art Jilgha.

Of many pictures that live in our memory of that delightful march, perhaps the most vivid is of the shrine of Qara-sakal Atam, "My Father Blackbeard." It is situated in the loveliest little glen imaginable. A limpid stream plashes down through open meadows from the fir-clad ridges of the Central Tien Shan, until it joins the main valley through a narrow neck between two backbones of reddish rock. Just above this neck is a coppice of fine old mountain ashes and desert poplars enclosing a glade of smooth turf and a bubbling spring. Barberry bushes, now a mass of carmine berries, and the brilliant orange-yellow of the trees in their autumn finery blend perfectly with the rich russets and ochres of the surrounding rocks; looking northwards, the grassy steppe sweeps right up to the distant forest above which again tower the snow-clad Mountains of Heaven. Father Blackbeard's shrine is only a bunch of sticks, festooned with votive rags and embellished with the horns of wild sheep; but whoever he was and whenever he lived, he is marked as having been a saint of taste—for did he not choose the most beautiful spot in all the Tien Shan to be his hermitage?

Two long but easy marches down the open and partially-cultivated valley of the Muzart River brought us to the small town of Bai on the Aqsu-Kucha road. Here we found the Mir Munshi awaiting us; he had come out from Kashgar to help me with my work at Bai and Aqsu. We stayed four days at the roomy Chinese rest-house at Bai, most of which I spent interviewing various British subjects from Kucha, three marches further on. The town, which is the headquarters of a third-class Magistrate, is an undistinguished Sleepy Hollow of a place, populated by Turkis and Chinese Muhammadan Tungans in the proportion of about three to one. It was our first experience of the latter race *en masse*, and we were

113, 648, 162 Sinkiang AII

[For a brief discussion of the political-military role assigned to the Dungan and Uigur minorities of Sinkiang by the Soviet regime of the USSR, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 296-298. Bibliographic notes appear on pp. 300-302.]

000 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai,
N and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia
*175 was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of
635 the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between
S the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast
175 as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast
635 and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards
175 Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili
648 valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-
635 t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from
*175 Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward
648 to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu
635 Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although

S the political control over these frontier dependencies of
N Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually
635 by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in
162 relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S The annexation of these frontier territories to China has
N brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and
635 the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers.
186 Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced
[563] much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

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161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when
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S this distribution is expressed in ferms of the size of the land
131 occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area
161 of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5
N per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without
131 Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile,
161 for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

N Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution
161 between the eastern and western parts of the region, their
241 distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population
N is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-
161 chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a
133 confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion
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[771] they are Sunna Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

162 [181] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M. V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P. 53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olöts, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists. They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

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162 the Ma Chan-shan and other leaders of resistance against the Japanese aggression in Manchuria (See Northeast, History).

The Indo-Europeans are essentially Russians who number about 15,000, and another 9,000 are Tajiks (Sari Kolis or Iranians). They are found mainly in the large towns of Kashgar, Yarkand, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Khotan, Keriya, and Qomul.

N 2. Distribution by Occupation

162 In general, the Northwest is mainly agricultural, and pastoralism prevails in the higher and colder parts of the country. The Chinese and Dungans are essentially agriculturalists with some engaged in trade and industry, besides working as official administrators and soldiers. They live in villages and towns. Among the Turkic people, the Uighurs, (who are commonly called the "Ch'an-t'ou" or "Turan-heads" by the Chinese and to the Russians are the "Sarts" and the Taranchi), are oasis-dwellers, engaged largely in horticulture, animal husbandry and handicraft. The Uzbeks are city dwellers engaged in business and handicraft.

S In regard to the occupation of the people living in Southern
162 Sinkiang, Pevtsov said: "Population of Kashgaria (Tarim Basin) is close to 2,000,000 people. The people are divided into three groups: the settled people , the shepherds and the nomads. The settled population amounts to 1,800,000 people; they inhabit the areas surrounding the desert or the oases. The nomads and the shepherds are not more than 200,000. They occupy the mountainous areas of the encircling mountains." (Pevtsov, M. V.: Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, p. 52).

N The Mongols are pastoralists, or semi-nomadic as are
162 the Kazakhs and Kirghiz in Dzungaria and most of them live in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai and Hsi-t'ao or Alashan Desert or former Ninghsia province.

S The Manchus of Sinkiang, like the Chinese, are city dwellers.
[162] They are found mainly in Dzungaria and the Ili Valley of north Sinkiang. They are largely merchants and traders - middlemen between the Russians and the Turkic people.

The Tibetans are engaged mainly in mixed farming, animal husbandry and some agriculture, raising some hardy crops for their own use, besides rearing yaks, cattle, some sheep and goats.

Both the old Russian residents and the newly arrived refugees are mainly technical laborers - small artisans, such as electricians, miners, road construction crews, car drivers, etc.

The Tajiks lead a semi-settled and pastoral life.

000 3. Distribution of the Urban Centers (See Table XV)

E. Population Problems

1. [See p. 137--Analyst]

642 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same
668 offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members
177 of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'U offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was
631 called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a
177 province - divided into ten special districts and these were
162 subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000 , 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D.December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily
131 accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been
668 aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C.P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

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The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

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A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

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It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

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5) Urianghai 4,000 people

4. The Indo-Europeans

The remainder are Indo-Europeans and are in two groups:

1) Russians about 14-15,000 people
2) Tajiks about 9,000 : " (also called Sarikolis or simply Iranians)

5. The Manchus

The Manchus, with the subgroups Solons and Sibos, are a recently extinct racial group. They merged with neighbouring Turks or Chinese or were absorbed by them. They forgot their own language about 40 or 50 years ago. The main group, consisting of about 10,000 persons, used to live in the Ili valley and the town of Ili. The present regime still constantly lists these three groups.

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6. Summary of population

Number	Group	No. of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	New Uighur	3,000	In the area of Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Cherchen, Aksu, Kucha, Kuldja, Turfan, Barkul, Hami, Chuguchak.
2	Kazakhs	300	Along the Tekes River and Kunger River, in the area of Chuguchak, on the border of Sinkiang, and Kazakhstan, on the border of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang.
3	Kirghiz	70	On the border of Sinkiang and Kirghizistan, between the area of Tekes River, the mountains north of Aksu, Uch-Turfan, Yanigshahar, Tashkurgan.
4	Taranchi	43	In the Ili region.
5	Uzbeks	8	Mostly living in cities, especially in Kashgar, Yarkend, Kuldja and Chuguchak.
6	Tatars	5	Exclusively living in the cities of Yuldus, Urumchi, Kuldja and Chuguchak.

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 779 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S 121 592 ### A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic S 595 563 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom S [562] [152] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	2[illegible]	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 7

Development of Nationality Education in Sinkiang, 1952-1957

	Secondary Schools		Elementary Schools	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
1952 (Report by Saifuddin in Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 8, p. 118)	41*	14,874	1,800	331,870
January 1953 (Report by Burkhan, Sinkiang jih-pao, Jan. 1, 1953)	63	63.5% more than pre-1949	1,700=41% more than pre-1949	58% more than pre-1949
July 1953 (JMJP, July 3, 1953)	51	20,000=100% more than pre-1949		
1953 (JMJP, May 22, 1954)	60	23,000		
1st half 1955 (Report by Burkhan, Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 11, p. 33)		28,353=almost 200% more than pre-1949		366,637=76% more than pre-1949
1957 (Plan)	77**	48,196	2,198	428,180

* Including one professional school with 557 students.

** Including three professional schools and eight normal schools.

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

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The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

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Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

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As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
*175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
*668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
*563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
175 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
668 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
563 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.
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Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

N The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
*175 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
*668 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
*663 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
162 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
631 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
S counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
175 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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*175 in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
January 8, 1952).

*668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
*563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

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*175 A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*668 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
578 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the
authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new
cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened
the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the
cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences
convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest
Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in
the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as
pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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175 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racial-
668 ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the...
563 Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in
631 opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

N 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total
*175 of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or
592 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung
162 jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized
S peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only
175 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only
592 the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the
• 162 whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in
[474] the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations
[476] and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statis-
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses
are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet
175 Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a
648 foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950,
to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To
implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical
research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October,
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint
stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 578 These internal differences have made it impossible for the people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the *175 657 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China, but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung- *563 578 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his S 175 own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social structures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing 657 563 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large 578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion 175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have 669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short 648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control. 668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
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These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
S yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
563 751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 826 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
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are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
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S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
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the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N 114 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
• 163 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
165 Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

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*563 164 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
364 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 164 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
364 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 *mazlum-kishi* is the Turki for "woman" and means literally "oppressed person"). However, small-talk is not so necessary when you have plenty of diseases, as these oppressed ones apparently had, and D. scored another social success. A couple of hours later we were settling into comfortable *aq-ois* provided by Father Christmas on a meadow by the Kinkol River. Near by grew many mushrooms, a rare treat. On the mountain-sides all round we could hear the red-legged partridges calling; I accepted their invitation, and a brace of them soon graced our camp larder. I may mention that between Yambulak and Kichik Karaul not a day passed that we did not bag partridges or hares, or both, for the pot. Next day I had a misfortune in the shape of a nasty fall with the black horse, which came down suddenly at the trot and threw me on to a sharp stone, which bruised my thigh somewhat severely, causing me to faint twice with the pain. I rode the rest of the march (and the two following days) on a yak or pony with my leg in a sling, neither a comfortable nor a rapid mode of progression. This delayed us very much and we took a day longer to get into Kashgar than we would otherwise have done.

Further down the valley became very wild and rugged, and raging glacier-torrents from the Qizil Tagh or "Red Mountains" on our right had to be crossed as well as the main stream. Here, at a place called Sasik Tika, we noticed a single poverty-stricken *aq-oi*. I distinctly remember commenting on the sinister look of the valley at this point. I was reminded of this the following spring, when I was present at the trial by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar of the Kirghiz to whom the *aq-oi* belonged for the murder of a Chitrali traveller.[1]

137 Soon after leaving the next camp, Toqoi Bashi, the first real trees we had seen since Tashqurghan appeared, and after that we were never without some. Short, thick-set trees they were, with fluted bark and small, pointed leaves; further down the valley some of them attained great size. We did not then know to what species they belonged, but they afterwards became very familiar. They were the desert poplar (*P. varifolia*, Turki *toghraq*) which is the characteristic tree of the Tarim Basin and, outside the oases, the only one that grows at all freely.

487 That night we camped at the first settled village of Kashgaria, Kichik Qaraul or "The Little Fort" It was pleasant to sit on the grass and munch juicy melons, nectarines and

[1] For an account of this trial, see Ch. X.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to 105°. Another climatic feature arising from "continentality" is the fact that April is much hotter than October, which is the warmer month in other regions of the globe. 132

In winter the ground freezes to a depth of a foot and a half, and all irrigation water stops owing to the choking of the canals with ice between 15th November and the end of February. Yet the Kashgar winter is not at all a formidable affair. The skies indeed are sometimes grey with dust-haze, and for several days in January the thermometer does not rise above freezing-point. But the sun shines most of the time, while as for wind, that terror of cold lands, we had none worth mentioning. Ringed round on three sides by lofty ranges, Kashgar is mercifully windless in winter, so that in spite of the hard and prolonged frost the cold is not severe. We made ourselves very cosy in the evenings in front of roaring wood fires. One of the first things we did to the Consulate was to instal good British open fireplaces, not being content with the cheerless Russian stoves we found in the house: vast shiny black cylinders like the funnels of monstrous locomotives, which disfigured and either under- or over-heated every room. There are usually one or two light snowfalls during the winter, but the snow melts very quickly in the strong sun, except where there is underlying ice. In spring and early summer occasional storms with rain or dust or both vary the monotony of the eternal sunshine, and are also to be welcomed for the exquisite clearness of the air which follows them. At any time in July or August the weather may become, for short spells at a time, unpleasantly warm according to European though not to Indian standards; punkahs are unknown, though I must confess I should sometimes have been glad of one. But the nights are seldom oppressively hot, except occasionally just before a storm. Another fly—to use an appropriate metaphor—in the ointment of a Kashgar summer is the insect life. 136 Mosquitoes and sand-flies are a trial, though not to be compared with those of an Indian plains station; the former are smaller and less robust than those of Hindustan, and both can be effectively circumvented by a mixture of citronella oil and kerosene. At night muslin sand-fly curtains are advisable, unless one is sleeping in the open air and well away from walls.

One would have expected that the cities of Chinese Turkistan, where ideas regarding sanitation and hygiene are of the most primitive, would be hotbeds of disease and regularly 164 364

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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swept by all sorts of epidemics. In particular it might be supposed that towns which are dependent for their water-supply upon small rivers, canals and even ponds would be peculiarly liable to the scourge of cholera, as are those of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan where similar conditions prevail. But it is a remarkable fact that cholera, typhus and plague are alike unknown, though they appear regularly in Ferghana and Bokhara immediately to the west. Stranger still, though dogs both tame and semi-wild abound, and though they occasionally go mad and bite people, hydrophobia is unheard of, though common enough on the Russian side of the Tien Shan. The only serious infectious diseases are typhoid and smallpox, which appear to be endemic ; in neither case, however, is the mortality rate high, in spite of the lack of western-trained doctors and hospitals, nor have Europeans much to fear from them. The only ailment which seems to give Europeans much trouble is a comparatively mild form of malaria which is prevalent in the districts where there is much rice-cultivation. On the whole, Kashgaria may be said to be one of the healthiest countries in Asia. So, at any rate, we found it, for with the exception of a single chill which kept D. in bed for a week or two our first September neither of us had a day's illness during the whole of our time in Chinese Turkistan.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door. 352

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion. 161 [165] 164 [515] [356]

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns. 562

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

• 164 The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice
756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

/The Chinese/

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563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] S 563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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CHAPTER XIII

CUSTOMS, MUSIC, POETRY AND FOLKLORE

"Il est peu de pays où la famille soit plus faiblement constituée que dans le Turkestan oriental et il y a bien longtemps que le mariage s'y conclut et s'y dissout avec une égale facilité. Il n'est peut-être pas une région en Asie où les mœurs soient plus relâchées et où, en même temps, les femmes aient plus d'indépendence et d'influence, où l'on rencontre à la fois moins de dignité et plus de douceur dans la vie privée."

GRENARD.

123 THE conditions of family life in the Tarim Basin and the manners and customs connected with the home are no less peculiar to this remote and isolated land than are its legends and superstitions. Thanks to the extra-territorial jurisdiction exercised by the British Consul-General, I had a considerable number of civil as well as criminal cases to settle according to the law and custom of the country, which were applicable not only when Chinese subjects were parties, but also in civil suits of all kinds brought by or against British Indian nationals permanently domiciled in Chinese Turkistan. In the course of many attempts to do some sort of justice in long and complicated cases concerning succession and bequest, marriage and divorce, chancery, settlement of accounts, and so on, I picked up a certain amount of information about the conditions and customs of family life, especially at Yarkand, whence most of the work came. I am also indebted to my friend, Murad Qari of Yarkand, whom I have already mentioned more than once, for much useful and interesting information relative to his native town.

965 Owing to ignorance and bad hygiene, infant mortality is undoubtedly very high, though it probably does not approach the appalling figures for Calcutta and some other parts of

INDIA.

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 S disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 S elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
563 turbed, disease follows.
751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S N Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
[212] than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
164 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
364

/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the S N [415] [312] passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants S 563 164 [165] [844] and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
N area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely
[162] populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More-
N
[871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively
N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.
464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
• [66] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S
464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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991
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Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

000 northwestern provinces during 1955.

S 175 668 166 N *[175] *[668] [166]

Thus, even from incomplete sources, the number of people sent out to the Northwest came close to 30,000. Of this number, the bulk were destined for Sinkiang. The influx of this horde of Chinese into Sinkiang was to safeguard Chinese Communist interest and Chinese ascendancy prior to the granting of autonomy to the native peoples of Sinkiang. As early as the summer of 1953, Burkhan had sought to prepare the ground for the invasion of the Chinese. In a speech, he said, "It has been due to the great help rendered by the Han Chinese cadres from other provinces and the People's Liberation Army during the past three years since the liberation that achievements of the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang in their construction work was possible. Therefore, after the enforcement of regional autonomy, autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres to take part in work." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

N *175 *668 178

C. Expansion of the Communist Party

Along with the assignment of cadres to the countryside to carry out the work of collectivization and the transfer of workers and cadres from China Proper to the Northwest, there was also an expansion of the membership of the Communist Party in the Northwest. The induction of men into the Chinese Communist Party and into its auxiliary, the New Democratic Youth League (Communist Youth League), had been active from the beginning of Communist rule. In 1950, out of the 3,600 national minority cadres trained in the short-term classes, 560 joined the Chinese Communist Party and 1,000 the New Democratic Youth League; in 1951, out of the 1044 graduates of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party Sub-bureau Cadre School, 88 joined the Communist Party and 726 the New Democratic Youth League.

In May, 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued instructions to strengthen the work of party expansion, and ordered the directors of the Organization Departments of local party committees to convene and to work out methods for party expansion. "In rural areas where land reform has already been carried out, we must recruit more new party members and build up our party organizations so that we may vigorously promote mutual aid and cooperation of labor in production," stated a Central Committee directive (JMJP May 4, 1952). In 1954, the announcement of the General Line for the transition of the state to socialism brought a further acceleration of the work of party expansion.

Shensi: From June, 1952 to the end of 1954, a total of 3,625 basic level (hsiang) party branches were established, increasing the number from 60 per cent to 86 per cent, and 36,833 new members recruited. Up to the end of 1954, the majority of the new

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175 against the Tungans or Chinese Moslems, in order to obviate future rebellion. He employed many of his own relatives and supporters from Hunan Province in his administration, and this accounts for the fact that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Hunan officials almost completely dominated the Sinkiang administration. While Tso regarded the Uighurs as rebels, he regarded the Tungans as traitors, because they were Chinese in language, and largely Chinese by descent. Partly out of hatred against them as traitors and partly in order to "divide and rule," Tso massacred the Tungans in great numbers but showed the greatest clemency to the Uighurs, the Kazakhs, and the Mongols.

Even after the conclusion of Tso's military campaigns in the Tarim Basin there were debates among high officials and in the Imperial Court as to the status of the reconquered region. Finally the view championed by Tso Tsung-t'ang was adopted by the Manchu Emperor. On November 18, 1884, an Imperial Edict was issued which made Sinkiang a province (*Hsin-chiang*, "the New Territory," or, as it is frequently translated, "New Dominion").[9] Urumchi, under the Chinese name of Ti-hua, was proclaimed the capital and more than twenty district administrations were organized.

565 167 The Chinese in this new province may be classified in four categories, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. First are the descendants of criminals and officials who were banished from China during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Second are the families of military and civil officers in Sinkiang, mostly from Hunan, Yunnan, Kansu and the Northeastern (Manchurian) Provinces. Third are the merchants, including money-changers from Shansi, traders from the Tientsin area, and brick tea merchants from Hupeh and Hunan. Fourth are the peasants, whose immigration began in 1776, when an Imperial Edict provided for a subsidy for those who would settle in Sinkiang.[10]

[9] *Tung-hua hsü-lu*, 1a–1b, Kuanghsü 66; *Ta Ch'ing Te Tsung Ching Huang-ti Shih-lu*, 190, 27a–28a; and *Ch'ing Shih Kao, Pen-chi*, Vol. 23, 17a.

[10] Wang Hsien-chien, *Tung-Hua Lu* (Collection of State Papers), Imperial Edict of June, 1776.

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kiang. At the same time Chu Shao-liang, the general who was then the head of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters at Sian, flew to Urumchi to talk with Sheng Shih-ts'ai (who had once been a subordinate of his); and a British-educated official, Chaucer H. Wu (Wu Chai-hsiang), was subsequently appointed Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. As part of the same series of moves, the Chinese Moslem General Ma Pu-ch'ing, who could be expected to consider himself a potential rival of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, was appointed Pacification Commissioner of western Ch'inghai, a border region forming part of the Tibetan plateau and overlooking the "back doors" of the southern deserts of Sinkiang. 175*

For his successful mission Chu was offered, according to a Chinese report, a reward of 500,000 Chinese dollars, of which he accepted only a fifth.[53] Later in the same year, when Chiang Kai-shek was at Lanchow, capital of the province of Kansu, General Chu flew again to Urumchi, taking with him no less distinguished a person than Madame Chiang Kai-shek, together with Wu Chung-hsin, who was destined to become Sheng's successor in Sinkiang two years later.

In the fall of 1943 Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. The Treasury was then instructed to allocate ten million Chinese dollars a year for reconstruction in Sinkiang. Chungking undertook a program of widely advertising the prospects of colonization in Sinkiang. The province was compared with California before 1849, and its Altai region with Alaska before 1867. Refugees from a severe famine in Honan in 1942–1943 were sent out to Sinkiang. Over 4000 of them arrived at Kuchengtze, and 1500 reached Urumchi, but though each household was supposed to be allotted fifteen acres of land, the project was mismanaged and in the end the refugees became tenants and hired farm hands. 175* 167

In 1943 Chungking began to strengthen its position by sending 175*

[53] Sun Hai-cheng, "Chu Shao-liang on the Wu Chuan Shan," in *Hsin Wen Tien Ti* (monthly), Shanghai, No. 12, April 30, 1946 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

1: Lattimore H-4 (nc date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long *563 formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

*563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land ex-
*563 propriated from Kazakhs.

779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

*563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were estab-
●167 lished as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from
174 the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sin-
174 kiang were massacred, but the village communities defended
161 themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and
361 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the prov-
101 ince. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though
241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a con-
231 siderable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their tradi-
191 tional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

000 lution and civil war in which some of the non-Russians were on both sides of the fight among Russians. As the revolution deepened from a political struggle into a class war, the lines of cleavage more and more grouped together the possessors, Russian and non-Russian, fighting to preserve at least something of the old order, and the dispossessed, Russian and non-Russian, trying to take complete possession of the new order.

167 648 In many of the regions in which the Russians were in a minority, the outcome of the revolution was determined by non-Russians who took the side of the Russian Bolsheviks.[2] Before the final outcome, however, there were two intermediate stages, and during each of these stages, and after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, there were important migrations out of Russian territory which carried the effects of the revolution into the adjoining lands of Inner Asia.

In the first of these intermediate stages non-Russian nationalists came into power or almost within reach of power in their own territories. In Inner Asia there were two groups of these nationalists. One — including such potentates as the Emir of Bokhara and lesser representatives of the old systems of nobility and chieftainship which had been subjected to the Russsians — was not guided by political theory. Individuals of the group, rather than the group as a whole, simply tried to resume as much as possible of the power that they had had before the Russians came. If the power they could take into their hands was not enough to make them feel secure, they were inclined to look for protection to the British, who were intervening against the Russian Revolution from the side of Asia as well as from the side of Europe.

The second group — many of whose members stemmed from families in the first group — was led by non-Russians who had had some years of Russian schooling and who, very often, had

[2] See above, Chapter I; also Owen Lattimore, "Yakutia and the Future of the North," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 2, February 1945; reprinted in *New Compass of the World*, ed. Hans Weigert, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Richard Edes Harrison, New York, 1949, pp. 145–146.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

held positions in the Russian service. This group had some idea 167
of political theory and modern politics. On the whole, its ambi- 648
tions did not go beyond local autonomous government, with members of the group holding higher positions than they had formerly held — especially, of course, the top positions once held by Russians. For allies, this group looked to the Russian Mensheviks; as the Mensheviks weakened and failed, they also looked to the British; when the British intervention failed, those who could gave up the struggle and fled into exile — a few to Europe, but many more to Iran, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang.

The second stage, marked by the British intervention, began where the first had ended. The British intervention was directed from Iran and Mesopotamia. It endeavored to mask Afghanistan, where suspicion of British policy was very strong, and it also operated, to a minor though significant extent, from Kashgar in Sinkiang.[3] Beginning as an attempt to prevent German and Austrian prisoners of war interned in Russian Turkistan from being repatriated to Germany, and to prevent accumulated stocks of cotton from being delivered to Germany after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it quickly turned into an attempt to prevent the Bolshevik Revolution from seizing the Baku oil fields, and to complete the *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. As they failed and withdrew, the British carried along with them an ebb tide of people fleeing from the Revolution, both Russians and people of every Inner Asian nationality.

Nor did emigration end with the Bolshevik victory. With each new phase of Bolshevik policy, and especially during the bitter struggle over collectivization, which was virtually a new civil war, new waves of refugees sought an escape into Sinkiang and the other Inner Asian lands around the Soviet frontier. In this way the primary effect of the Russian Revolution was to spread alarm far and wide beyond the Russian frontiers.

In time, however, a second or long-term series of effects began 648
to become apparent. These effects were enhanced by the fact that

[3] See, especially, Lt.-Col. F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946; also L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1921.

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long
167 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung-t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen, the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. There was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as of war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce and was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Han Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang-Occidental, commerce.

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang. 167

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion. 101 563

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

563 167 Many of the Tung-kans have traditionally settled in Ha-mi, Karashahr, Sui-ting and Tihwa. It was Moslems from Ha-mi, near the Kansu border, who summoned the Tung-kan leader Ma Chung-ying from Kansu to lead the revolt of the early 1930's (see pp. 40-5). As a consequence of the civil war Tung-kans are now scattered almost throughout South Sinkiang. In 1935 when they gave up Kashgar they were assigned their own "domain" at Khotan, which they had previously fortified and made the focus for their abortive Mohammedan state. Some of them may even still be under arms. Recent news concerning the Tung-kan armies of Central Asia has not always been freely available, but reports have said they have been strongest in the outlying towns of Southern Sinkiang—Posgam, Karghalik, Guma, Khotan, Chira, Keriya, Cherchen, and Charklik. The 1942 appointment of Ma Pu-ch'ing, famous Tung-kan leader of Shensi and Kansu, as Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, is of interest in this connection. For the attitude, belligerent or otherwise, of the Chinese Tung-kans of neighboring provinces carries great weight among their kinsmen in Sinkiang.

Manchus and Manchurians

Manchus came to greatest prominence in Sinkiang during the expansionist periods of the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty of China. K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) sent thousands of Manchu "Bannermen" to fortify the Turkestan frontier. Thus Sinkiang was garrisoned at one and the same time against Imperialist Russian aggression and against uprisings of the Tung-kans.

These Manchus at one time were scattered throughout the larger cities of Sinkiang but today they appear to have been mostly assimilated into Han Chinese ways of living. Two of the most notable exceptions have been the Sibo and Solon peoples in the Sui-ting and the T'a Ch'eng areas. The Sibos *(Hsi-po)* and the Solons *(So-lun)*, though from Manchuria, actually are of Tungusic origin, only indirectly of Manchu stock and distinct from the other Bannermen who for the most part made up the Manchu military organizations sent into Sinkiang. Most of the Bannermen gradually lost their identity because they

Manchu
Mongol

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a resolute way. 563 167

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia. [162] 563

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long varicolored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka to a rare imported brandy. [291] [273]

648 Wong Wen-hao undoubtedly were occasions which helped Chungking and Tihwa to seal their new bargain. On September 16, 1942, it was announced that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself had just returned to Chungking after a month's inspection of the Chinese Northwest, and the next day came word that $10,000,000 CNC was being allocated annually for reconstruction projects in the latter region.

167 In the fall of 1943, after almost a month of conferences between Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, a great pilgrimage toward Chinese Central Asia began. By October 23, fifteen hundred Chinese settlers, refugees from the famine area of Honan, had arrived at Tihwa to engage in land reclamation, over four thousand more had reached the town of Ch'i-t'ai and many additional thousands were expected to migrate to such Sinkiang cities as Tihwa and Kashgar. It was reported that the Sinkiang provincial government was to make a loan of $5,000 Chinese currency available to the settlers, and each family was to receive over fifteen acres of land. "Provisions, seeds, cows, farmhouses and all necessary farm implements," together with an outright subsidy of $2,500 CNC for "each family" were also to be theirs. Is it any wonder that the hard-pushed Chinese peasant, weak from the barest of sustenance, has straightened up with new hope at the promise of land, tools, and capital in Sinkiang!

"Sinkiang today," a Chinese writer has stated, "is like California before 1849 and Altai is like Alaska before 1867." Not only can the land be made to produce more food, but the mineral wealth is relatively untouched. It has been said that wars make nations, and it may well be that the Chinese in days to come will feel positively indebted for the restlessness of necessity which Japan's aggression has aroused in the melting pot of Asia. For thousands of picked men out of the fifty millions who fled from Eastern China to Szechwan and Yünnan in 1938 and 1939, once more have picked up possessions and have poured across the mountains and plains—this time north and westward into Sinkiang. Over the gravel-mud roads of Shensi and Kansu, across the turbid Yellow River, west of the River, and then through the Jade Gate to Central Asia they went, taking their bedding, their baskets, treasured family heirlooms, needed household utensils, their wives and

sons and hopes. The man on foot, the riksha, the rubber-tired cart, a camel of the Gobi, a General Motors or a Russian Ziss truck—all these have been China's "covered wagon." The throng of people has been jolly, too; jammed in with youth, and gasoline drums, and the *ch'i-lai* of the Chinese marching song. Behind this push into China's vast Northwest has been largely a determination to build a land hard with metal and tough with industrial sinew. But there has been also the lure of adventure, good living, age-old lore, and rich cultural promise. 167

Into the land of the Wei-wu-erh to which Sheng Shih-ts'ai has brought his Six Great Policies and the understanding and justifiable pride among races that they have taught, the Chinese today once again has come. This time he has come not merely as in antiquity but also as a producer—a farmer, a laborer, a technician, a leader united with the leaders of many other races. As a Chinese he has been among the first to perceive that superlative amounts of ideas, energy, men, and machinery are needed in a hurry in Sinkiang and that part of all this may come from any one or more of a number of neighboring areas—India, Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan, Siberia, and Mongolia—as well as from China proper. Ultimately the matériel and technical initiative for much of it, he knows, must flow from the United States and Britain, as in the past decade much has come from Soviet Russia. Pioneers of American and English, as well as of Asiatic, background may be expected to hear this call of the Chinese Far West. Through them, and others, Sinkiang promises to be transformed into a grand new frontier area of progress.

That there has been serious American interest in these Sinkiang developments was revealed on April 19, 1943, with the temporary appointment of Mr. Oliver Edmund Clubb as United States Consul to Tihwa. Mr. Clubb's assignment, the later arrival in the Sinkiang capital of a British colleague, and reports from usually reliable sources in October, 1943, that "Russians" have been "leaving Sinkiang Province in large numbers" and "dismantling and removing Russian-built plants," that the roads of the province have been "dotted" with "cars hauling out Russian equipment" and that a "Russian garrison" was leaving "by truck, in small units"—these suggest that Chinese aid and influence 648

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
[651] selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
798 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
182 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 635 175 648 167 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang. At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 635 175 648 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 648 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
175 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
159 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
669 protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the
[563] arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
[648] tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

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161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, judged by some current information, the large increase of
N S
[167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups,
635 Occupation, and Urban Centers
161 (See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square
S mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was
[161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly
635 Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho
162 Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

[62 (181)] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M. V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P. 53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olöts, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

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N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

433 648 167 466 2. Soldier Colonization

Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

433 3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes 141 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some- 563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture, 563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect. 563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern 614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com- 563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and 186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes 563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[233] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[342] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.
[614]

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

S
563 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found
141 in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat
142 and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S
563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes; there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 4. History
563 The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats
175 of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they
S have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immi-
[167] grants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S
563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 5. The leagues
563 The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
631 (1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N 1. The Mongours
*563 a. history
101 The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living
M in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called
[101] them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours
N have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours
*563 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir-
*175 teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already
[167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
M was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the
175 experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, pri-
[167] marily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilmaq
197 "to do, to make," qilmamaq "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu and do not change the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. baγqa yol bardur "there is a road to the garden," but baγqa yol bar muduur? "Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confunctions by participial or gerundial constructions, e.g. bolmoq' "to be or to become," bolsæm "if I were," the suffix -sæm could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashär, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
[193] dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
[194] the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
[167] valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ö, e, ö, ɛ,

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

S
N
197 d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
S U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers,
[563] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e.
[167] Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
*175 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
197 texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
S These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
175 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The
197 striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

S
N
191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The [S 191] younger generation already spoke Turkish.

[S 177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

[S 167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

The Uzbek Nation

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619
614

1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)
2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)
3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly
4) Tribe Yüz(hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapchä
   - Tygyryk
   - Pärchäyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    - a) Mesit
    - b) Yaby
    - c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bükhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[167] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[797] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiocity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relation-
[439] ships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

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648 The isolation of Sinkiang from the Chinese government became even more pronounced as a result of the events in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave the Mongols the opportunity to declare their independence from Chinese control. This move was in part inspired and supported by Czarist Russia which established itw osn control over Outer Mongolia. Though Outer Mongolia remained nominally a part of Chinese territory, Chinese control ended and Outer Mongolia became in fact a Russian protectorate. The loss of Outer Mongolia changed the position of China in central Asia and greatly affected her hold over Chinese Turkestan. Tso Tsung-t'ang had described Turkestan as the key position for the defense of Mongolia, which in turn was important for the security of north China and of the capital. Now Turkestan itself was outflanked by the Russian position in Mongolia. From Mongolia, Russian forces could at any time cut the corridor that led from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. Sinkiang, formerly the central basis of the Chinese military position in Inner Asia, now became an exposed advance position which could only be held in the long run if a new and safe connection with China Proper could be found.

Of still greater importance for the power sturggle in central Asia was the change brought about in Russia by the October Revolution. The new Soviet Russia soon resumed the Czarist policy of expansion in central Asia. But to the economic and strategic interests which had been the morivating force behind Czarist advance there was now added the Communist aim of infiltrating the neighboring area with its ideological and political organization. This Soviet advance began slowly and accelerated with the growing strength of the Soviet government. During the early years of the civil war in Siberia, Soviet Russia was in no position to resume an aggressive policy in central Asia. The Russian position in Outer Mongolia was also temporarily lost and regained only in 1922, when after the defeat of the White Russian leader, Ungern Sternberg, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet satellite.

[167] The outcome of the red victory in the civil war in Siberia had the immediate result of bringing a stream of White Russian refugees to the central Asiatic areas. In addition to smaller groups, two White Russian armies retreated into Sinkiang in 1920 and 1921. The number of these troops has been reported as 30,000 to 40,000 men, a much stronger force than the Chinese army of governor Yang Tseng-hsin. In Outer Mongolia, White Russian forces retreating at that time had been able to take over the government, but the Chinese administration of Sinkiang managed to bring the Russian influx into its territory fully under control. Most of the Russian troops let themselves be disarmed and were interned at Kuchengste. Other troops which had retreated to the Altai border region of Russia and Outer Mongolia retained their arms.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Government searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942 on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as a communication link over which large commercial caravans passed for many years, even after the war. This development brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner-Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

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While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Ghaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943, and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

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This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a 133 village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for 491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

[312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a 579 region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the 167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563 186 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 361 168 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan. North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 197 212 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard. 000

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

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233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 241 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 563 241 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace nomads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

000 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

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Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. It was the breaking of the Jungar power that rounded out the Manchu Empire by giving the Manchus control over Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. 175 578

There were two distinct phases of this conquest. In the north, the power of the Jungars was broken by terrible massacres. It is said that half of the population was killed, 20 per cent died of disease, another 20 per cent fled into the steppes of Southern Siberia, and only 10 per cent survived, scattered through the land. Such figures, deriving from the eighteenth century, do not represent statistical accuracy, but they do indicate with rough accuracy the scale of devastation.[18]

In the south, there were massacres in some of the smaller oases and deportations from some of the larger oases in order to deplete their military man power. From the Kashgar region some 12,000 people were deported to the Ili Valley and settled on state lands. It is from these deportees that the Taranchis (literally "cultivators") of the Ili region are descended.[19] Militarily and administratively, however, the problem of the Tarim Basin was easier to handle than that of Jungaria; the Manchus established garrisons, and then imposed an imperial superstructure on top of the existing social order.

In Jungaria, the terrible massacres made it necessary to bring in a new population, under state supervision. The population became highly diversified, and ever since that time the administration of Jungaria has involved problems of the conflicting interests of different peoples. In order to replace some of the Mongol population, some of the tribes akin to the Jungars who had been at war with the Jungar federation and had fled to Russia were invited back; those who did not return but remained in the region 175 168 578

[18] Fan Wen-lan and others, *A Short General History of China*, Shanghai, 1947, pp. 663–664. See also Wei Yuan, *The Sacred Military Records* (an account of the Manchu imperial campaigns), first published in 1842; also Chun Yuan, *General Records of the Western Regions*, a work written in 1776 but first published in Tientsin in 1818, Ch. 3, p. 26; another edition of this work is *Informal Records of the Barbarian Regions* (all in Chinese).

[19] See Ch. IV.

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175 of the lower Volga are the Mongols whom the Russians call Kal-
578 muks. The princes of the returning Mongol tribes were treated
168 as favored vassals of the Manchu Emperor.

In addition, settlements were established wherever cultivation was profitable. The settlers included the Taranchis, deported from the Tarim Basin; Manchu troops settled as military colonists; and a certain number of Chinese and Chinese Moslems. Under this colonization policy the land under cultivation in Ili and Jungaria increased from an estimated 240,000 *mu* (approximately 40,000 acres) at the end of the eighteenth century[20] to an estimated 700,000 *mu* (approximately 116,666 acres) at the end of the nineteenth century.[21]

175 In Sinkiang, as in China itself a century earlier, where the Manchus had come to power at the end of a period of terrible devastation, early Manchu policy endeavored to bring land back under cultivation by a policy of lenient taxation. Thus in Turfan and Komul Uighurs bringing land back under cultivation were allowed about five acres to a household, with seeds, implements, and working animals furnished by the state. For the first four years, after deducting seed grain from the harvest, 60 per cent of the remaining grain was to be kept by the cultivator and 40 per cent paid to the state. From the fifth year, a somewhat higher land revenue was to be assessed.[22]

In Ili and Jungaria the Manchu settlers, being regarded as unquestionably loyal to the Manchu dynasty, were granted land at the rate of roughly three acres for each man (presumably each man of military age), with seeds, implements, and work animals. Some especially favored Manchus received six acres. Chinese criminal exiles, in contrast, received only two acres. The Manchu land could be considered as held on feudal tenure, inasmuch as all Manchus, Solons, and Sibos were subject to call for military

[20] *Sacred Military Records*, as cited, Ch. 4, figure for 1795.

[21] Wang Shu-nan and others, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, or Sinkiang *Gazetteer*, compiled in 1911, published at Tientsin in 1923, Ch. 30, pp. 2–3 (figure for the period 1900).

[22] *Hsinchiang T'u Chih* as cited, Ch. 28, p. 11.

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
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S During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
175 Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
487 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

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• 17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic E ruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
[131] Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
S in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
175 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb
648 when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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There is a controversy concerning the origin of the *kariz* which has a bearing on the ancient routes by which knowledge of various kinds was transmitted through Inner Asia into China and from China. Huntington asserted that the *kariz* was introduced into Sinkiang from Iran or Transcaspia, about 1780. Pelliot and Stein held almost the same view. On the other hand the eminent Chinese historian Wang Kuo-wei believes that it was first brought to Sinkiang from China after the opening up of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty. These references do not exhaust the problem, for the *kariz* principle was used by the Greeks on Samos, and by the Etruscans in Italy in the sixth century B.C. In Central Arabia it is known as *saqi*, and in Morocco as *foggara*. Subterranean irrigation canals were also built by the Incas in Peru.

Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. About 50 per cent of the water for irrigation in Komul comes from springs, as against 25 per cent each from *kariz* and rivers. In Kulja and several other large oases springs are used to irrigate rice fields, which require a very steady flow of water. In the miniature oasis of Kumish, south of Toksun, a spring with a discharge of only three cubic meters a day is the sole source of water for the irrigation of about eight acres of land. Closely related to springs are the streams which disappear in boulder fans and emerge again later in or beyond an oasis. The flow of such streams, which are called *sai*, is apt to be fluctuating; but except where they have been tapped by *kariz*, they are an important source of water which has not been fully utilized.

"Tanks" — as they are called in India — or small pits are used for the storage of drinking water in the towns of some oases, but not as reservoirs for irrigation water except in the dying oasis of Maralbashi. Most of the river water is taken off by oases lying upstream from Maralbashi, forcing the cultivators to store water when they can get it and keep it until they need to use it. Unfortunately the main reservoir has now silted up, so that unless a new one is dug the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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WESTERN ASIA Present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia	NORTHWEST CHINA Sinkiang (Ili Region, Tarim Basin), Chinghai and northern Kansu	CHINA PROPER including Shensi and southern Kansu
1200 -		
1100 -		CHOU (Capital: Sian) 11th
1000 -		
900 -		
800 -	Jung, Ti, and Chiang	Invasion of Jung
Medes 708-550		
700 - Zoroaster-zoroastrianism		
600 -		
Rise of Persia 580		
500 - (Achaemenids)		Warring States
400 -		DIVISION
Conquests of Alexander 321-331	Huns (Hsiung-nu). Chinese settle in Kansu, Chinghai. Huns drive Yüeh-chih westward 165 B.C. Chang Ch'ien's Travels 138-126 Chinese advance into Turkestan 121-119 Take Tarim Basin, 104, 4 garrison cities; three campaigns against Lou-lun, 99-90; defeat of Wu-sun 72 B.C.	
300 - Greek states in Bactria		CH'IN (Capital: Sian) Great Wall linked
Parthia (Assakids)		
200 -		HAN (capital: Sian) 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.
Scythians (Sakas) 165		
100 -		
B.C. / A.D.	Chinese split Hun Confederacy -44 A.D. Revolt of Nomads, Kushan (Yüeh-chih) invade Turkestan 87	Wang Mang 9-23

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100 -		
Pan ch'ao reaches Caspian Sea 92	Pan Ch'ao regains Turkestan 74-94; returns to China 102 Huns retake Turkestan 107-31. Invasion of Kushan 127	
200 -		
Sassanid Dynasty in Persia 226-651		THREE KINGDOMS (221-265) CHIN 265-419
300 - Mani; Manichaeism		Barbarian Invasions Foreign States in North China
	Hephthalites (White Huns), Juan-juan, Kao-chü (Tolös)	
400 - Wars with Rome	Appearance of Turks; Expansion Turks destroy Juan-juan and the Hephthalites	Minor Chinese state in South China
500-	552 Division of Turks into East and West 582	DIVISION
554 -subjugate the Hephtalites in region of Oxus		
600 - Arabs invade Persia Expansion to Mediterranean; Last Sassanid King flees to China, 674	Travels of Hsuan-tsang Chinese defeat E. Turks 636; Tibetans 639; W. Turks 659; Chinese control of Turkestan Arabs and Tibetans effect junction 741	SUI (capital: Sian) 589-618 T'ANG (capital: Sian) 618-906 invasion of E. Turks 629 Rebellion of An-lu-shan 755
700- ARABS - Qutaiba conquers Central Asia 707-713	Expedition of Kao Hsien-chih over the Pamirs 747 Battle of Athlach 751, Chinese defeat. Uighur Empire on the Orkhon 744-82.	Uighurs sack Loyang 762 Tibetans sack Ch'ang-an 763
800-	Defeat of East Turks, 745 Tibetan Wars 763-821 Kirghiz destroy Uighur Empire 840 Uighurs migrate to (1)Irtish (2)Urumchi-Turfan	Barbarian Invasions FIVE DYNASTIES (North) and TEN STATES (South)
900-	Qarluks, Uighurs, Sha-t'o (Chöl) Turks	DIVISION

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1000 -	Hsia	Liao(Khitan) Sung(Chinese) 960-1279
1100 -	Kara-Khitai	CHIN (Juchen)
1200 - Mongols destroy Khwarezmian	Mongols destroy Hsia & Kara-Khitai	Mongols destroy Chin 1233 Mongols destroy Sung 1279
1300-Mongol Il-Khans in Persia; Tamerlane 1369-1405	Chagatai and Usedei princes (Mongols)	YUAN dynasty 1260-1367 (Capital:Peking) MING dynasty 1368-1644 (capital:1. Nanking 2. Peking)0
1400 - Timurid Dynasty 1387-1449	Oirats (Mongols) -Esen, ca. 1450	Expulsion of Mongols Invasion at Oirats 1449
1500 - Safavid Dynasty in 1560-1736	Oirats (W. Mongols) Atan Khan ca. 1550	
1600- Abbas I ("the Great") 1587-1629	Oirat confederacy; Galdan invades Mongolia 1697; Tsewang Raptan 1697-1727	CH'ING dynasty 1644-1911
1700-	Conquest of Tibet 1717 Amursana 1755 Chinese dominate Turkestan, 1759 Return of the Turgots, 1770	
1800 - Kajar Dynasty in 1794-1925	Moslem Revolts, 1820-1878 Jehangir 1820-27; the 7 Khojas, 1848; Yakub Beg, 1865-78. Tso Tsung-t'ang reconquers the Northwest 1869-78. Sinkiang Province created 1884	Taiping Rebellion, 1851-64 Moslem Revolts in Shensi & Kansu, 1862-71; Ma Hua-lung, 1862-71; Pai Yen-hu, 1862-78
Anglo-Russian Rivalry		Revolution, 1911
1900 Revolution in Persia 1905	Yang Tseng-hsin governor 1912-1928 Dungan Revolt 1932-34 Sheng Shih-ts'ai 1932-44;Ili Revolt 1944-46 Sinkiang submits to Communists, 1949	REPUBLIC, 1912 Communists in Shensi, 1935 Communist Govt. in China, 1949

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in soci[illegible]
and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is
living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded
as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The
son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which
even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the
mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-
son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant
as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father
has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is
mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out
of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly
see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to
get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see
her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both
stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter house-
hold duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely
to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the
sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children
who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps
all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter.
The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the
parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the
relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In
many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a
different mother or a different father. In the lower classes,
brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different
section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. For-
tune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers.
They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete
contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships
hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
267 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

S N 214 171 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Bock Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 [656] Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 *668 177 V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

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APPENDIX I Ancient Art and Modern Archaeology

MUCH OF OUR KNOWLEDGE of early Central Asian history has come as a result of late nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts of European scholars to explore the ruined cities which had lain long buried under the sands. The most widely known of these archaeological expeditions were carried out by Sir Aurel Stein under the sponsorship of the Government of India, and by Professors Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Others were undertaken by D. Klementz (1897–1898), the Berezowsky brothers (1906), and S. Oldenbourg (1909–1910), all Russians; Paul Pelliot (1906–1909), French; and Tachibana (1910–1911), and Otani (1902 or 1903), both Japanese. 172•

Stein made three trips, in 1900–1901, 1906–1908, and 1913–1916; his primary area of concentration in Turkistan was the network of desert routes and oases from Khotan to Lob Nor. The materials which Stein brought back have been deposited partly in the British Museum in London and partly in the Museum for Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi. A considerable portion of his finds are reproduced in plates — one full volume of which accompanies each of his three detailed reports: *Ancient Khotan*, *Serindia*, and *Innermost Asia*. (These books also deal with Stein's explorations and excavations in some of the northern oases of the Tarim Basin as well as in Iran and western China.)

The four German "Turfan" Expeditions (so-called from the

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172 goal of the first party) worked along the northern route from Maralbashi to Turfan in the years 1902–1903, 1904–1905, 1905–1907 and 1913–1914. Their collections were shipped back to Berlin, where the greater part of the wall paintings were destroyed by Allied bombing in the recent war. Excellent pictures, however, are available in the seven volumes of Le Coq's *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel Asien;* in Le Coq's *Chotscho,* and in Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha.* Grünwedel's narrative reports on the first and third expeditions, *Bericht über archaeologische Arbeiten* and *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten,* are also illustrated lavishly with line drawings, plans, and sketches made on the spot by the author.

At first indifferent to these expeditions and their work, the Chinese Government later took note of the great packing cases of art treasures being shipped out of the country. Archaeological operations were thenceforward discouraged and officially hindered in every way. But already by the time of the first World War the known sites had been practically denuded. Easily available ruins had already suffered greatly from the local population who, as good Moslems, felt bound to destroy heathen idols and especially to deface representations of human beings. What the European excavators uncovered but did not remove has largely succumbed to the elements and to the later efforts of treasure seekers.

172 778 Important artistic discoveries were made at about a dozen spots. Starting at the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert near Khotan — which was the capital of an ancient kingdom — we find the sand-covered ruins of a settlement at Dandan Oilik, and of a great stupa (dome-shaped Buddhist shrine) at Rawak. Farther east, near the place where the Niya River dies in the dunes, lie the indications of another town. A ruined Tibetan fort at Miran, in the neighborhood of Charklik, guards the ruins of a much earlier group of Buddhist shrines. On the northern rim of the desert atop spurs of the foothills of the Tien Shan range stand the temples at Tumshuk, close to Maralbashi, and the great temples at Subashi and Duldur-akhur above the Kucha oasis.

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Also in the environs of Kucha, which is known to have been the center of a large and thriving principality, are the *Ming Oi* (literally "thousand houses") of Kyzyl, Kumtura, and Kiris. Those cave temples are cut out of the solid rock of cliffsides where rivers coming down from the high mountains have cut steep ravines. At Shorchuk, between Korla and Kharashahr, stand the ruins of an ancient walled town with many temples and burial monuments; as at Kucha, the local people refer to the shrines as *Ming Oi.* 172 778

The Turfan Depression, with its twin oases of Turfan and Kharakhoja, is particularly rich in artistic remains. Two old towns could be traced here: the more ancient one was in utter ruins but Khocho ("Chotscho"), the capital of the Uighur Kings of Turfan from the ninth through the thirteenth century, had numerous temples, monasteries, and tombs which generously rewarded excavation. In the rocky ravines near Khocho are great clusters of shrines and monastic dwellings both cut out of the cliffs and built on the banks. Most notable are the temples and stupas of the Tuyok Valley and the Sangim Gorge, and the great monastery terrace of Bezeklik (also sometimes called *Ming Oi*).

One further site which should perhaps be included is Khotan itself. Although structural remains of the old capital are limited to doubtful mounds of debris, large quantities of interesting metal and pottery objects of undoubted antiquity have been dug up in the oasis.

With few exceptions the structures of which any traces remain are of a clearly religious character. They can usually be distinguished as shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Everywhere but in the Turfan basin, the religion is exclusively Buddhist. A few of the buildings in the old city of Khocho display murals of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean inspiration, and manuscript remains in the area confirm the coexistence in Turfan of these three faiths for several centuries.

Apart from temples cut out of rock, construction is generally of sun-dried bricks, stamped clay, or some sort of mud plaster [341]

172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

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tain landscapes made up of many small segments each of which illustrates a Buddhist legend. Winged Gandharvas (a kind of angel) and celestial musicians may be fitted into triangular spaces above eye level so as to give the impression of floating above the worshiper. Animals real and fabulous, flowers, trees, palaces, war equipment, and pleasures of the hunt are among the many subjects included in the relations of the various myths or the surrounding ornaments. Well-known divinities of classical Greece as well as many-armed Indian gods are to be found adopted into the Buddhist pantheon. Some frescoes consist of assemblages of these divinities. Others depict Buddhist heavens and hells. A frequent sight is that of Buddha preaching to a group of monks. Monks are also pictured together with benefactors — noblemen through whose contributions the holy work of temple decoration has been financed.

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The donors are typically represented in the clothing of the locality and the age, as contrasted with the monks and divine figures whose costume is prescribed by the canons of Buddhist art. Even more interesting are the facial and other physical characteristics of these patrons. Here we have an astounding variety of human types — European and Levantine as well as eastern Asiatic. The evidences would point to a succession of alien conquests with each new set of rulers inscribing themselves as patrons of the existing Buddhist monasteries. Since, however, the warriors generally came from peoples of lower material and artistic level, their tastes did not greatly or immediately affect the content and style of the monastic art. The paintings appear to have been made either by monks themselves or by artists working under rather close religious supervision.

All frescoes are in tempera or water color applied directly to the smoothed and plastered wall while the surface was still wet. In each group of shrines the palette is limited to a modest number of colors and tones. The few colors used are employed with considerable effect. Gold leaf is occasionally added. In some instances the drawing appears to have been by means of tracings

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172 or stencils; more typically the murals were sketched in with a
778 free hand. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on outlines, which are almost invariably darkened and slightly thickened.

532 In addition to these sculptures and frescoes, there were found several examples of smaller arts. Particularly noteworthy are
172 painted wooden panels which were deposited at the feet of Bud-
778 dha statues as votive offerings. Some paintings on paper and on fabric appear to have been designed for the same purpose, or for
531 temple banners. The illustrated Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Khocho are amazingly similar to the early medieval Christian book art.

Among the wooden items are small reliquary caskets and statuettes, as well as carved ceiling beams, brackets, and other structural elements.

Woven or embroidered textiles seem to have been in large part imported into Central Asia from China, Persia, and other areas. Although Khotan was reputedly famous for its rugs, it is impossible to prove that any particular rug fragments are of Khotanese manufacture.

172 Among the various ruins the earliest period is represented by
531 the secular dwellings at the Niya site, and by the stupas of Miran. Amid the shifting sands and scrub-covered cones in the desert north of the present village of Niya, Sir Aurel Stein was able to trace remains of a whole community. In addition to the ever-present stupa there were ancient houses. courtyards, cattlesheds, arbors, orchards, trellises, irrigation canals, and even a footbridge over the old river bed. Broken wooden posts rising above the gaunt earth proved to be the original supports of wattle and plaster walls of old residences.

Some houses of substantial size suggested that the occupants were men of position. From the drift-sand filling the floors of the rooms Stein was able to salvage fairly well-preserved wooden beams and brackets fallen from the ceilings, and fragments of furniture such as chair legs. These were carved with animals, rosettes, pots of leaves and other decorative motifs particularly characteristic of the Gandhara school of sculpture which flour-

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ished in the area of India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries after Christ. This art is often described as "late classical," or referred to as Graeco-Buddhist, since its content was Buddhist while the style was strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic (post Alexandrian) kingdoms of western Asia. 172 • 531

Stein also uncovered at Niya a large central hall with stuccoed walls still standing several feet high. These were decorated in tempera with a colorful design of floral scrolls and festoons. Coins and dated documents on wooden tablets indicated that the settlement was abandoned near the end of the third century A.D.

In the time of its prosperity Niya seems to have been included in the territory not of ancient Khotan but of the kingdom of Kroraina which stretched to the shores of the Lob lake. The rulers of Kroraina were probably most closely allied in culture and language with the Kushan kings of Gandhara and northern India; but in the Tarim Basin they came under Chinese hegemony. Ruins of a town called "Lou-lan" (the Chinese transliteration of *Kroraina*) were discovered by Sven Hedin near the edge of the old lake bed; and Aurel Stein found in the homes and shrines of Lou-lan carved woodwork of the same types as at Niya. 172

Further remains of the Kroraina realm are the third- and early fourth-century temples at Miran, where the earliest of the Central Asian wall paintings were found. The frescoes originally adorned the interior walls of two small domed shrines. Both were square structures on the outside and circular within, with a small stupa in the center. In each the passage around the stupa was decorated with a band of painted busts: youthful winged male angels in one shrine, garland-bearing lads interspersed with a great variety of cosmopolitan-looking men and women in the other. The upper wall and dome showed more conventional religious scenes such as Buddha preaching to a group of monks, and Buddhist legends. 172 532

In coloring, painting technique, and total effect, these Miran murals resemble amazingly the Hellenistic frescoes of approximately the same period which have been discovered at Fayum in Egypt and Dura-Europos in Syria. An inscription on the thigh

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of a white elephant in one of the Miran pictures records the name of the painter as "Tita," which Sir Aurel Stein takes to be a rendering of the Roman name Titus. Stein fancies that the artist was a "Roman Eurasian" who had followed his calling eastward along the highroad to China. A larger temple also at Miran displayed along its base a series of statues of seated Buddhas about double natural size. The stylized hair curls, elongated ears, and elaborate drapery of these figures once again suggested that they followed the Gandhara models.

Stein also discovered a vast gallery of statues of a similar type lining both the inner and outer faces of a wall enclosing the court of a great stupa at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan. Buddhas and other sacred figures of varying dimensions were ranged side by side, with little apparent order. While most of these figures were draped in classical flowing garments, the Dvarpalas (Guardians of the Gates) wore a secular costume consisting of long under- and overcoats, trousers, and boots. No manuscripts or coins, however, could be found to give definite clues to the age of the ruin.

Far superior to the Miran and Rawak sculptures and much closer in feeling to the art of the ancient Hellenistic world are the statuettes of wood and clay and the broken-off heads of statues found at Tumshuk, by Pelliot and Le Coq. Just north of the oasis town of Maralbashi, the Tumshuk ruins are not far from Kashgar and Yarkand, where routes through the high Pamirs lead into the Tarim Basin from the west. Three flat-topped cliffs rising above the marshy plain bear the remains of temple clusters of various dates. The earliest shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire before the beginning of the fifth century. It was in these that the Gandhara-style pieces were found. A few surviving fresco fragments include a frieze of kneeling monks and a scene of Buddha preaching to armed and regally garbed followers.

The great mass of painting and sculpture illustrating the middle period in Central Asian art — from the fifth century to the eighth century A.D. — comes from the neighborhood of Kucha.

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The *Ming Oi* of Kyzyl comprise several hundred rock-cut caves ranged along several levels on a series of steep cliffs overlooking the Muzart River. In addition to temples of various sizes there were workrooms, storerooms, and sleeping quarters. The most common type of shrine consisted of a square room with a niche for a sacred image in the center of the wall opposite the door. On either side of the statue, a corridor led back to a transverse passage, permitting the worshiper to make the required complete circle about the image. The ceiling was usually in the form of a barrel vault. A few temples had round cupolas and a few others had stone-cut imitations of the "lantern" roof (composed of a series of squares of diminishing size laid diagonally one above the other and leaving open a small aperture at the very top) still found today in Persia and Kashmir. Each of these cell-like temples was furnished with a small vestibule. Long stone balconies and flights of steps gave access to the temples and connected them with each other. Practically no daylight penetrated to the inside of the cells; the decorations must have been executed and enjoyed only by use of lamps.

Le Coq and Grünwedel were able to uncover wall paintings in some sixty of these caves. The frescoes abound in drama and motion. Buddha, in the scenes from his life and in the familiar teaching, meditating, and other poses, is given a human and gentle aspect. The Bodhisattvas, worshipers, kings, queens, Brahmans, ascetics, monks, dancers, musicians, servants, demons, and other personages who surround the Buddha or play roles in the illustrations of the Buddhist legends display a great variety of complexion, feature, figure, garb, expression, and pose. All appear to be active participants: a courtier turns his head to talk to a neighbor; two Brahmans carry on a lively dispute; a supplicant prostrates himself at Buddha's feet. In one particularly effective panel, a king who is taking a ceremonial bath in a tub of butter receives news of Buddha's demise by means of a painted cloth held up before him by a minister. On the cloth are pictured the four "great events": the birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 532 death of Buddha. Several depictions of the burning of Buddha's corpse are notable for the intensity of sorrow communicated by the mourners.

Although the compositions are intricate and the available space tightly packed with figures and background designs, the main contours stand out clearly. Color schemes are based on muted brown, flesh, and rust tones, accented with bright blue and green.

The donors portrayed in the Kyzyl caves (usually on the wall near the entrance) are at first glance astonishingly like knights and ladies of medieval Europe. Tall, fair-skinned, and red-haired, they wear dresses and armor of the style prevailing in Persia under the Sassanian Dynasty from the third through the seventh centuries. The cloaks and gowns appear to be of fine brocade or richly embroidered material. An unusual hair arrangement in which the top locks are cut to a length of about four inches and allowed to fall loose on either side of a center part is characteristic of both men and women. Frequently a stylized flower, perhaps a development of the classical cornucopia carried by certain figures in the Gandhara sculptures, is held in the hand.

Both the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed give evidence of a blending of Indian, Persian and late Hellenistic influences. Many resemblances can be pointed out between these Kyzyl murals and the famed wall paintings of the Ajanta cave temples in Central India, which were executed at roughly the same time. Only rarely, however, do the figures in the Kyzyl pantomimes approach the sinuous grace and delicacy of the best work at Ajanta. Perhaps the closest comparison, outside of the Tarim Basin, is with the frescoes in the caves surrounding the colossal Buddha in the valley of Bamian, near Kabul, in Afghanistan. Chemical analysis has indicated that identical pigments were used. This tie between Kucha and Bamian, which had been a Buddhist center since about 100 A.D., suggests one path along which Buddhist art progressed into Central Asia.

[778] At Kumtura, about nine miles east of Kyzyl along the Muzart River, is another group of cave temples. As at Kyzyl the various temples could be placed approximately as belonging to the fifth,

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sixth, seventh or eighth centuries. Similar architectural styles were followed and similar medieval-looking benefactors were depicted. In subject matter and treatment the paintings are clearly related, but in some of the Kumtura caves is an unmistakable Chinese element, nowhere glimpsed at Kyzyl. The eyes of the Buddhas are just slightly tilted, the landscapes are more freely drawn, and typical T'ang Dynasty cloud forms appear overhead.

Sculptural remains brought from Kyzyl and Kumtura consist mainly of severed heads of goddesses, Bodhisattvas, Brahmans and other personages. The statues were sometimes grouped on balconies, sometimes arranged in separate niches along the walls. The heritage of the Graeco-Buddhist traditions of Gandhara is amply demonstrated in facial features, hair treatment, head ornaments, and, where full figures are shown, in the drapery.

Contemporary with the Kyzyl and Kumtura caves but quite different in style are the group of shrines belonging to an old monastery at Dandan Oilik (in the words of local treasure seekers, "the place of houses with ivory") in the desert near Khotan. Each shrine originally consisted of a square inner cell enclosing a large Buddha statue on a pedestal. This cell was surrounded by a square perambulatory. Both inner and outer walls were decorated with paintings — for the most part of large Buddhas or saints in a checkerboard pattern. On the whole these figures are stiff and rather indifferently drawn. A few representations of legendary scenes include one particularly graceful water nymph of decidedly Indian inspiration. The donors, pictured as tiny figures kneeling at the feet of the large Buddhas, are markedly Chinese or Mongol in appearance.

Decorative stucco reliefs of small Buddhas, saints, and flying Gandharvas, and remains of larger statues, followed the Graeco-Buddhist pattern but achieved no particular distinction. Perhaps the most interesting art finds of the Dandan Oilik site are the considerable number of rectangular wooden panels each about a foot long. They were apparently intended as gifts to the shrine from secular patrons. On these tablets appear sure-handed and

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spirited sketches of Buddhist divinities and legends, some in full color. A particularly attractive drawing shows Rustan, the great Persian hero, as a handsome four-armed Bodhisattva.

Dandan Oilik, by all indications, was abandoned gradually, because of increasing difficulty of irrigation, around the end of the eighth century.

The art of the ancient city at Shorchuk near the Kharashahr oasis reaches into the third and final stage of the Buddhist culture of the Tarim Basin. On the direct route eastward from Kucha to Turfan, Kharashahr was never so important a political power or Buddhist center as its neighbors. Nonetheless great numbers of temples and shrines were found both in the old town and on the ridges of the mountains at its side; there were also a few cave temples cut out of the hills. Most of the shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire in the tenth century, but to have existed for several hundred years before that. The ruins were particularly rich in statuary, many pieces retaining the original coat of bright paints. As well as the familiar Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses in more or less pure Hellenistic style, there were found deities of distinctly oriental appearance and some remarkably realistic horses and camels. Many examples were provided of the variety of heads which could be produced by skillful use of a limited number of molds.

The Shorchuk wall paintings ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries demonstrated even more clearly than the sculpture the intermingling of eastern and western peoples and cultures. The Buddhas, monks and Gandharvas of these frescoes have consistently Far Eastern features, but each monk carries between his prayer-joined palms a long-stemmed flower reminiscent of those held by the donors of Kyzyl. The benefactresses at Shorchuk are slant-eyed, long-nosed, and rather stocky women who can be identified with considerable confidence as belonging to one of the tribes of Western Turks which held sway over Kharashahr for some centuries. The use of deep colors and the presence of stylistic details such as very cursive outlines show strong Chinese influences.

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The latest phase of Central Asian art is most amply illustrated in the Turfan region. The oases of Turfan and Kara Khoja, strategically placed for intercourse both with China to the east and the grazing lands of Jungaria to the north, served as the seats of more or less powerful kingdoms from before the beginning of the present era. The various archaeological explorations found not only two old capitals, Yar Khoto ("the city on the ravine") and Khocho (Kao ch'ang in Chinese; also Idikutshahri and Dakianus) but a number of semi-isolated monastic establishments in the environs. Pieces of sculpture, paintings on paper and silk and various other small objects of art were purchased from local treasure seekers as well as directly excavated. In the circumstances, the dating of many finds is only conjectural. Several markedly Hellenistic heads fall in this category. 172 532

Certain buildings within the old city of Khocho and a few of the sites at Toyuk, Chikkan Kol, and Bezeklik have been clearly shown to belong to the sixth and seventh century. The extant wall paintings in these ruins are on the whole similar to those of the Kucha and Kharashahr oases. In some of these temples, painted medallions on the ceilings substitute for the earlier carved-out imitations of the lantern roof.

From the middle of the eighth century Turfan came under the rule of the Uighur Turks. Before coming to Turfan the ruling Uighur Khans had been converted to Manichaeism, a religion of Persian origin based on the opposition of Light (signifying Good) and Darkness (symbolizing Evil). In Turfan the Uighurs appear to have patronized Buddhism as well as Manichaeism and seem to have permitted Syrian or Nestorian Christians to follow their own faith. A mural which seems to be Christian in character was found covered up by an inner wall in a small temple outside the city walls of Khocho. A priest, in vestments which are clearly neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, holds incense in one hand, a vessel of holy water in the other. He appears to be blessing three persons of smaller stature who approach him, each carrying a long-stemmed leafy branch. The worshipers have the slant eyes of the Orient but the priest appears Byzantine. 174 532

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A fine Manichaean wall painting showing a priest of Persian features, possibly Mani himself, dressed in full canonicals and followed by several ranks of white-gowned and tall-bonneted *electi* (devotees under special vows of purity and abstinence), was similarly discovered behind a single layer of bricks. Presumably temples were cleared in this way for other types of worship. Illuminated pages of Manichaean religious texts and Manichaean temple banners, also found in various places in and near Khocho, show the disciples in the same costumes. Both men and women (*electi* and *electae*) are pictured, sometimes with hands clasped at the bosom and hidden muff-like in the robe, sometimes carrying or writing in books. In the book roll fragments and pages, the pictures and text, in a special Manichaean script, are combined to produce a total effect very similar to the early Christian codices of medieval Europe. Bright clear colors are used and the designs are kept fairly simple. Although unmistakably related to the general development of Central Asian art, the Manichaean finds actually constitute a separate and exotic growth with roots deep in third-century Sassanian Persia from which Mani himself sprang.

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Buddhist art in Uighur times is best exemplified by the wall paintings of the vast majority of the temples at Bezeklik ("the place where there are decorations") near the village of Murtuk. Here a great phalanx of free-standing structures and rock-cut caves, some with structural antechambers, occupied a protected ledge between the river and the mountains. Hundreds of separate temples were still preserved in various stages of disrepair at the beginning of the present century.

A splendidly preserved set of murals was discovered in the temple which Le Coq numbered 9. Separate panels depicted groups of Indian monks in yellow with their individual names supplied in an Indian script, and Far Eastern monks in violet with both Chinese and Uighur names. All carried single long-stemmed flowers. The main pattern of decoration consisted in a series of Pranidhi or prayer scenes. Each one shows a large standing Buddha elaborately garbed and bejeweled and surrounded by an

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elongated aureole. From five to ten figures are disposed about the Buddha in vertical columns on either side. Usually the two at the base kneel and present gifts such as food, lamps, or trays of flowers. A small Chinese house in a compound frequently is found in a top corner. Some of the worshipers are highly individualized and would seem to be portraits of particular monks or in one case of secular persons who are perhaps merchants. Other monks, however, and characters identifiable as Brahmans, spear-bearers, goddesses, youthful Bodhisattvas, and so forth appear in highly schematized fashion. The facial features of the Buddhas and the stylized attendant personages approximate a single type with narrow eyes, long noses, heavy jowls, and often a hairline mustache. The monks who seem to be drawn from life, however, exhibit much more variety. Several have red hair with blue or green eyes; some show red or gray stubble on the shaven pate, cheeks, and chin. Story elements are reduced to an almost unnoticeable minimum — a tiny raft underneath the feet of the Buddha, for instance, indicates that a seagoing legend is involved. Detail, in fact, rather than composition differentiates one Pranidhi scene from another. Profusion of ornament, sureness of line, and careful symmetry all contribute to an effect of great elegance and sophistication.

Occasionally tiny figures of donors are tucked in near the feet of the Buddha in the Pranidhi scenes. Full-scale pictures of the Uighur benefactors adorn small walls near the entrance of the inner temple. Like portraits of Uighur nobles in other shrines they show strong-visaged men with small mustaches and waist-length braids of black hair. They wear tall headdresses and floor-length gowns of embroidered material. The women have an elaborate puffed coiffure topped by a sort of crown. Once again each benefactor holds a blossoming stalk. Considerable care has been taken to present these donors as individuals and the names of many are inscribed on vertical tablets near the heads.

In addition to Pranidhi scenes and portraits of donors, the Bezeklik murals and the other wall paintings in the Khocho area dating from the Uighur period (ninth through twelfth century

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular
778 heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context: deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millennium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excellence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into question previous references to the area as no more than a highway connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger population in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity, based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated, would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many monasteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of invaders.

IT IS A GREAT PLACE

•172 for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

134 We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi"—the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate 342 is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious 181 and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The 825 inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

000 This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

influences from the China of the Han and Tang Emperors 175
mingled with those transmitted through Iran and North-West India from the great world of Hellenism in the West. It was through the channel of the Tarim Basin and the medium of its settled populations that the fame of the "silk-weaving Seres" and the fine products of Chinese looms reached the Mediterranean and became known throughout the Roman Empire. It was by this same route that the elements of Indian as well as of Græco-Roman art and culture reached China's western borders. More important still, it was along the Khotan road that Buddhism, in Stein's words "India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of mankind," found its roundabout way in the first century of our era to China through the Central Asian kingdoms.

It would be presumption for me to attempt even the briefest 114
survey of the immense field covered by the archæological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein among the sands of the Takla Makan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan and Kansu. I can but refer the art-loving reader to those monuments of fascinating if recondite erudition, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," "Serindia," and the rest. Here will be brought vividly before his eyes the splendour of Khotan's Græco-Buddhist civilization, in the days when that ancient kingdom was culturally an Indian colony.[1] He will discover for himself how exquisitely that civilization was tinged by the classic art of China; he will see, on the other hand, how in the east of the province and along the great Silk Road the powerful influences of Græco-Buddhist and even of purely Persian art modified the work of Chinese masters. The frescoes of Miran, the classical seals of Yotkan, the relievos of Khadaliq, the wood-carvings of Niya, the amazing painted silks, brocades, tapestries and embroideries of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas—these and many other beautiful things appeal to the lover of art, and not to him alone. They appeal even more strongly to the Western student of *les vieilles civilisations qualitatives*, as Ferrero calls them, which aimed at perfection rather than progress or power—the old civilizations which we have so ruthlessly destroyed in our pursuit of wealth and our conquest of the earth, and which now, too late, we find to be our lost Paradise.

My few excursions into this field of research may be dismissed 172
briefly. In the course of long tours on Consular duty, when our programme had to be thought out carefully beforehand

[1] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 290–91.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

• /172 and the time spent on the road and at towns reduced to a minimum in order that the ground might be covered, it would have been impossible for me to attempt any excavation or systematic clearing of new sites, even if I had wished to disregard Sir Aurel's injunction not to "dig up tombs." North of Domoko on the Khotan-Keriya road, in the wilderness of tamarisk-cones on the edge of the great desert, we found after a long search Sir Aurel's "Khadaliq" site, and photographed it in order to ascertain the extent to which it had been silted up by drift-sand since excavation. On our second visit to Keriya, in April, 1924, a British subject called Abbas Khan brought me two fine specimens of ancient weaving-combs, heavy wooden instruments with a row of short teeth with which carpet-weavers "pack" the pile on the warp, also a recumbent angel in stucco in excellent condition and some very fragmentary leaves of Kharosthi manuscript. He said he had taken these from an ancient site he had discovered the previous year one "potai" (2½ miles) north of Stein's Khadaliq site. He described a loess mound or hill "a hundred *gaz* high" (200 feet—an obvious exaggeration), in which he had dug to a depth of about 12 feet, with great difficulty, as the earth was continually collapsing on top of him; he had then come to a chamber with plaster frescoes on all four walls and the roof supported by wooden columns. As he worked three of the walls collapsed and the frescoes were destroyed, but the fourth remained in position. It contained a picture 3 feet by 2 feet showing men on horses, etc. Other finds were a large mill-stone, too heavy to be turned by hand, and a big earthenware pot with two handles, full of bones, some charred. This latter was found in the mound 3 feet outside the chamber. Abbas Khan's measurements were probably very far out, but there is no reason to suppose that his story was an invention, for he was very anxious that I should go with him and see the place on our return journey. Unfortunately we had already arranged to go home by another route, so that I had no opportunity of examining Abbas Khan's new site.

At Khotan our Armenian friend, Mr. Keraken Moldovack, and the ex-Aqsaqal Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan allowed me to take for presentation to the British Museum a selection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts, Greek plaster masks, terra-cotta figurines and appliqué ornaments, intaglios, vases, paintings on wood and stucco, wooden household implements, coins and other objects collected by them from "Taklama-

3: Skyline G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[Face p. 170]

PLASTER HEAD OF WOMAN FOUND UNDER SANDS OF TAKLA MAKAN DESERT NEAR KHOTAN [p. 171

(About ¾ actual size)

SOAPSTONE FIGURE OF SARASWATI AND HER PEACOCK FOUND IN RECENTLY EXPOSED CULTURE-STRATUM AT YOTKAN (Actual size) [~~p. 172~~

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

172 kanchis" who had brought them back from various desert sites.[1] Our most interesting excursions, however, were in November, 1922, and May, 1924, when we visited the site of Yotkan, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Khotan, some five miles south-west of the modern town. A few months before our first visit a great mass of loess bluff some 20 feet high had fallen away owing to erosion by irrigation water, and had laid bare a new section of the Yotkan "culture stratum" from 2 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 4 inches thick, lying at an average depth of 15 feet below the upper level of the fields. The composition of this stratum was of a stiff bluish clay, and its contents consisted chiefly of potsherds, animal bones, lumps of charcoal, coins and small metal objects corroded almost out of recognition, fragments of white jade, red and green glass and so on. But more valuable and interesting objects had also been found by the treasure-seekers who had been washing the clay of the stratum for gold most of the summer. In this place where "trippers" were unknown it did not seem to occur to these people that we might be ready to buy curios found by them during their washings for gold in the stratum, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we induced them to bring along a few articles they had found. Anything containing gold or precious stones, good jade, etc., had of course been sold in the Khotan bazaar long before, but we succeeded in buying from the villagers a few objects of interest. Of these the best were a beautiful little soapstone figure of the goddess Saraswati and her peacock, a couple of carnelian intaglios and some quaint clay animals.

[1] This small collection, including objects bought at the Yotkan site, at Goma and elsewhere, is at present in the Ethnographical section of the British Museum. The most interesting items are: Twenty-six folios of calligraphic paper MS. in Central-Asian Brahmi of the *Saddharma-pundarika*, a Sanskrit text, one folio of which appears in Dr. Hoernle's "Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature"; eleven folios of an eighth-century Buddhist religious work in ancient Khotanese; wooden tablets inscribed with accounts and other documents in Kharosthi; two beautiful plaster masks of female faces in classical Greek style; small intaglios from rings; two square metal seals, one with a classical winged bull intaglio, the other with Chinese lapidary characters similar to the impression of the Chinese official's seal shown in "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, Plate 95 (6); several well-preserved fragments of coloured frescoes illustrating Buddhist legends, similar to those found by Stein at Miran; household implements such as wooden combs, fire-sticks, "hearths," etc., and copper coins of the Han and Tang dynasties.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

773 place for seven days and nights until all was buried. Now the great Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang who passed this way in the seventh century of our era stayed at a town called Pi-mo, which Stein has conclusively identified with the Uzun-Tati site; and at this place Hsuan-tsang heard an almost exactly parallel Sodom and Gomorrah legend about another buried city called Ho-lo-lo-kia, still further out in the Takla Makan! A similar story is attached to the shrine of Imam Jamal-ud-Din at Keriya; this saint is supposed to have caused the sudden overwhelming of the city of Ketek because of insults he had received from its inhabitants. While at Goma in 1922 I had occasion to interrogate some Taklamakanchis from Qaratagh Aghzi, the "terminal oasis" of the Kilian River, about a new desert site which they said they had found a couple of years previously. At first they were uncommunicative, but afterwards when their tongues were loosened they told me about their discoveries, and many other things as well. One of them described an experience he had had in the neighbourhood. "I was lost one evening in the Takla Makan," he said, "and had no water. Suddenly I saw before me great walls in the sand and a gateway in the midst of them. I passed through the gateway and found myself in the outer court of a huge *yamen*.[1] I went through more doors and courtyards and at last I entered a great hall (*aivān*) which was full of treasure, gold and coral and pearls. But there was a huge tiger on guard there; flames issued from his mouth and I knew he was an evil spirit. I fainted from fear, and when I came to my senses I was among the sands and there was no *yamen*. Next day I came upon the tracks of wood-cutters and found my way home."

172 Sir A. Stein's researches have proved that none of the buried cities of the Takla Makan which have so far been found were overwhelmed by any sudden catastrophe. All were abandoned bit by bit, owing either to a generally-diminishing water-supply, or to the shifting of particular rivers, or to political causes. The Sodom and Gomorrah legends are probably, therefore, quite baseless. But this does not necessarily imply that the ancient tradition about the "Forty Cities of the Takla Makan"—great and populous centres, now buried under the sands far out beyond the furthest explorations of the archæologists—has no foundation in fact. The dawn of history in the Tarim Basin is relatively late, the second

[1] Any palace or large Chinese house is called a "yamen."

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

century before Christ; thousands of years before that dawn the Egyptian, Minoan, Sumerian and other great civilizations existed. Is it impossible that the Tarim Basin, in the heart of that Innermost Asia which is believed by many to be the cradle of the human race, may once have harboured a race as powerful and a culture as advanced as any that flourished on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates or the Indus?

All depends on the answer to the question: Was the water-supply ever much greater than it is now? In this connection the conclusions of Sir A. Stein in his latest publication[1] are of the utmost interest. Discussing whether the abandonment of Niya, Dandan Oilik and other sites may be assigned to a supposed climatic desiccation of Central Asia, or to some other cause or causes, he points out that definite archæological evidence forces us to two conclusions.

"One is that climatic conditions quite as arid as the present ones prevailed within the big trough of the Tarim Basin as far back as ancient remains and available records can take us. The other conclusion is that the amount of water carried by its rivers has greatly diminished during the same historical period."

How can these apparently contradictory propositions be reconciled? As a possible solution of this problem Sir Aurel propounds a remarkable theory which was verbally suggested to him in 1908 by Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, late Surveyor-General of India, and recently also proposed by Dr. von Ficker with regard to similar conditions in the Oxus basin.

"This theory" (he says) "seeks the reason for the diminished volume of the rivers in the shrinkage of the glaciers on the high ranges which are their main feeders. It accounts for the shrinkage itself by assuming that those glaciers comprise great reserves of ice which have been left behind by the last glacial period and have since been undergoing slow but continuous reduction through milder climatic conditions. This continued process would suffice to explain shrinkage in the irrigation resources during historical time without the climate of the basin as a whole having in the course of this period, very short in a geological sense as it seems, undergone any appreciable change."

In other words, the glaciers of the Kunlun may be no other than the dwindling remnants of the frozen cap that Asia wore in the last Ice Age. A link with the past indeed!

Sixteen centuries ago even a small stream like the Niya River flowed far out into the desert, watering a flourishing town 20 miles beyond its present disappearing-point at the

[1] "Geographical Journal," June, 1925, pp. 487–90.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

132 shrine of Imam Ja'far Sadiq.[1] Four or five thousand years
• 172 ago, presumably, this river and others like it flowed in greater volume still, penetrating far beyond ancient Chingchueh and Dandan Oilik. Those were the days, perhaps, when the great Lop Sea to the east had not altogether dried up, and the "innumerable laughter" of its waves hid what are now the sharp-edged salt clods of the world's worst desert. It may be, then, that in the days when Sargon reigned in Babylon and Manes on the Nile, wide fertile lands and populous cities with a culture and an art of their own basked in the Central Asian sun, and that the glory and the wealth of a forgotten civilization lie hid for ever under the gigantic dunes of the Takla Makan.

[1] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 351.

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563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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centuries.

Most of the religious structures in general followed the Persian and Indian patterns of buildings. Every shrine had a square or circular cell with a large image of Buddha in it, and included a passage where religious processions could take place and go all the way around the Buddha statue. Additional images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and goddesses decorated the temples. The statues ranged in dimension from over-life sized figures in almost full relief to very small figurines of sitting Buddhas.

The inner walls of these temples and the ceiling were often completely covered with frescoes. Dramatic compositions illustrating scenes and episodes from the life of Buddha, stylized mountain landscapes and illustrations of Buddhist legends were the subject matter of these frescoes.

Several examples of smaller art were also found in these temples. Of particular interest are the wooden panels, which were painted, deposited at the feet of the Buddha statues as votive offerings. Among the other kinds of votive offerings were some paintings on fabric or paper.

Sir Aurel Stein discovered the site of the ruins which belonged to the earliest historical period in Sinkiang: the secular dwellings at Niya sites, and the Buddhist shrines at Miran. Sir Aurel Stein found fairly well preserved wooden brackets and beams which had fallen from the ceilings, and parts of furniture. These objects were carved with many animals, flowers, leaves and other decorative motifs. The decorative motifs are strickingly reminiscent of the style of the Bandhara school of sculpture which flourished in India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries A.D. This art is often referred to as Greco-Buddhist, as its content is definitely Buddhist while its style is very strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Western Asia.

Further remains of the third and early fourth century were found in the temples at Miran. The interior walls of these shrines were full of murals, containing scenes from the life of Buddha, Buddhistic legends, decorated with young men carrying garlands, and youthful male angels. The Miran wall paintings also strongly resemble the Hellenistic frescoes of the same period discovered in the Middle East, both in the techniques employed and in the general effect. Sir Aurel Stein holds the idea that they had been painted by a "Roman Eurasian." A large number of statues of similar nature were discovered by Stein in the temples at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan.

Paul Pelliot and Albert von le Coq found small statues of clay and wood, and some broken heads of statues, which resembled the Hellenistic ancient art even more closely than the murals of Miran and Rawak. They were found in the Tumshuk

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532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.

• 172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art (177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had 179 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the 197

563 618 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [193] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 771 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[203] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.
The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[777]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, and the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

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The Historical Background

Sinkiang has lain within the political horizon of China for more than two thousand years, but only intermittently has it been under Chinese influence, control, or sovereignty. In periods when China's foreign wars and foreign trade were concerned with the land frontier, Sinkiang was a key sector of the frontier. In the nineteenth century, when China was dominated by foreign influences in the coastal treaty ports, Sinkiang faded in importance except when it was the scene of Moslem rebellions. It is now coming back into importance because the whole frontier zone between China and the Soviet Union has become one of the frontiers which determine the political balance of the world. 174

The historical material of Inner Asia is exceptionally rich. In addition to the early Chinese chronicles, there is material in all the languages of Inner Asia itself, some of it only recently and romantically recovered. The modern rediscovery of Inner Asia's ancient cultures began in 1879, when a Russian botanist returned from Turkistan with reports of a ruined city near Turfan which he believed to have been a Roman settlement. Later European travelers brought back stories of other ancient towns buried under the sands of the Taklamakan Desert. They were able to procure from local treasure seekers statuettes, terra-cotta figurines, pottery fragments, metal coins, and other small objects, all said to have been dug out of old places. In many cases these were of a high order of workmanship and reminiscent in design of ancient Greece. A few fragments of old Buddhist texts written on birch bark in an early Indian language were also turned up in this way.

No living tradition connected the simple Moslem Turkish-speaking cultivators, herdsmen, traders, and artisans of the nineteenth-century Inner Asia with these remarkable artistic and literary finds. But Chinese annals, particularly of the great Han and T'ang Dynasties, yield a great deal of information on the fortunes of numerous oasis kingdoms of the "Western Countries" from as early as the second century before Christ through the ninth cen-

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174 tury of our era. In the writings of two celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang, who had traversed the area in the fifth and seventh centuries respectively, were glowing descriptions of great temples and monasteries which were centers of learning and piety.

Expeditions to uncover the lost Buddhist culture of Central Asia set forth in the 1890's. It soon became clear that the possibilities for scholarship and artistic booty were even greater than had been expected. By the first decade of the present century English, Russian, French, German, and Japanese archaeological missions were engaged in a lively competition for the discovery of new sites and the carrying off of manuscripts, wall paintings, and sculpture.[1]

Scientific expeditions have also brought back from Inner Asia even older relics of the very beginning of human society. The prehistory of Inner Asia can now be traced all the way back to the Stone Age migrations and trade over the whole territory between Europe and China.

At the dawn of human history, mankind was distributed so thinly, and organized in social units of so small a size, that it would be misleading to think of geographical areas which dominated other areas. The Black Sea area in Europe and the Yellow River area in China were potentially capable of much denser populations than the Inner Asian area; but the central groups in which men lived were then probably just as large near the sources of water and food in Inner Asia as they were on the shores of the Black Sea and in the valley of the Yellow River.

Between the Black Sea and the Yellow River a very ancient line of travel, trade, and culture diffusion traversed Inner Asia. It may well have been established by the migrations of paleolithic man, but the evidence of it first becomes clear in the Neolithic Age.[2] In this "land of passage" three ancient forms of society were in contact with each other. On the southern side, in oases where

[1] For an account of the results of these expeditions see Appendix I.

[2] J. G. Andersson, "Der Weg über die Steppen," in *Bulletin* of the Östasiatiska Samlingarna, No. 1, Stockholm, 1929.

water was available, were settled agricultural peoples. On the northern side, in the vast forests reaching all the way from Russia through Siberia to Manchuria, were forest tribes. In between were the pastoral nomads. 174

Of these three forms, pastoral nomadism was later than the other two; in fact it evolved out of them. At the edges of the forests, some groups of hunters took to the domestication of animals and moved out into the grasslands to pasture them. Similarly, animals were also domesticated in the farming oases on the south, and at the edges of the oases some groups of people abandoned farming and moved out into the steppes as herdsmen. Thus the nomads of the steppes were in touch both with forest tribes and with farming peoples, and the "land of passage" which they occupied became a valve through which pulsated the movements of trade, migration, and conquest.

Through this valve, China began to exert pressure on Inner Asia in the Han period (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). China had by this time become a vast civilized empire. Within its own territory, this empire was based economically on agriculture, but on its northern fringes it faced, like the contemporary Roman Empire, the problem of dealing with barbarian tribes which resisted both absorption into the Chinese culture and control by the Chinese state.

The first "foreign policy" of China grew out of attempts to deal with this problem. It took the form of trying to exclude the barbarians physically from the area solidly occupied by Chinese agriculture and civilization, and led to the building of the Great Wall as a fortified frontier, just as the Roman Empire, in the same period, in its attempts to stabilize the cleavage between Roman civilization and Teutonic and Slavic barbarism, fortified the Rhine-Danube frontier.

The Chinese then found, however, that the barbarians whom they were trying to shut out into outer darkness were not mere savages. They were capable of social and political evolution, as well as of military evolution, enabling them to deal with the Chinese Great Wall frontier policy. They found that, as petty tribes, they could no longer cope with the massive Chinese Em-

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174 pire and so their tribal warfare among themselves rapidly took the form of subordinating petty chieftains to a supreme ruler of all the nomads. Thus there arose the unified Empire of the Hsiungnu or early Huns, matching the unified Empire of China.

Sinkiang, lying out in Inner Asia beyond the northwestern end of the Great Wall, and on the southwestern flank of the Hsiungnu Empire, then became a pivotal strategic area. The small fertile oases of Inner Asia, widely scattered among deserts, steppes, and mountains, could support flourishing cities but not strong states. They were so far from China that transportation in bulk was expensive, and therefore they could not be incorporated economically within the Chinese state. If left to pay tribute to the Hsiungnu and to trade with them, however, they were a dangerous source of strength to the nomads. Of necessity it therefore became the Chinese policy to occupy as many of the oases as possible, as garrison points; to treat other oases as protected states, in order to keep them from falling under Hsiungnu control; and to keep their trade oriented toward China, rather than toward the Hsiungnu. Thus the expansion of Chinese long-range trade into Inner Asia was politically motivated. It was fostered by imperial policy — to keep the oases bound to China — and was not the outgrowth of an economic search for markets for the surplus production of China.

In penetrating into Sinkiang, the Chinese for the first time encountered not barbarism but an agricultural and urban civilization as sophisticated as their own. A story from the first century shows that the people of Inner Asia, though recognizing the power of the Chinese, were not overawed by their culture. The ruler of the oasis of Kucha spent a year at the Chinese Court, as a dutiful vassal, and returned with a Chinese wife. He then built a palace in the Chinese style and introduced ceremonies, costumes, music, and an administrative system in imitation of the Chinese; but the people of Kucha ridiculed this imitation as "half horse and half donkey" — a sterile, "mule" culture.

The high civilization of the oasis cities of Inner Asia had been stimulated by contact with surrounding areas. On the southern

side, the most important civilized state was the empire founded in Northwest India by Chandragupta, whom the Greeks called Sandrocottus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. His grandson, Asoka, who reigned just before the opening of the Han period in China, first made Buddhism a great state religion. Buddhist missionaries soon established the religion in the oases of Inner Asia, and one of the results of Chinese penetration into Sinkiang was the entrance of Buddhism into China. The Chinese, in their Inner Asian expansion, were in fact not one-way carriers of a superior culture; they brought back with them ideas and practices which were accepted with admiration in China. 174

More faint than the influences from India, but also important, were the contacts which the Chinese at this time made with the centers of high civilization in Iran, west of Inner Asia. It was from this area that advanced irrigation engineering had penetrated into Inner Asia — making it possible to support dense populations, and a high culture, in small oases.

In the Han period each of the world's great empires had expanded from its center and had walled its outer frontier to exclude the barbarians. In the terrain between Iran and what is now Soviet territory, the geographical contrast between land best suited to the plow and land which favors the herdsman is not so clear as it is along the Great Wall frontier of China. Nevertheless, frontier walls were built in this region against the incursions of nomads,[3] as they were also in the Crimea.[4] Since the Roman Empire also built walled frontiers, it is clear that it was a common feature of the great civilizations of this period that they all faced, on the north, barbarian territory, from which they were periodically menaced, but which they did not wish to enter, conquer, and annex: a walled frontier marks a line which a state is prepared to defend, but beyond which it does not wish to expand.

All of these great empires were similar in structure and had

[3] W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1945, p. 32.

[4] K. Grinevich, "Defense of the Cimmerian Bosphorus," *Journal of Ancient History*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, No. 2, pp. 160–164 (in Russian).

174 similar troubles along their barbarian frontiers principally because, just before this period, there had been several centuries of extremely rapid development. Iron became plentiful enough to displace not only bronze, but the stone weapons and farming implements which had continued to be widely used even in the Age of Bronze. Farming populations then multiplied very rapidly, spreading out and occupying land which had not previously been brought under the plow.

The whole agricultural world, from Britain and Gaul all the way to the Pacific, then became much more solid and tended to exclude from itself a "barbarian fringe" of forest and steppe tribes. In the civilized empires occupations became rapidly more diversified and specialized; the urban-rural relationship became more complicated; social classes became more sharply marked off from each other; and new, more complex and geographically much larger political states developed.

This evolutionary process then gave way to a devolutionary phase, during the period from about A.D. 200 to 600. The great states were exhausted, partly by the tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer, which produced internal crises, and partly by the economic drain of chronic frontier war. Among the new kingdoms which then formed, the frontier states especially tended to be dominated by barbarian conquerors.

In China, the tendency among such rulers to adopt Buddhism as a mark of civilization was important in keeping up contact with Inner Asia. Thus, in the fifth century, the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, passing through the oasis of Khotan[5] on his way to India, described four great monasteries and many smaller ones. He and his Chinese companions were lodged at a monastery where three thousand monks took their seats for meals in regular order and "perfect silence." He describes a new monastery, near the

[5] Most of the larger towns of Sinkiang have at least three names — the Uighur, Kazakh, or Mongol name; the Chinese name used under the Manchu Dynasty; and the Chinese name used under the Republic. Many have several other names. To avoid confusion, the name used by the local people in the local language will be used in this book. Variant names are listed in Appendix VIII.

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city, the building of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns. It was "rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver and finished throughout with a combination of all the precious substances," and had a Hall of Buddha, "of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, Venetian doors and windows all being overlaid with gold leaf. Besides this, the apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated, beyond the power of words to describe."[6]

Ecclesiastical enterprise on such a scale indicates prosperity among the oasis states, and probably active trade. There must also have been an ample supply of food, very probably from serf-cultivated lands belonging to the monasteries. Labor for the great building projects may have been supplied partly by forced labor of the serfs in the winter season, partly by slaves captured by the barbarian kingdoms in their wars against each other and sold to the civilized lands. We know that there was a large traffic in slaves, especially farther to the west.

From about the year 600, great empires began to coalesce once more. In China, this was the age of the T'ang Dynasty, 618 to 907. This was also the period of the great Arab conquests; Byzantium reached the height of its power and influence; and, in the year 800, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor.

In the T'ang period, the centers of gravity were nearer to the periphery of civilization, and imperial power represented a welding together of military forces, which were largely of barbarian origin, and the revenues of civilization from agriculture, urban production, and trade. Such empires depended more on their ability to maneuver against barbarians in war, and less on static walled frontiers.

Following the rule that the organization of states among pastoral nomads follows like a shadow the formation of neighboring civilized states, there arose in the steppe, in this period, a series of "tribal nations": the Orkhon Turks in Mongolia; the Uighur

[6] *Fa Hsien's Travels*, tr. and ed. by James Legge (Chinese text and English translation), Oxford, 1886, Chapter 3.

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and other Turkish nations in Inner Asia; and the Khazar, Bulgar, and Pecheneg states in the Caspian-Black Sea steppe.

Sinkiang in this period continued to hold a pivotal position between the Chinese, Indian, and Iranian worlds, with distant connections with the South Russian steppe. In its culture the Indian, Iranian, and Near Eastern elements were still stronger than the Chinese influence. Merchants of the Sinkiang oases traveled widely. In the ninth century there were communities of them at Sian (Ch'angan, the T'ang capital), at Loyang in the main Yellow River Valley, at Yangchou on the Yangtze, and even at Canton on the southern coast of China.[7] They carried with them the practices of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam.[8]

The tradition of pilgrimage from China through Inner Asia to the centers of Buddhist learning continued, and accompanied a general growth of Chinese influence. In the middle of the seventh century, when the pilgrim Hsuan Tsang had departed eastward from the oasis of Komul, there were only three Chinese monks to see him off. About a hundred years later, there were many Chinese in the monastic communities of Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan; and one of their activities was the making of usurious loans to the local population.[9]

Hsuan Tsang himself writes of Aksu that "the customs and temperament of the people, as well as their script and law, are the same as in Kucha. The dialects are somewhat different. Monasteries number several tens and monks over a thousand in Aksu. The people in general are cunning and greedy, loans are often transacted between father and son. Virtues are not treasured but wealth is worshiped. The life of the very rich appears to be miserly, being shabby in dress and stingy in food. It would

[7] See Hsiang Ta, "The Chang-an of the Tang Dynasty and the Civilization of the Western Regions," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph series No. 2, Peiping, 1933 (in Chinese).

[8] Wang Jih-wei, "The Iranians in Sinkiang," in *Yü-Kung* semimonthly, Peiping, Aug. 1, 1935, Vol. 3, No. 11, p. 1–9 (in Chinese).

[9] See Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 206 ff. and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 527.

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seem that half of the population is engaged in trading and the other half in field cultivation."[10] 174

In this period Tibetan invaders penetrated both Sinkiang and Northwest China. After they had been dislodged from Sinkiang, they continued to control the frontier kingdom of Hsi Hsia or Tanggot in Northwest China, with a capital at Ninghsia on the Yellow River, and a mixed population of cultivators whose languages were Chinese and Turkish and pastoral nomads whose languages were Tibetan, Turkish, and Mongol. It was as a result of this expansion that elements of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity were carried back from Inner Asia to Tibet, where they contributed to the transformation of Northern Buddhism into the new syncretic religion of Lamaistic Buddhism.

Most important of all, however, was the movement of wave after wave of Turkish invaders — Uighurs, Karluks, Kirghiz, and others — from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into positions which put them astride of the trade routes and in control of the oases. Gradually Islam became the prevailing religion among these Turks, and at the same time their languages displaced the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian languages which until then had been spoken in the oases. By the end of this dual process, which was not completed until after the close of the T'ang period, Turkish was spoken, in different variants, from the borders of Iran to the borders of China, and Islam ruled all the way from Northwest China to the Black Sea.

The forms of migration involved in these changes are important. They did not empty that part of the steppe in which they originated. Nor did they exterminate or drive away the populations of the territories into which they penetrated. The typical forms of movement, to which the terms "migration" and "conquest" tend to be applied without sufficient discrimination, were movements of warrior bands, not of the whole people from whom the warriors were recruited. At first these bands made raids for plunder. Then they settled permanently in territories from which

[10] Hsuan Tsang, *Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi*, Shanghai, 1922, Vol. 1 (in Chinese).

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174 they could take an annual revenue. It was not to their interest to destroy the whole of the population which provided the revenue. As for the defeated rulers, often they succeeded in leading bands of their own followers to "migration" or "conquest" in another region. Thus the transfer of tribal names was wider than the migration of whole tribes; and descendants of the original Indo-European or Indo-Iranian peoples of Inner Asia, though Turkized in language and Islamized in religion, continued to form a great part of the population, especially in the oases.

In the tenth century there began a new development, culminating in the Mongol conquests at the beginning of the thirteenth century and continuing until the Mongol empires fell apart in the fourteenth century. In this period conquerors of steppe nomad origin moved from kingdoms on the frontiers of civilization to empires with capitals in the heart of ancient civilized territory. Once more, developments in China had their parallels in India, Iran, and South Russia, which should not be left out of mind.

In North China the Khitans of western Manchuria and eastern Mongolia founded the Liao Empire, astride the Great Wall and reaching into the Yellow River plains. They were succeeded by the Jurchids of the Chin or Kin Empire, whose barbarian territory of origin in Manchuria lay farther from the Great Wall than the Khitan steppes, and whose conquests pushed beyond the Yellow River to overlook the Yangtze.[11]

Then, at the opening of the thirteenth century, the conquests of Jenghis Khan created an empire extending from northern China to southern Russia; but this empire broke up quickly, under the descendants of his sons, into separate empires and kingdoms. The process of parcellation was most rapid and most con-

[11] When the Jurchids overthrew the Khitans, a warrior band of Khitans broke away to the Northwest, through Mongolia, and set up a Khara-Khitai kingdom in Inner Asia, astride the present frontiers between Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Siberia. Throughout both the Khitan and the Jurchid period, Northwest China continued to be dominated by the Tibetan-ruled Hsi Hsia or Tanggot state; thus throughout this period neither the oasis nor the steppe peoples of Inner Asia were in touch with any Chinese state ruled by Chinese; and contact between Inner Asia and the older Indian and Iranian cultures was also cut off by Moslem conquests.

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fused in Inner Asia. The Golden Horde in South Russia and the Yuan Dynasty in China ruled the two most solid Mongol empires; Inner Asia lay between them, and tended to break away from both of them. 174

Mongol rule ended in China when the Ming Dynasty was founded in 1368, and began to weaken rapidly in Russia a century later. When they first overthrew Mongol rule, the Chinese pushed their campaigns far into Mongolia; but through most of the Ming period (1368–1644) the Chinese horizon in Inner Asia was extremely limited. Rarely did even indirect Chinese influence extend beyond Komul and Turfan, the nearest large oases of Sinkiang.[12]

There was a similar situation all around Inner Asia. As civilization recovered from the Mongol onslaught, strong states were again formed; but they were not strong enough to make conquests in Inner Asia. In this period, moreover, Arab, Indian, and Chinese navigators developed a considerable ocean commerce, thus weakening the pressure which might otherwise have developed for the reopening of the long-distance overland trade routes. Inner Asia was therefore left more to itself than for many centuries. Innumerable small states were formed. By the sixteenth century, the last traces of Buddhism and Christianity disappeared from the oases, and Islam prevailed unchallenged except among the Mongol-speaking nomads, who still adhered to the Tibetan (or Lamaistic) form of Buddhism.

The oases were ruled from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century by the Moghuls, warriors of Mongol descent who had become Turkish in language and Moslem in religion. Their Khans — who claimed descent from Chagatai, son of Jenghis Khan, a claim which is of doubtful value — had split away from the Chagatai domains of Western Turkistan in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, following a pattern not uncommon

[12] D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols in the Period of the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1634 — Based upon Chinese Sources*, St. Petersburg, 1893 (in Russian). An English translation by Rudolf Lowenthal was published at Chengtu, 1947, as No. 1 of Series A, *Studia Serica*, the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, West China Union University.

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174 in Moslem lands, a line of hereditary religious potentates, the Khojas, established itself beside the Khans.[13] By the seventeenth century, the Khojas had displaced the last quarreling heirs of the Moghuls and taken over direct rule of the Sinkiang oases.

In the steppe, power was divided among three groups of nomads. In Russian Inner Asia the Kazakhs and other Turkish-speaking nomads prevailed. On the east, after many tribal wars, the dominant Mongol power was that of the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. In the center, in northern Sinkiang and western Mongolia, were the Oirats or Western Mongols — called "Kalmuks" by the Russians.[14]

174 By the year 1400 — when the Mongols in western and southern Inner Asia had taken to the Turkish language and to Islam — the 175 Oirats, who remained Mongol in speech and hostile to the Moslems, had become a warlike league which repeatedly invaded western Inner Asia and attacked the southern oases and Tibet. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they struck eastward and nearly made themselves masters of the whole of the ancient Mongol homeland. It was to break their power that the Manchus, who had conquered China in the preceding century, invaded Sinkiang in the eighteenth century, conquered the Western Mongol Confederation, and established strong military garrisons. In the same period the Russians began their expansion into Siberia and Inner Asia, and the British their expansion over India up to Afghanistan, the Pamirs, and Tibet. This triple process marks the confluence of modern world history.

175 In the nineteenth century there were prolonged and bloody Moslem rebellions against the Manchus both in China and in Sinkiang. It was only after the suppression of these rebellions

[13] This line was founded by Khoja Makhtum Azyam, who had come to Kashgar from Bokhara and who claimed descent from the prophet Mohammed. The possession of lands and revenues made the Khojas feudal nobles as well as hereditary religious officials.

[14] Traditionally, the Oirats were a tribe from the region of Lake Baikal and the present Buryat Mongolia. The tribes of this region were half forest hunters, half pastoral nomads. The Oirats were placed in Inner Asia in the course of the regrouping and redistribution of Mongol tribes brought about by the conquests of Jenghis Khan.

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Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems. 563* 101 175

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east. 563* 174 ●

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions. 563* 174 771

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Uighur

*563 174 When the Uighurs penetrated to the Tarim area, they had already felt the influence of Manichaeism through Sogdian traders. After their contact with the settled population, numbers of the Uighurs were converted to Buddhism. In turn they established their own language among the indigenous people. Both groups were also influenced at an early period by Nestorian Christianity.

Subsequently Islam became the dominant religion in the whole area. The Kashgar region was first converted in the tenth century, but Islam spread slowly and did not completely drive out Buddhism until the sixteenth century.

The period of Uighur domination was brought to an end in the first quarter of the twelfth century by the invasion of the Khara Khitai, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century were in turn overthrown by Jenghis Khan. Mongol Khans continued to rule over the area even after the Mongol (Yüan) Dynasty was overthrown in China. The period of Mongol ascendancy was marked by a dual system of administration in which native princes, ecclesiastical leaders, and commune elders retained a considerable degree of authority. With the weakening of the Mongol hold the Moslem prelates, called *khojas*, were able to take over complete control in 1566 and establish what was virtually a theocratic state. Their influence continued to some extent even after the invasion by the Jungar Mongols in 1650 and the replacement of Jungar rule by the Manchus in 1756.

*563 174 144 In the checkered history of Sinkiang the Uighurs appear as only one of many invading peoples. Despite the fact that in the process of amalgamating with the indigenous population the Uighurs were able to impose their own language on the other peoples, the total importance of their influence should not be exaggerated. Physically the present population of the Tarim Basin is more akin to the Alpine than to the Mongoloid type. The culture, way of life, and other aspects of the present population also owe little to the Uighurs who rode out of Mongolia in the ninth century.

*563 174 The revived use of the name Uighur in Sinkiang, though justi-

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Uighur

fied by the fact that the Uighur language is used by the people who now once more call themselves Uighur, is primarily political in motivation. During the Ming Dynasty, when the Chinese had little contact with the area, they maintained in their translation bureau, the Szu I Kuan, one section dealing with "Moslem" people in general and another with the "Kao-Ch'ang" people of Turfan, who were clearly considered by the Ming Chinese to be identical with the Uighurs. During the Manchu period the population of the Tarim Basin was generally referred to in documents as *Ch'an Hui,* or Turbaned Moslems, and in the Chinese spoken langauge as *Ch'an-t'ou,* or Turbaned Heads. When foreigners first began to penetrate the area in numbers in the nineteenth century, they referred to the population either as "Turkis" or as "Sarts" and to the region as Turkistan. The word "Sart," widely used in Inner Asia, was adopted by the Russians as a general designation for settled people speaking a Turkic language. The word "Turkistan," a Persian expression meaning "land of the Turks," was first applied by Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the area northeast of the Syr Darya, was later adopted by the Russians to designate most of their holdings in Central Asia, and was also used as an administrative term for part of Afghanistan. The British applied it to Chinese Central Asia, though the term has never had any administrative significance there, and also designated the population as Turkis.

563* 174

At a meeting held in Tashkent in 1921 a small number of emigrants from the Tarim Basin living in Soviet Central Asia demanded that the name Uighur be revived. In 1934 the Provincial Government of Sinkiang accepted a resolution from the Association for the Promotion of Uighur Education for a formal change to this name. A resolution adopting the new name was promulgated in that year under the signature of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Khoja Niaz, a nationalist leader who had been instrumental in setting up the abortive East Turkistan Republic in the Turfan area in the early thirties. The growing use of the name Uighur is a measure of increasing national consciousness among people

563* 186

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun,* at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
●174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

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Mongol

The Unen Susuktu League is made up of ten banners of Torguts who are widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. The most important Torgut group is in the Tien Shan above the oasis of Kharashahr; others are on the northern skirts of the Tien Shan, and others on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Bato Setkhiltu League is composed of three banners of Khoshots on the Yulduz Plateau, in the heart of the central Tien Shan. The Ching Setkhiltu League includes three banners of Khoshots and seven of Urianghai, all located in the Chuguchak-Altai area. The two groups which are not included in "leagues" are the Chahars, who live in the Borotala Valley, on the way from Urumchi to Kulja, and the Ölöts, in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash Rivers in the Ili region. These complications of the league-and-banner system illustrate how effective it was as a Manchu-invented administrative device for weakening political unity among the Mongols. 563* 631

Of the various tribal divisions of the Sinkiang Mongols, the Chahars were brought to Sinkiang from their old pastures in what is now Chahar Province in Inner Mongolia, shortly after the Manchus conquered Jungaria in the eighteenth century. As strangers who would not combine easily with the Western Mongols, they were strategically placed to command the main route between Urumchi and Ili. The Urianghai of Sinkiang are also not Western Mongols. As their name indicates, they are related to the tribes of the territory formerly called "Urianghai," later called "Tannu-Tuva," and eventually annexed by the Soviet Union. They originally spoke a Turkic language, becoming Mongolized only as late as the nineteenth century. 563* 174

All other Sinkiang Mongols are Western Mongols. They are related, by the dialects which they speak and by historical association, to certain tribes of Western Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic), to the Mongols of Kokonor or Ch'inghai, on the northern side of the Tibetan plateau, and to the Kalmuks of the lower Volga, in Russia. Traditionally, the core of the Western Mongols was a tribe called Oirat, who in the fourteenth century migrated into Sinkiang from the Angara River, which flows

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Mongol

*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] 566 *563 In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of constituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

[792]

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar*, "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

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Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long *563 formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

*563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land ex- *563 propriated from Kazakhs.

779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

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Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

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Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

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have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war. [438]

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement. 439 174

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodities of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap 438 [489]

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CHAPTER VI Social Structures: The Living Past

The Feudal Heritage

174 HALF A CENTURY AGO, when Western travelers in Sinkiang were most frequent, stagnation was the aspect which they found most striking in the societies of both the oasis dwellers and the steppe nomads. Here in the heart of Asia, time seemed to be standing still. In human society there seemed to be an unending continuity and repetition, but no evolution.

Yet the archaeologists among these travelers, by their startling discoveries of the past as reflected in wall paintings and manuscripts, revealed that the social history of Sinkiang, like its cultural history, had been complex. Here, for twenty centuries of recorded history, the civilizations of India, Iran, and China had interacted. The cultures of settled peoples and pastoral nomads had never ceased to work upon each other. A number of the religions of Europe and Asia had here lived for long periods side by side. To this day, no other Chinese province is so diversified ethnologically, linguistically, in the political importance of its religions, and in the contrasts between the economic systems enclosed within its administrative framework.

Cycles of Centralization and Decentralization

178 Throughout their long history the societies of Sinkiang have, in fact, been climbing the ladder of evolution; but, like other societies, they have at times slipped back several rungs down the

[p. 182]

ladder. This alternation between evolution and devolution can be most simply described in terms of an alternating centralization and decentralization of social and political structures. 178

The geographical factors favored decentralization. A population separated by deserts and scattered in oases, mainly self-sufficient and similar to each other, tends to develop social microcosms with no strong superstructure to unite them into a larger state. Similarly in the wide steppe the tribal needs of pastoral nomads are satisfied by the formation of small social units. The evolution of larger, more centralized units requires the stimulus of interaction between the pastoral society and urban and agricultural society. In Sinkiang, the most important agency in keeping the pendulum of social change swinging has therefore been the alternation between centralization under powerful empires and decentralization, with reversion to small social units, in periods between great empires. 174 178

This alternation, in turn, was influenced by a recurring phenomenon: the tendency of the ability to conquer to outrun the ability to integrate economically and to administer efficiently. Great empires repeatedly broke up because, instead of becoming more cohesive through the circulation of trade, they found it impossible to organize a profitable interdependence of production in different regions. The mechanism of administration was so crude that too high a proportion of revenue was eaten up by the costs of collecting revenue. The costs and hazards of transport were so high that there was always a tendency for trade to be profitable only if the goods could be virtually confiscated from the original producer.

To a large extent, ancient and even medieval trade was carried on in things which the original maker, grower, miner of metals, or hunter of valuable furs did not produce for profit, but surrendered as tribute under some form of organized compulsion. Empires based on the economics of compulsion fell apart all the more readily, when they lost the power to compel, because in each of their component parts the really essential economic life was relatively self-contained.

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so
178 cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level, but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal."[1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

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feudalism to which equal acceptance is given by all students of the subject. Thus Dr. Helen Maud Cam, writing of English feudalism, points out that "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian approach it with different mental assumptions." To the social historian, it is the consecration of inequality or the insistence on subordination. To the economic historian it is the organization of land cultivation by the exercise of rights over persons. To the legal historian it is the contractual relationship guaranteed by land and determined by tenure. To the constitutional historian landholding is the source of political power, and government functions are bound up with land tenure.

"Thus in studying different periods," she concludes, "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian will each apply his own test to the state of things he finds, and declare that this is, or is not, 'genuine feudalism,' while his conclusions will be hotly questioned by those who use a different criterion." [2]

On the other hand a great deal of the most important modern literature on Inner Asia, including Sinkiang, is in Russian; and even in Tsarist times the vocabulary of feudalism was usual among Russian scholars in dealing with the societies of Asia. With the Soviet writers, this practice becomes universal. On the other side of Sinkiang, Chinese sources are of the greatest importance for early and medieval history, and Chinese scholars are doing increasingly important work in the analysis both of historical data and of contemporary problems. The terms of feudalism are quite as important in the work of these Chinese scholars as they are in the Russian literature. In China today, scholars are divided by a controversy similar to the famous nineteenth-century debate between "Westerners" and "Slavophiles" in Russia. As in Russia, the heart of the discussion is whether the Chinese culture is so much a thing apart that it is inappropriate to use the terms used in discussing other cultures, or whether the phenomena of Chi-

[2] Helen Maud Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 203; paper originally read before the International History Conference at Zürich in 1938.

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566 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and
174 can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted
114 terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[3]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[3] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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The latest phase of Central Asian art is most amply illustrated in the Turfan region. The oases of Turfan and Kara Khoja, strategically placed for intercourse both with China to the east and the grazing lands of Jungaria to the north, served as the seats of more or less powerful kingdoms from before the beginning of the present era. The various archaeological explorations found not only two old capitals, Yar Khoto ("the city on the ravine") and Khocho (Kao ch'ang in Chinese; also Idikutshahri and Dakianus) but a number of semi-isolated monastic establishments in the environs. Pieces of sculpture, paintings on paper and silk and various other small objects of art were purchased from local treasure seekers as well as directly excavated. In the circumstances, the dating of many finds is only conjectural. Several markedly Hellenistic heads fall in this category. 172 532

Certain buildings within the old city of Khocho and a few of the sites at Toyuk, Chikkan Kol, and Bezeklik have been clearly shown to belong to the sixth and seventh century. The extant wall paintings in these ruins are on the whole similar to those of the Kucha and Kharashahr oases. In some of these temples, painted medallions on the ceilings substitute for the earlier carved-out imitations of the lantern roof.

From the middle of the eighth century Turfan came under the rule of the Uighur Turks. Before coming to Turfan the ruling Uighur Khans had been converted to Manichaeism, a religion of Persian origin based on the opposition of Light (signifying Good) and Darkness (symbolizing Evil). In Turfan the Uighurs appear to have patronized Buddhism as well as Manichaeism and seem to have permitted Syrian or Nestorian Christians to follow their own faith. A mural which seems to be Christian in character was found covered up by an inner wall in a small temple outside the city walls of Khocho. A priest, in vestments which are clearly neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, holds incense in one hand, a vessel of holy water in the other. He appears to be blessing three persons of smaller stature who approach him, each carrying a long-stemmed leafy branch. The worshipers have the slant eyes of the Orient but the priest appears Byzantine. 174 532

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172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular
heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions
778 of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context:
deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with
Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful
demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also
common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The
Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by
submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to
Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists
right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such
places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in
use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the
Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millen-
nium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis
kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excel-
lence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into
question previous references to the area as no more than a high-
way connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to
its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the
relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient
times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or
even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied
the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious
enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of
much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger popula-
tion in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity,
based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated,
would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to
explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many mon-
asteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of
invaders.

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Western scholars have generally approached Sinkiang as a peripheral area, a sort of transmission belt through which classical Greek forms, motifs, and techniques were passed on to China and Japan. Later on recognition was granted to Persian and Indian influences, and even traces of contact with Byzantium. Attention has also been devoted to the westward expansion of elements of Chinese civilization. The accumulated archaeological evidence, however, suggests the need for revision of these older attitudes. At first (as at Niya and Miran), a mere outpost of the Hellenistic world of western Asia, the Tarim Basin later developed a unique synthesis of alien and indigenous cultural elements. The Kyzyl tableaux and mountain landscapes, the Rustam from Dandan Oilik, the goddesses and friars of Shorchuk, the Uighur nobles of Bezeklik — to cite only a few examples — could have been created nowhere else in the world. On grounds of the distinctive character and the intrinsic value of its productions, Buddhist Central Asia clearly ranks as an art center of international importance.

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks. 174 538 779

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3] 174 779 212

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6] 174 779

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, "*Uigurica*," *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

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In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyɜk*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

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tapukci belonged: the Seid (*alevi*) physicians (*öteci*), conjurers (*apsunci*) and astrologers (*münejim*). To the government officials belonged: the Khan, the Wazirs, the army leaders (*subashi*), the scribes (*bitikci*), the ambassadors (*yolaoci*) and the guards (*kapukci*).[9] Descriptions are given of the characteristics of each of these groups and their usefulness to the ruler. There are prescribed attitudes toward the peasants, the nomads, the artisans and the merchants.

About the nomads, the work has the following to say:

There also exist cattle breeders,
They watch after their herds of horses.
This is a very truthful group of people, but wisdom they do not possess,
Treat them well. . . .
Mix with them, carry on acquaintance, eat and drink with them,
Allow them to live as it behooves humans to live.
If you mix with them, keep yourself in hand.
Associate and treat them well.
Because they are constantly without laws and without directing thread.
Speak to them good words, but call them not friends.[10]

About the peasants there are the following utilitarian remarks:

These people are necessary to you,
so that your stomach's needs may be supplied. . . .

Associate with them,
speak good to them with your tongue. . . .[11]

A quite different attitude is expressed toward the artisans and the merchants:

[9] H. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachdokumente*, Innsbruck, 1870, pp. 5–6.
[10] M. Abdykalykov, and A. Pankratova, eds., *History of the Kazakh* S.S.R., Alma-Ata, 1943, p. 72 (in Russian).
[11] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

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174 Another kind of people are the artisans,
538 They create art with their hands, so as to earn their living.
They are all indispensable to you,
Cultivate them, they will bring you advantage, O Great One,

From them come all the works of the earth,
How many amazing things they make.
With them you must associate and you must treat them well.
Make them happy and live yourself in happiness.
If they work for you, — give them gifts without fail,
Give them food and drink. Give them abundant food.[12]

As to the merchants, the ruler is advised to

Deal with them, hold open your gates for them.
Treat them well
so that your good name will spread.
It is these who will carry your name through the world,
who will spread your reputation, good or bad. . . .
If you want to be sure to become famous,
let the merchant have just pay for his goods.
If you want to create a good name for yourself, O Lord,
treat well the caravan people.[13]

Of striking interest is the rational philosophy which permeates the whole work. Knowledge and science are not only highly praised and recommended to the ruler as his most trusted guides, but are considered more important than princely glory and riches. The following section, entitled "Man's honor derives only from knowledge and understanding," may serve as an example of the high regard for learning expressed in *Kudatku Bilik:*

He created fire, wind, water, and earth,
And to Man He gave virtue, knowledge and intellect. . . .

Consider knowledge as high, intellect as great
With those two things He has elevated His slave. . . .

[12] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[13] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

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Know the sense of knowledge, know what knowledge is.
Evil will disappear because of Man's knowledge.
The ignorant ones are full of evil
If Man will not heal this evil, he will surely die.
So be it, O ignorant Man, cure your evil,
Heal the ignorant ones, O my knowing friend.[14]

This gives testimony to the high level of education among the ruling circles of Uighur society at this time, which is no doubt a result of the influx of Arabic science with Islamization. In spite of this new scientific attitude, strong remnants of the old Turkic shamanism are still found. Thus, the ruler is advised to treat the physician well, because he can heal him of disease. Following this however, the ruler is also advised to treat the faith healers (*mukasim*) well, because, while the physician heals disease with medicine, the shaman heals it with a talisman.[15]

Kudatku Bilik must have been extremely popular and it probably spread all over the Turkic speaking world. We have verses from the *Kudatku Bilik* on a piece of pottery which was found in *Saraijik* (Saraichikovskoe) at the mouth of the Ural River on the Caspian Sea.[16] Recently, a work of a somewhat later date, but representing the same kind of dry didacticism, was found in Turkey, the *Hibat al-haqa'iq*.[17] This discovery showed that *Kudatku Bilik* was not an isolated occurrence. It is said that in the eleventh century Kashgar was the center of Turkic culture for the entire Inner Asian region. When, however, the Turks regained sovereign status after the Mongol epoch, this cultural center shifted west, and there are no further literary works preserved from Kashgar, or any other Uighur territory.

Only the period of the strong Uighur Empire produced literary works, influenced both by Western (Iranian, Arabic) and Southern (Indian) culture. After the eleventh century we have no

[14] Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[15] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.
[16] *Zapiski kollegii Vostokovedov*, XXI, p. 42, quoted by Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[17] Comp. J. Deny, "*A propos d'un traite de morale turc en écriture ouigoure*," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 60, 1925, pp. 189–234.

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174 538 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 177 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs, (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 177 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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[For a history of relations between Sinkiang and China, Russia, England, France, and their effect on trade, communications and provincial government, see Category 116, pp. 45-102.]

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174 in Moslem lands, a line of hereditary religious potentates, the Khojas, established itself beside the Khans.[13] By the seventeenth century, the Khojas had displaced the last quarreling heirs of the Moghuls and taken over direct rule of the Sinkiang oases.

In the steppe, power was divided among three groups of nomads. In Russian Inner Asia the Kazakhs and other Turkish-speaking nomads prevailed. On the east, after many tribal wars, the dominant Mongol power was that of the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. In the center, in northern Sinkiang and western Mongolia, were the Oirats or Western Mongols — called "Kalmuks" by the Russians.[14]

174 By the year 1400 — when the Mongols in western and southern Inner Asia had taken to the Turkish language and to Islam — the
175 Oirats, who remained Mongol in speech and hostile to the Moslems, had become a warlike league which repeatedly invaded western Inner Asia and attacked the southern oases and Tibet. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they struck eastward and nearly made themselves masters of the whole of the ancient Mongol homeland. It was to break their power that the Manchus, who had conquered China in the preceding century, invaded Sinkiang in the eighteenth century, conquered the Western Mongol Confederation, and established strong military garrisons. In the same period the Russians began their expansion into Siberia and Inner Asia, and the British their expansion over India up to Afghanistan, the Pamirs, and Tibet. This triple process marks the confluence of modern world history.

175 In the nineteenth century there were prolonged and bloody Moslem rebellions against the Manchus both in China and in Sinkiang. It was only after the suppression of these rebellions

[13] This line was founded by Khoja Makhtum Azyam, who had come to Kashgar from Bokhara and who claimed descent from the prophet Mohammed. The possession of lands and revenues made the Khojas feudal nobles as well as hereditary religious officials.

[14] Traditionally, the Oirats were a tribe from the region of Lake Baikal and the present Buryat Mongolia. The tribes of this region were half forest hunters, half pastoral nomads. The Oirats were placed in Inner Asia in the course of the regrouping and redistribution of Mongol tribes brought about by the conquests of Jenghis Khan.

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that Sinkiang was placed under a form of administration comparable to that of other Chinese provinces. In 1884 it ceased to be a possession, and became a Chinese province. 175

Under the Chinese Republic, since 1911, Sinkiang has continued to be nominally a province like any other province; but in actuality the tendency of governors of the province has always been to rule as independent war lords. Sometimes this independence has been carried so far that governors have conducted their own foreign relations with Russia and India and have even treated the National Government of China almost as if it were a foreign power. China's present problem in Sinkiang is how to deal with the relations between the Chinese provincial authorities and the national government, the relations of both the provincial authorities and the national government with Russia and India, especially Russia, and the effort of both provincial and national Chinese authorities to maintain themselves in the face of the nationalist demands of the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. 175 186 668

Nationalism in Sinkiang is a modern outgrowth of traditional Mohammedan and tribal rebellions against Chinese rule. It began to take newer forms in the 1930's, when Sinkiang fell under the rule of a Chinese military adventurer named Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Since Sheng could not call on China for military reinforcements for fear of being supplanted, he followed a new policy of seeking support from each subject nationality separately, while at the same time preventing any coalition of nationalities. He also increased trade with the Soviet Union, obtained Soviet loans, and sent Uighur and other students to the Soviet Union for technical training. In 1943 he broke with the Russians and came to terms with the National Government of China. A policy of "firmness" toward the non-Chinese peoples was then reasserted; but in the meantime political nationalism had taken root. 186 668

There are now two major nationalist movements in Sinkiang. One follows a policy of "Sinkiang for the Uighurs." It seeks to win autonomy from the Chinese and at the same time to assert

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000 British finally decided, the position of foreign powers and foreign trade would deteriorate. London's policy therefore switched over to support of the Manchus, to whom in the years after 1867 British banks extended a number of advances and loans. These helped finance the pacification force which the Manchus in 1867 began to organize to regain control of China's rebellious Northwestern Provinces. These were the first foreign loans obtained by China and it is noteworthy that they were made available for military rather than productive purposes.

Yakub Beg, Inner Asian Adventurer

648 175 To the British in India, however, apprehensive about Russia and desirous of Central Asian trade, the future of Sinkiang was too important to be allowed to depend solely on the slow and uneven progress of Manchu arms. By the end of the 1860's, the adventurer Yakub Beg had already been in power in Sinkiang for half a decade. High British officials, influenced by a series of optimistic reports from Shaw and other travelers and agents in Sinkiang, came to feel that Yakub Beg was well entrenched in power. They saw in his "strong state" a possible "convenient buffer," not only between China and Russia, but also between British India and expanding Russia.[13] In language that has a quaintly modern ring, they referred to Central Asia as an area where "Russian influence immediately fills any space that is left vacant by the English powers. This political process has been aptly compared by a very high authority to the natural rushing of air into a vacuum." [14] Informed British writers pointed with alarm to the progress of relations between Yakub Beg and the Russians. This had occurred, they explained, because of the failure of Britain to respond to earlier overtures from the Kashgar ruler, who had been left with no alternative but "to obey the law of . . . POLITICAL GRAVITATION, under which his small kingdom, in com-

[13] Sir Valentine Chirol (part author), article "China," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed., Suppl. Vol. III, p. 31, London, 1902.
[14] Sir Richard Temple, *India in 1880*, London, 1880, p. 434.

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mon with all small States similarly situated in isolation between two large Powers, existed, viz. to lean upon one or the other."[15] At the very time that London policy was supporting the recovery of Manchu authority in China, therefore, the British in India ended the policy of "watchful waiting" and in the 1870's threw aid and support to Yakub Beg.

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This celebrated and colorful figure first appeared in Sinkiang in 1864, in connection with an effort to re-establish Khoja power. The Khojas had been hereditary Moslem potentates in Sinkiang from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, when they were driven out, first by the Mongols and then by the Manchus. They found refuge in Khokand (modern Ferghana), from which base they made periodic sorties toward Kashgar and other towns in the Tarim Basin. When the Manchus lost control of Sinkiang during the Moslem uprisings of the 1860's, the Khojas struck again. In 1864 a descendant of the former Khoja ruling house of Kashgar led a small band of men from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865 he had taken over Kashgar and Yarkand. His chief of staff was Yakub Beg, a Khokandi of humble birth whose youth had been spent as a dancing boy. In his manhood he turned to soldiering, and he played a part in the struggles of Khokand and neighboring Khanates to resist the tide of Tsarist expansion.

After the first wave of successes in the western Tarim Basin, the Khoja prince under whom Yakub Beg was serving devoted himself to dissipation. Yakub Beg soon displaced him and rounded off the Moslem reconquest of Eastern Turkistan by seizing Aksu, Khotan, and Urumchi.

Soon after seizing power, Yakub Beg had tried to buttress himself against the Manchus by securing recognition as an independent sovereign from his two powerful neighbors, Russia and British India. The British response, after an initial period of hesitation, was encouraging. For just as the Russians were arousing British sensitivity about India, the British were bringing pressure on Russia's weakest point, the Black Sea area. To this end the British, and particularly the British Indian Government, desired

[15] Showers, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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"to build up a common front between Great Britain and Islam against Russia. . . ."[16] As part of this program the British encouraged the pretensions of the Sultan of Turkey to the Caliphate — that is, to the primacy of the entire Islamic world, in the hope that the Sultan would direct that world against Russia.

When Yakub Beg, who had taken the title of Atalik Ghazi, sent an envoy to India in late 1869, he was received much more warmly than earlier emissaries from Kashgar. Partly this was because C. U. Aitchison, former Secretary of the Punjab Government, was now Secretary of the Foreign Department directly under the Governor General. More important was the fact that the attitude of the Government of India toward Inner Asian states was now colored by the conception of an Islamic front against Russia, in which Sinkiang might well play an important part. Even in its internal policy the Government of India was at this time in the process of swinging away from the pronounced anti-Moslem phase which characterized the decade after the great rebellion of 1857–1858, the outbreak of which had been attributed by the Government of India chiefly to India's discontented Moslems.

Yakub Beg's envoy was "honorably received" in Lahore by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and then granted an interview in Calcutta by the Viceroy. The envoy transmitted Yakub Beg's request that a British officer pay "a friendly visit" to the Atalik Ghazi's court in Yarkand. The Viceroy agreed to send T. Douglas Forsyth to Yarkand, but strictly as an amicable gesture and not for any official business: his "sole purpose" was to be that of "opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country."[17] Yakub Beg's envoy was permitted to buy four hundred muskets in Calcutta to be carried over the mountains to Yarkand. Forsyth

[16] Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1925*, Vol. I, *The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*, London, 1927, pp. 40–41; and L. E. Frechtling, "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Eastern Turkistan, 1863–1881," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXVI, London, 1939, p. 479.

[17] Sir T. Douglas Forsyth's *Report* of his visit to Yarkand, in *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, London, 1871, Vol. LI, p. 46.

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soon left at the head of a small party, but on his arrival at Yarkand he found that Yakub Beg was far away fighting around Urumchi. He thereupon turned around hastily and just managed to cross the mountains back to India in 1870, before snow closed the passes for the winter.

When a later envoy, Yakub Beg's own nephew Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora, appeared in India in 1873, he was received most warmly and was aided in journeying on to Constantinople. There, the Sultan gave the high title of Amir-ul-Mu'minn (Commander of the Faithful) to Yakub Beg, and advised him to be friendly with Britain and shun dealings with the Tsar. The Sultan also sent Yakub Beg two hundred rifles, three cannon, and three army officers as instructors. As Yakub Beg's envoy traveled through India on his return journey, he was joined by a well-staffed British mission, again headed by Forsyth. Together they crossed over the Karakoram Pass to Kashgar, where in 1874 Forsyth signed a treaty which threw Sinkiang open to trade with India and accorded Yakub Beg the high privilege — unprecedented for any other Central Asian ruler — of exchanging with India envoys carrying the full status of Ambassador. The Forsyth Mission reported that Yakub Beg was securely entrenched in power; British strategists began to look forward to setting up a protectorate over Sinkiang; arms flowed from India to Yakub Beg via a trading company established in 1873 under Government of India inspiration, and in 1876 the Government of India formally ratified the Treaty of 1874.

One year later Yakub Beg was dead, his power shattered, and his realm overrun by Manchu forces.

The Russians, in contrast to the British, had always regarded Yakub Beg coldly. They were extracting many concessions from the Manchus and had no desire to alienate Peking by recognizing the pretensions of Yakub Beg — who, in any event, was an old enemy of theirs and had fought against them before he left Russian Turkistan. They felt that his regime could become a rallying point for the Moslems of all Inner Asia, including Russian Turkistan, against the power of the Tsar. Uneasy Russian officers termed

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Kashgaria "a powerful Mussulman State, to which as to a center would be drawn the sympathy of the population, not only of the weak Mussulman States which had preserved their independence, but also of the population of the provinces which we had conquered. The importance of Kashgaria in our eyes was, moreover, increased in consequence of the attempts of the English to draw this country to their side so as to incorporate it, (1) in a neutral zone of countries, which was to separate Russia from India, and (2) to acquire in Kashgaria a fresh market for the sale of their manufactured goods." [18]

Throughout the period of Yakub Beg's rule Tsarist officers took care to safeguard what they considered to be Russia's basic strategic and commercial interests in Sinkiang. Strategically, their chief concern was with the Ili River Valley, an ancient inland trade and military highway between Russia and China, which a titled Russian historian has termed as important to Russia as the Khyber Pass was to the British in India.[19] About the time of the first Forsyth visit to Yarkand in 1870, Yakub Beg, who was operating around Urumchi, turned westward and seemed to be making a movement in the direction of Ili. "Under the spur of Yakub Beg's move, and concerned for the safety of this trade route, Russia in 1871 moved troops into Kulja and occupied the territory of Ili. . . ." [20] To reassure the Manchu Court in Peking, Tsarist officials announced that the occupied area would be returned as soon as Manchu forces were strong enough to maintain effective control there.

Impressed if not intimidated by Russian military action, Yakub Beg agreed in 1872 to Tsarist proposals for opening Eastern Turkistan to Russian commerce. Up to then he had tried to seal off his state against Tsarist merchants, largely from fear that they might pave the way for political penetration. His sweeping commercial treaty with Forsyth in 1874 was doubtless intended in

[18] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 4–5.

[19] A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, "Russian Imperialism in Asia: Its Origin, Evolution, and Character," *Slavonic Review*, London, Vol. VIII, 1929–1930, p. 44.

[20] H. B. Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 3 vols., London, 1918, Vol. II, p. 331.

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large part to balance the British against the Russians. Worse still, from the Russian point of view, was Yakub Beg's action, during the winter of 1873–1874, in accepting arms from the Sultan of Turkey and the title of Amir — the latter in such a way as to make Sinkiang something like a vassal state of the Sultan. Turkey was then the bitterest of Russia's enemies and strongly under British influence. Tsarist officers considered Yakub Beg's action tantamount to waving a red flag in their faces.[21] The Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan concentrated troops in 1874–1875 in locations where they could best be deployed against Kashgar. Perhaps they actually would have been used against Yakub Beg had not a serious uprising broken out in Khokand, in 1875, draining off all Tsarist troops available in the area. In 1876, however, a Russian mission under Kuropatkin descended upon Yakub Beg and made a peremptory demand for strategic posts in the mountain passes west of Kashgar. Yakub Beg reluctantly but speedily acceded.

Yakub Beg's position, by 1876, was in fact becoming very difficult. To the west and north stood the menace of unfriendly Russia. To the east, the Manchu pacification force under the indomitable Tso Tsung-t'ang was moving slowly but relentlessly in Yakub Beg's direction, having already occupied Barkul, Hami, and Kuchengtze. Tso's forces, moreover, were by 1876 receiving at Kuchengtze (a little more than one hundred miles east of Urumchi) important grain supplies from the Russians — thanks to an agreement negotiated in 1875 between Tso and the famous Russian explorer, Colonel Sosnovskii. Funds to purchase that grain came in part from loans to the Manchus by British banks in China.

The British, still interested in preserving Yakub Beg's realm — for, despite their loans, they did not believe that the Manchus would be able to reconquer Eastern Turkistan — tried to medi-

[21] Kaufmann, the Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan, is said to have spoken of Kashgar as "*une création de Monsieur Forsyth*" and to have charged the British with making a strong Muslim state out of a hitherto unimportant country. (Louis E. Frechtling, *British Policy* [an unpublished Oxford dissertation], p. 62 *n.*)

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ate between him and the Manchus. Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister to Peking, proposed to the Manchus in 1876 "that Yakub Beg would surrender should China allow him to keep his kingdom under Chinese suzerainty. When the offer was reported to Tso he memorialized the throne that the status of Yakub was purely a domestic question and if Britain wished to create a buffer state in Central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory."[22] Whether or not Yakub Beg felt himself cornered, he did dispatch to London his nephew and chief adviser, Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora. Wade also journeyed on leave from Peking to London, and secret negotiations began on the basis of Wade's formula. Wade acted as intermediary for the Manchu minister in London, while Sir Douglas Forsyth served as go-between for Yakub Beg's envoy. Meanwhile Tso's soldiers penetrated deeper and deeper into Sinkiang. Even before a decisive battle was joined, Yakub Beg's forces became confused and disheartened, and Yakub Beg himself took (or was given) poison and died.[23] In the ensuing disorder Manchu dominion was quickly reasserted over the entire province, except for Russian-held Ili.

The Age of Stable Empires before the Russian Revolution

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The Russians were in no hurry to return Ili. They had expected the Manchus to win, and their grain supplies had played a significant part in the victory. But the Tsar did not intend to go unrecompensed. As early as March 1876 a conference of the half-

[22] A. W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1944, Vol. II, p. 766, article on Tso by Tu Lieh-che.

[23] There are many conflicting accounts of Yakub Beg's death. Mohammed Yusuf Effendi, a Turkish officer — one of the three originally lent as "instructors" by the Sultan in 1873 — has left us a valuable eyewitness account. His version is that Yakub Beg became prostrated after bleeding from the nose. Previously he had been despondent but not ill. The cause of the bleeding is unknown, but Yusuf Effendi believed "the probability is that the Ameer was poisoned." Statement of Mahd. Yusuf Effendi, September, 1878, in *Parl. Papers*, House of Commons, 1880, Vol. 78 (*c.* 2470), pp. 21–23. According to Bales, "the Chinese seem to have had no doubt about Yakub Beg taking his own life." (W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang*, Shanghai, 1937, p. 365, citing *Nien P'u*, VIII, p. 22).

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province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

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The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

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Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems. 563* 101 175•

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east. 563* 174

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions. 563* 174 771

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common
565 saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."
793 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

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Kazak

Kazakhs is indicated by the name "Kazakh," which is believed to mean "a fugitive or masterless man who has separated himself from his tribe" (or overlord). The same name, modified by Slavic pronunciation, was adopted by the Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians who became the Russian Cossacks. 563* 175

In the sixteenth century the newly formed Kazakh Khanate split into three hordes, forming a loose federation which united only rarely, under stress of war. This deterioration of the former unity was a result of the increased wealth of the Kazakhs, obtained by their conquest of some of the southern oasis regions from the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century, which made the individual tribal Sultans less dependent on the economic and political protection of the Khan. Of these three hordes, it was the easternmost, or the "Old Horde," whose grazing lands reached east of the present Soviet-Chinese border into Sinkiang.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Russians began to penetrate into the territory of the Kazakhs and by the end of the nineteenth century had succeeded in colonizing the territory of the three hordes, except for the easternmost part of the Old Horde which remained under Chinese domination. Even after the drawing of a border line between the bulk of the Kazakhs in the west and the small splinter group in Chinese territory, however, many aspects of the common historical development continued, since the nomads were no respecters of national boundaries and migrated back and forth across the frontier which cut through their tribal lines. 563* 131 361

The main grazing grounds of the Sinkiang Kazakhs are along the borders between Sinkiang and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic. From the Tekes and Kunguz Rivers in the Ili region they range northeastward to the Chuguchak region and then southeastward along the Mongolian Altai. There are even Kazakhs on the other side of this frontier, under the sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Kazakhs are pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle, horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but 000

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566 174 114 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[3]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[3] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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show clearly that the amount of trade allowed was politically regulated. 175

In this period the standard of Chinese policy was to see that the settled oases were not used as bases by the steppe tribes and exploited by them as sources of food and subordinate man power. To some extent, Chinese garrisons were established in the oases. In addition, the petty rulers of the oases were brought on state visits to the Chinese Court, and occasionally they were punished if they aided the nomads — and if China at the moment was strong enough to punish them.

Relationships of this kind, as we know from the history of other countries, are part of the origins of feudalism. The rulers of the oases, whom the Chinese called "kings," had their own kind of power in their own states; but when they became the personal instruments of Chinese policy — and also when they were made personally responsible for tribute to the nomads — the kind of power which they had in their own states was altered. They could then properly be called "vassals."

The parallel Chinese policy among the nomads was to encourage war between tribes in order to prevent unity of the tribes against China. In spite of everything the Chinese could do, however, the nomads at times had the upper hand. They then thrust in between China and the oases, exacting a severe tribute from the oases and demanding disguised tribute or subsidy from China. Feudalism was fostered by these relationships. The frontier chieftain who in return for a subsidy or a regional monopoly of trade undertook to keep other "barbarians" at a distance was in fact experimenting with early forms of feudalism, and with the feudal identification of power with personal status and personal obligations.

When China could not hold these frontier chieftains under control as vassals, a decentralized feudalism succeeded the imperially centered feudalism. Nomad chiefs, in competition with each other, laid parts of North China under tribute. In the four hundred years of confusion between the fall of the Han Dynasty in A.D.

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175 220 and the founding of the T'ang Dynasty in 618, a decentralized feudalism with no strong imperial overlord spread from the Great Wall far into China.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, on the other hand — when under the T'ang Dynasty the power of China was even more broadly asserted over Inner Asia than it had been under the Han Dynasty — the local feudalisms of Inner Asia were again oriented toward the imperial center of China, either in subordination or in opposition.

Thus the society of the Orkhon Turks of Outer Mongolia had at one time been tribal. Both in their period of subjection to the Chinese from 630 to 680, however, and later when they themselves began to conquer other nomads and to become the overlords of oases, their institutions began to redefine the obligations of subjects and the rights of rulers in a manner that showed an emerging feudalism.[4]

In the oases, in this period, the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang in the early seventh century said of Turfan that high officials met every morning to make administrative decisions. They did not keep records, but there was already a rudimentary bureaucracy, as officials were assigned to look after the land, the census, and irrigation. In Kucha, the "king" and his high officials met in council in the middle and at the end of every month, and the decisions of this council were also discussed with the heads of the monasteries before they were promulgated.[5]

In the eighth century, all the households in Lukchun, near Turfan, were in 716 mentioned as listed by the officials according to whether they paid tribute or not. A document unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandan Oilik, near Khotan, dated March 23, 768, mentions annual tribute paid by the peasants in the form of

[4] Much the most detailed attempt that has yet been made to reconstruct the society of the Orkhon Turks and related peoples is that by A. Bernshtam, *Social-Economic Structure of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turks of the VI–VIII Centuries*, Moscow, 1946 (in Russian).

[5] Hsuan Tsang, in the edition entitled *The T'ang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, Shanghai, 1922, Vol. 1; also Li Kuan, *Research on Sinkiang*, Chungking, 1944, p. 191 (both in Chinese).

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crops.[6] These peasants may have been individual serfs, or they may have been collective tribute-payers of the kind described by Vinogradoff in his discussion of the origins of serfdom:

> In a state of backward agriculture and natural economy it will sometimes be more profitable for the conquerors as well as the conquered to leave the dependent population in their own households and on their own plots, at the same time taxing them heavily in the way of tribute and services. . . . We shall not be astonished to find, therefore, in the Hellenistic states of Asia a population of peasants who seem to have been in a condition of hereditary subjection and adherent to the glebe or the great estates of the Seleucid kings.[7]

This kind of system, Vinogradoff thought, might be traced as far back as the Persian monarchy. He added: "In any case these peasants were certainly not slaves, while, on the other hand, their condition was closely bound up with the cultivation of the estates on which they lived."

The next great period of decentralization was in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries when no one empire held either the whole of China or the whole of Inner Asia. In this period overlordship passed, on the whole, from settled peoples to nomads or peoples of nomad origin in North China, Northwest China, and Inner Asia. The trend toward a feudal development of society, however, continued. In periods of Chinese empire, as we have seen, frontier chieftains were accepted as vassals whose duty was to hold in check the more distant tribes; and conversely, when nomads ruled over settled lands they took into their service part of the ruling class, whom they deputized or made vassals for the collection of tribute.

In this period the Uighur Turks, nomads by origin, who had branched off from the stock of the Orkhon Turks of Outer Mon-

[6] Obata, *History of Civilization in the Western Regions*, Chinese translation from the Japanese by Cheng Yuan-fang, Shanghai, 1934, pp. 60–61.

[7] Paul Vinogradoff, article "Serfdom," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Cambridge, 1911, Vol. XXIV, p. 664.

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175 golia, built up the most powerful state in Sinkiang. The oases of Komul and Turfan were the main Uighur centers; and the Uighurs became of special importance when, after being conquered by the Mongols at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were able to provide the Mongols with bureaucrats who could read and write, plan the regular collection of taxes, and handle the engineering problems of an irrigated agriculture.

Accompanying the Mongols, their influence reached eastward into China and westward as far as Russia. Vernadsky points out that the Uighurs had three kinds of large landed estates: those of local nobles; those of members of the family of the Khan or supreme ruler, and those of the Khan himself. Other lands seem to have been granted in return for military and other services, and resembled the fief in Europe, and Vernadsky even suggests that this form of land grant, when used by the Mongols in Russia, may have had an influence on the development of the Russian *pomestie.*[8]

Out of the Mongol conquests at the beginning of the thirteenth century arose the greatest centralized empire that ever occupied China and Inner Asia. Its subdivision between descendants of the "golden clan" of Jenghis, its attempts to create a centrally controlled bureaucracy controlling the subdividing tendency of feudal inheritance, and its trade all revealed a rapidly developing feudalism. Both in the sudden burst of its original conquests and in the relatively rapid weakening of its administrative structure, the Mongol Empire is the best of all illustrations of that discrepancy between the effective geographical ranges of military conquest and economic and administrative integration which played so great a part in the alternating cycle of centralization and decentralization.

The limits of bureaucratic centralization under feudalism are shown by the failure of Jenghis Khan's own concept of empire. He provided for feudal kingdoms and smaller fiefs grouped

[8] G. Vernadsky, "Feudalism in Russia," in *Speculum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July), p. 312.

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around an imperial center, with bureaucratically appointed governors who, in each domain, would represent the imperial interest and authority; but real power soon reverted to the local authority.[9] Within fifty years the major Mongol kingdoms and empires began in fact to become independent of each other, though ceremonial respect for the Great Khan was maintained for longer. Within a hundred and fifty years the whole system had fallen to pieces.

This period was matched by the next three hundred years of decentralization — from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. In China, this was the time of the Ming Dynasty; but although the dynasty was strong in China, its range of penetration into Inner Asia was extremely shallow.[10] In Sinkiang and the heart of Asia — the region which, in this period, was most distant from any center of imperial power — the society of the nomads showed the readiness with which it could, after being built up into a vast system of empire, fall apart into small tribal fragments. This process of devolution showed that in spite of the unlimited mobility of which a nomadic society is capable, the natural unit of survival is a relatively small cluster of families or clans, moving within a relatively restricted geographical orbit of migration, maintaining its livestock in good condition through the changing seasons of the year.

In the same period the settled oasis society "devolved" back to its essential unit — the self-contained oasis. As in the past, however, the self-sufficiency of the individual oasis as an economic unit of production and a social unit of organization was modified by the similarity of all oases to each other, which encouraged uni-

[9] B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols. Le féodalisme nomade.* French translation from the Russian original, by Michel Carsow, Paris, 1948, p. 129. See also V. V. Bartold, *Sketch of the History of Semirechie,* p. 43 of the Frunze (Kirghizistan, 1943) reprint of a study first published in *Notebooks of the Provincial Civil Commission of Semirechie,* II, Vernyi, 1898 (in Russian).

[10] D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols During the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634,* St. Petersburg, 1893, Part I; translation of the Russian text by Rudolph Loewenthal, Chengtu, *Studia Serica Monographs,* Series A., No. 1, 1947.

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175 formity of culture. In this period of political disunity and decentralization, the expansion of Islam continued to enhance the cultural uniformity of the oasis world.

175 779 The ascendancy of Islam among the religions of Inner Asia had begun before the Mongol Empire and continued through that period and on into the time of political disintegration. The Arabs under Kutayba invaded Western Turkistan and perhaps reached Kashgar at the beginning of the eighth century.[11] By the middle of the tenth century — when Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and other religions were still strong in the settled oases — Satuk Bughra Khan of the Khara-Khanid Turks, who were at that time in control of Kashgar and other oases, was converted to Islam.[12] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Inner Asian rulers who claimed imperial Mongol descent rapidly went over to the language and culture of the Turks and to the religion of Islam. In the meantime the conversion to Islam of the Uighur Turks of the Urumchi-Turfan region had been going on since the eleventh century, though Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity lingered until the sixteenth century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the development of the institutions of Islam in Sinkiang made a long step forward with the arrival in Kashgar of the Khoja Makhtum Azyam, a learned theologian of Bokhara and a descendant of the Prophet.[13] He was granted land by the Khan of Kashgar, and from the later struggle for the control and revenue of this estate there developed a new mode of politics, that of the Khojas.

The two sons of the first Khoja founded rival sects which were at the same time political factions, that of the Ak Tagh or White Mountains and that of the Khara Tagh or Black Mountains. At

[11] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, translated from the original Russian [1900] and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, London, 2nd. ed., 1928, especially Chapter II.

[12] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–255, this event must be regarded as a mixture of history and legend; but the rapid spread of Islam among the Inner Asian Turks at this time is beyond doubt.

[13] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Eastern or Chinese Turkistan*. Translated from the Russian by Walter E. Gowan, Calcutta, 1882, p. 102.

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first the heirs of the Khoja line were attached to and patronized by the rulers of the greater oases, and received successive grants of land, both in what is now Sinkiang and in what later became Russian Turkistan. Eventually they themselves became rulers, but the combination of religious authority and secular rule did not put an end to the rivalry between the two sects and did not provide unity or continuity of rule.

Land was held both by the Khoja family and by mosques as corporate institutions. Some of the deeds granting land to the Khojas show that there were grants which conveyed titles and privileges in addition to the land. Grants to mosques were called *wakf*, and the *wakf*-lands gave rise to a special class of managers with rights and interests of their own (see Chapter V). Since the grants included rights over the serfs on the land, a clerical feudalism became established parallel to secular feudalism.[14]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Manchus were gathering headway for their conquest of China from the east, the oases of southern Sinkiang passed completely under Khoja rule. In 1622 the leader of the White Mountain faction, Mullah Fazil, with the aid of the powerful Khojas of Khokand, captured Kashgar. Shortly thereafter Khoja Hidayat Ullah, also known as Hazrat Apak, whose shrine at Kashgar is still venerated, became the ruler of all the oases of the Tarim Basin. Though a Moslem "saint," he negotiated with the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and was alternately in alliance and at enmity with the Jungar Mongols of northern Sinkiang.[15] "His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground,

[14] For Khoja land deeds granted at Yarkand in 1587, 1592, and 1602, and at Kucha in 1608, and collected by the nineteenth-century English traveler Shaw, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Extra No., Calcutta, 1897, Vol. 66, part 1, pp. 2–3. For *wakf* deed in the Khoja period, see G. Raquette, *Eine Kaschgarische Wakf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Türkestans*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 26, Nr. 2.

[15] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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175 779 whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love."[16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

175 779 661 Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of organizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts."[17]

175 578 It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

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Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. It was the breaking of the Jungar power that rounded out the Manchu Empire by giving the Manchus control over Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. 175 578

There were two distinct phases of this conquest. In the north, the power of the Jungars was broken by terrible massacres. It is said that half of the population was killed, 20 per cent died of disease, another 20 per cent fled into the steppes of Southern Siberia, and only 10 per cent survived, scattered through the land. Such figures, deriving from the eighteenth century, do not represent statistical accuracy, but they do indicate with rough accuracy the scale of devastation.[18]

In the south, there were massacres in some of the smaller oases and deportations from some of the larger oases in order to deplete their military man power. From the Kashgar region some 12,000 people were deported to the Ili Valley and settled on state lands. It is from these deportees that the Taranchis (literally "cultivators") of the Ili region are descended.[19] Militarily and administratively, however, the problem of the Tarim Basin was easier to handle than that of Jungaria; the Manchus established garrisons, and then imposed an imperial superstructure on top of the existing social order.

In Jungaria, the terrible massacres made it necessary to bring in a new population, under state supervision. The population became highly diversified, and ever since that time the administration of Jungaria has involved problems of the conflicting interests of different peoples. In order to replace some of the Mongol population, some of the tribes akin to the Jungars who had been at war with the Jungar federation and had fled to Russia were invited back; those who did not return but remained in the region 175 168 578

[18] Fan Wen-lan and others, *A Short General History of China*, Shanghai, 1947, pp. 663–664. See also Wei Yuan, *The Sacred Military Records* (an account of the Manchu imperial campaigns), first published in 1842; also Chun Yuan, *General Records of the Western Regions*, a work written in 1776 but first published in Tientsin in 1818, Ch. 3, p. 26; another edition of this work is *Informal Records of the Barbarian Regions* (all in Chinese).

[19] See Ch. IV.

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175 578 168 of the lower Volga are the Mongols whom the Russians call Kalmuks. The princes of the returning Mongol tribes were treated as favored vassals of the Manchu Emperor.

In addition, settlements were established wherever cultivation was profitable. The settlers included the Taranchis, deported from the Tarim Basin; Manchu troops settled as military colonists; and a certain number of Chinese and Chinese Moslems. Under this colonization policy the land under cultivation in Ili and Jungaria increased from an estimated 240,000 *mu* (approximately 40,000 acres) at the end of the eighteenth century[20] to an estimated 700,000 *mu* (approximately 116,666 acres) at the end of the nineteenth century.[21]

175 In Sinkiang, as in China itself a century earlier, where the Manchus had come to power at the end of a period of terrible devastation, early Manchu policy endeavored to bring land back under cultivation by a policy of lenient taxation. Thus in Turfan and Komul Uighurs bringing land back under cultivation were allowed about five acres to a household, with seeds, implements, and working animals furnished by the state. For the first four years, after deducting seed grain from the harvest, 60 per cent of the remaining grain was to be kept by the cultivator and 40 per cent paid to the state. From the fifth year, a somewhat higher land revenue was to be assessed.[22]

In Ili and Jungaria the Manchu settlers, being regarded as unquestionably loyal to the Manchu dynasty, were granted land at the rate of roughly three acres for each man (presumably each man of military age), with seeds, implements, and work animals. Some especially favored Manchus received six acres. Chinese criminal exiles, in contrast, received only two acres. The Manchu land could be considered as held on feudal tenure, inasmuch as all Manchus, Solons, and Sibos were subject to call for military

[20] *Sacred Military Records,* as cited, Ch. 4, figure for 1795.

[21] Wang Shu-nan and others, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih,* or Sinkiang *Gazetteer,* compiled in 1911, published at Tientsin in 1923, Ch. 30, pp. 2–3 (figure for the period 1900).

[22] *Hsinchiang T'u Chih* as cited, Ch. 28, p. 11.

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service. In 1812, however, an imperial decree allowed the garrison commander at Kulja to divide the Manchu-held land as permanent private property, exempt from tax. Under the terms of grant, such land was not to be leased to others for cultivation, and if farm hands were hired, they must be Manchus.[23] In the course of time, however, these terms became a dead letter and the land was freely leased and even sold to Chinese cultivators, officials and merchants.

In their main lines the structures of both the settled and the nomad societies of Sinkiang, as administratively revised under the Manchu Empire, outlasted the great Moslem rebellions of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. They even proved strong enough to contain the gradual commercialization of economic life during the past hundred years. Only now are they finally breaking down, caught between a securely established socialized state in Soviet territory and a rapidly spreading social revolution in Chinese territory.

As they break apart, these structures reveal a multiple stratification, the layers of which can be classified both socially and historically. Socially, they are graduated from arbitrary powers and privileges at the top to disfranchisement at the bottom. Historically, the stratification is more confused. In the alternating cycles of feudalism centralized under a strong imperial overlordship and feudalism decentralized under local oasis-states and rulers of nomad tribes, the incoming phase never completely swept away and replaced the institutions and administrative practices of the outgoing phase. Some of the characteristics of decentralization always lingered here and there, though unevenly, in the strongest phases of centralization; and conversely, even when oases were most completely independent of each other politically, and nomad tribes rejected the overlordship of other nomad tribes, the larger community of the oasis society as such and the society of the pastoral nomads as such was never entirely obliterated.

[23] *Institutes of the Manchu Dynasty*, edition of 1818, section "*Shih Li*" ("Precedents"), Ch. 842, p. 13 (in Chinese).

influence greatly strengthens the Iranian Government. In the long run, on the other hand, there is an ironic resemblance between American influences and Russian influences: both promote modernization, and new social ambitions, much more rapidly than the traditional British type of policy. The difference is that Communist Russians, out of theoretical conviction and by planned methods, dismantle social structures that have survived from the Middle Ages; Americans, pursuing economic efficiency and promoting education to serve economic efficiency, unheedingly undermine medieval institutions as they go along, and destroy the prestige of the way of thinking that goes along with the institutions. 000

Sinkiang under the Japanese Shadow

In measuring the recession of the old forms of empire and overlordship in Inner Asia in their relationship to the rise of the Soviet forms of power and prestige, it becomes clear that the retreat of Britain began long before it became visible. The withdrawal, carried out with such skill and orderliness by the British Labour Government, after the war, had been made inevitable by the Baldwin-Chamberlain years of appeasement of Germany and Japan under a Conservative Government. The consequences of the policy that culminated in Europe at Munich can be instructively studied in Inner Asia in the decade between Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and Pearl Harbor in 1941.

After World War I, observers of the Japanese General Staff were sent to Sinkiang. There seems to have been a plan for providing Japanese military instructors in the Ili region, but the project failed for lack of funds.[4] By the 1930's, Japanese interest in Moslem lands and Moslem politics had been systematically organized. Contacts were made in Turkey and Iran as well as in Sinkiang, and also among Chinese Moslems in China proper. The names of three paid Japanese agents, Moslems with Turkish 175

[4] P. T. Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia*, London, 1925, pp. 125–126.

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175 names, are given by a well-informed German writer.[5] One of them had been in Germany. They penetrated into Soviet Turkistan as well as into Sinkiang, and while the German writer says that he does not know what they accomplished in Soviet territory, he asserts that "they did succeed in arousing the feelings of the Sarts [Uighurs] in Sinkiang, and it is undoubtedly through the propaganda of these men that the Sart Rebellion of 1933 and 1934 took place."

The year 1933 was critical for another reason. At the end of February and the beginning of March, the Japanese overran the province of Jehol and annexed it to their puppet state of Manchukuo. In this campaign a hundred thousand square miles of territory, much of it mountainous and all of it extremely primitive in communications, was taken in only ten days — by the use of motorized columns. It was this campaign of 1933, and not that of the Germans in Poland in 1939, that first demonstrated on a really large scale the military potential of air-supported motorized columns, carrying their own maintenance and disregarding old precepts by moving with their flanks exposed and leaving enemy troops in their rear to be mopped up later.

In previous years the American explorer Roy Chapman Andrews had shown that motor vehicles could range widely through Mongolia, the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin had shown that a motor caravan could penetrate through Inner Mongolia to Sinkiang, and the French Citroën expedition had made the journey in the reverse direction. The Japanese campaign in Jehol therefore demonstrated that at any moment a Japanese column could strike all the way to Sinkiang, cut communications between China and Soviet territory, and put the Japanese Army in a position to make bids for alliance both to Turkish-speaking Moslems in Sinkiang and to the virtually independent war lords of the Chinese Moslems in Northwest China.

[5] Anonymous, "Durchdringungspolitik in Zentralasien," *Berichte des Asien Arbeitskreises*, Vienna and Peking, No. I, February 1939. The author is described as having spent twelve years of travel in Central Asia, and was apparently a Nazi Intelligence agent.

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All through the first years of their resistance to Japanese invasion the Chinese were never free of the danger of such a flanking move. The danger did not lessen until the increasing dispersion of Japanese forces after Pearl Harbor made it difficult for them to assemble the vehicles and supplies for such a drive. It was this danger that was the primary justification for the stationing of a Russian motorized unit at Komul, in Sinkiang. Only motorized mobility could counter the danger of a raiding Japanese motorized column. The Chinese had no units of the kind needed; the Russians did, and for this reason the Chinese Government, though intensely suspicious of the Russians, did not protest against Russian occupation of the oasis at the point of convergence of motorable routes from China, from Inner Mongolia, and from Soviet territory.[6]

Immediately after the Jehol campaign, and until Soviet aid enabled Sheng Shih-ts'ai to consolidate himself in power in Sinkiang, the shadow of Japan stretched visibly into Inner Asia. Ma Chung-ying, the Chinese Moslem adventurer who challenged Sheng Shih-ts'ai for power, had at least two Japanese advisers at his headquarters.[7] In addition Ma's chief military adviser, a Turk from Istanbul named Kamal, may have had Japanese connections. Kamal had studied as an officer in both Germany and France before 1914. In the first World War he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and after the war he reached Harbin, where he taught Turkish in a school. It may be conjectured that he was sought out by the Japanese agents at this time.

Be that as it may, Ma himself is described by the German source already cited as "practically and morally supported" by the Japanese, by the Chinese National Government (which considered him a dangerous troublemaker in his native province, Kansu, and was satisfied to see him move into a more distant one), and by "the British régime in India," all of whom "hoped, through a

[6] See Owen Lattimore, Introduction to Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, p. 17.

[7] See, among others, Aitchen K. Wu, a civil servant of the Nanking Government, who visited Ma's headquarters: *Turkistan Tumult*, London, 1940, pp. 236–237.

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175 T'ungkan [Chinese Moslem] regime, to set up an obstacle to the penetration of Soviet Russian influence." [8]

Willingness to flirt with Japanese penetration into Sinkiang as a lesser danger than Russian penetration, in spite of the damage done to Chinese control over Sinkiang and to British interests in that province, was a characteristic of the appeasement policies of the time, in Asia as in Europe. For, curiously enough, even the Nazi writers whose articles were published for the purpose of stimulating anti-Soviet feeling did not attempt to conceal the fact that it was Japan that was taking the initiative and that the Russian policy in Sinkiang was defensive in nature and designed to counter a Japanese penetration that had already begun.

Thus the anti-Soviet exile Fuad Kazak states that Japanese expansion was making the Soviet Union feel insecure along its entire frontier with China.[9] The German writer already cited, attributing the uprising at Komul in 1933–1934 to Japanese agents, goes on to say that "this thrust of Japanese policy toward the west must have been the main ground on which Soviet Russia considered it necessary to bring the Province of Sinkiang under its knout." [10] And finally in 1934 Yurenev, then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, said to Ambassador Grew that General Hayashi, who had just become Japanese War minister, "had constantly worked against Soviet Russia, particularly in Sinkiang." [11]

In the same interview with Mr. Grew Mr. Yurenev made a remark which opens the way to an understanding of the British policy of that time. "He also said that according to his information England is showing a distinct pro-Japanese tendency. England, he said, is in a very difficult position because she has good

[8] Anonymous, *op. cit.*, pages 7, 9, and 15. It should be noted, as a sign of the confusion of the times and the versatility with which individuals turned and twisted, that after their defeat both Ma Chung-ying and Kamal eventually passed under Russian protection.

[9] Fuad Kazak, *Osttürkistan zwischen den Grossmächten*, Königsberg-Berlin, 1937, p. 75.

[10] Anonymous, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[11] Joseph C. Grew, *Ten Years in Japan*, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, 1944, pp. 123–125.

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reason to be afraid of Japan becoming too strong."[12] The Soviet Ambassador seems to have detected a hesitancy in British policy that is echoed by a double note running through the British writing of this period: hope that Japan might take over part of the traditional British opposition to Russia, and anxiety because, while the Japanese might at some time in the future clash with Russia, they were in the meantime, year by year, encroaching on British trade and political interests everywhere in Asia. This double note was sounded characteristically by Sir Eric Teichman, the greatest British political expert of his time on the Inner Asian frontiers of China. Summing up the situation in Sinkiang, he referred half in complaint and half in sympathy to the Japanese who, claiming "to be the bulwark against the advancing waves of bolshevism in the Farther East, render confusion worse confounded by the steps which they find it necessary in their own interests to take in Inner Mongolia and North China."[13]

Under the double pressure of fear of Russia and nervousness in face of an unpredictable Japan, British policy as reflected by British writers was intensely suspicious of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, especially in the reform period of his administration of Sinkiang, and looked with favor on Moslem religious politics as a safeguard against nonreligious nationalism. The Moslem leaders in southern Sinkiang, who held out longest against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, were accordingly looked on with favor; they were described as friendly to British travelers, and as having "formed friendly relations with the British Consul-General" at Kashgar.[14] Later, when a fresh Moslem-led rising against Sheng Shih-ts'ai broke out in 1937, *The Times* said that "these events would seem to mean the temporary collapse of Soviet political influence in Kashgaria."[15]

The British policy, or drift, was not successful in any way. The Japanese never quite came to the point of going to war with Russia. British influence waned even in the Kashgar-Yarkand-Khotan

[12] Grew, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[13] Sir Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan*, London, 1937, p. 191.
[14] Peter Fleming in *The Times*, London, 7 December, 1935.
[15] *The Times*, 21 August, 1937.

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175 region, in which it had always been strongest; and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the years in which his policy was most active, most progressive, and most successful, bracketed the British with the Japanese as imperialists menacing Sinkiang. Partly as a device for turning the pressure of the nationalisms of the Uighurs and others away from his administration, he directed it against the British. The shadow of Japan over Sinkiang never hardened into the reality of a Japanese invasion or even raid; but in the years in which British policy appeased Japan the shadow of Britain over Sinkiang wore thinner.[16]

The Chinese Revolution Reaches Sinkiang

175 648 It was only after Russian revolutionary influences had become strong and well established in Inner Asia, and after the decline of British power and prestige in the 1930's had obviously begun that the effects of China's own revolution really began to penetrate into Sinkiang. In the 1911 Revolution, all that really happened in Sinkiang was that the title of the Manchu Empire passed to the Chinese Republic. The governing group remained essentially the same, guided by the strong hand of Yang Tseng-hsin. That same strong hand sealed Sinkiang off from the stormy events and heady ideas of the Second or "Great" Revolution of 1925–1927.

175 648 669 Revolutionary developments began with the Moslem and nationalist risings at the beginning of the 1930's, which were rebellions against Chinese rule that turned into revolutions against the traditional social orders of Sinkiang. By an odd twist, however, it was these rebellions that gave the first opportunity of action for those Chinese in Sinkiang whose minds were also turned toward revolution.

There seems little doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, at the time he came to power, was a mixture of the revolutionary and the mili-

[16] For contemporary expressions of Chinese hostility to Britain on the subject of Sinkiang, see Edgar Snow, *Battle for Asia*, Random House, New York, 1941, p. 307 and note, citing the most important independent Chinese newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao;* also Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, pp. 48 and 56, also citing Chinese sources.

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tary adventurer. In the Northern Expedition of 1927 he had accompanied the famous First Army column which was commanded by Chiang Kai-shek with Ho Ying-ch'in as Chief of Staff and Pai Chung-hsi as Assistant Chief of Staff, and had himself served in the Planning Section of the Staff. He had, therefore, watched at close hand those military leaders of the Kuomintang who boldly used class conflict to create a situation in which they could control the balance of power. They developed, and for a time seemed to have perfected, a method of riding the revolutionary tiger without losing control of it and becoming unable to dismount. Sheng Shih-ts'ai may well have thought, when he first assumed power in Sinkiang, that he too could use the methods of revolution without losing control of the process of revolution.

What Sheng Shih-ts'ai faced in Sinkiang was not revolution, but a widespread rebellion which could not be suppressed by force with the military resources at his command. On the other hand, he had no mandate to protect the vested interests of the colonial Chinese families that had long been established in the province. He was a newcomer. There lay before him the opportunity to take command of the situation if he could do so by use of the means available to him.

These means included:

1. Getting material aid from the Russians, in return for preventing Japanese infiltration into Inner Asia.

2. Getting the Russians to repatriate, into Sinkiang, Chinese troops which, after being defeated by the Japanese in Manchuria, had retreated into Siberia and had there been interned. As a Manchurian Chinese himself, he could present himself to these troops as a sympathetic commander, while they in turn had no local political loyalties in Sinkiang, and made him independent of reinforcements sent from China.

3. Concessions to Uighur and other non-Chinese political leaders at the expense of the old Chinese official clique in Sinkiang — a clique to which Sheng was not bound, and whose interests he did not have to defend, if by abandoning them he could create new interests allied to himself and dependent on his new policy.

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175 648 669 As was shown in Chapter III, Sheng's "nationality policy" was worded as if it had been based on concessions to peoples, but was in fact directed primarily to winning over some of the leaders of those peoples, whose ambition was simply to hold offices that had been open previously only to Chinese.

4. The recruiting of a new body of Chinese experts and advisers who, like himself, were not tied by common interests to the old regime, and would support his two bold policies of dealing with the Russians and making greater concessions to the non-Chinese nationalities of Sinkiang than their Chinese rulers had ever made to them before.

The first three points have been dealt with earlier in this book, in Chapter III. They are mentioned again here only because of their connection with the fourth point, which concerns the manner in which the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution became, after so long a delay, transplanted to Sinkiang and began to operate there.

Sheng had no difficulty in collecting Chinese, previously strangers to the province, who were far enough to the left to go along with him enthusiastically in his first years of radical innovation. Between the loss of Manchuria in 1931 and the formation of a united front between Communists and Kuomintang at the beginning of 1937, China was a bitter and disillusioned country. Thousands of ardent patriots, who did not want to follow the Communists, were disappointed in the Kuomintang's refusal to make a stand against the Japanese and its insistence, instead, on continuing the civil war against the Communists. Afraid of the Communists as "too revolutionary," but eager for reform, they were ready to rally to a leader like Sheng Shih-ts'ai who was proclaiming internal unity, democratic reforms, and unlimited hostility to imperialism.

Nor were Chinese who felt this way easily frightened by Sheng's friendly association with the Russians. Many Chinese were in favor of good relations with Russia, in view of the clear menace of Japan. To keep one foreign nation balanced against another was an old Chinese tradition; a great many Chinese

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

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175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical. First, as a military leader with an independent following, he
662 sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Russian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood
563 between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

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touch the Inner Asian Soviet Republics, the most important block of territory in the Soviet Union inhabited by peoples who are not Russians and not Slavs. 175 563 648

This situation gives a new aspect to old problems and creates new problems of its own. There is the question whether, in the Soviet Union, the interests of the Russians are to override the interests of the other peoples, and the question whether, in the Chinese Republic, the interests of the Chinese are to override those of all others. These are old problems, the development of which has long been watched warily by the neighbors of Russia and China. In addition, there is now the new problem of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China: are the interests of the Soviet Union, as a state, to be made paramount over those of China, as a state?

If statesmen were efficiency engineers, and no more than that, a very good case could be made for annexing parts of Sinkiang to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Republics of the Soviet Union, and for setting up most of the Tarim Basin as an Uighur Republic, also to be annexed to the Soviet Union. In terms of the affinities of peoples, languages, and cultures, geographical accessibility, the most economical laying-out of modern communications, and the rapid promotion of material progress, the natural orientation of Sinkiang is toward Mongolia and the Soviet Union, rather than toward China. On the other hand, however, the material and sentimental interests of China in Sinkiang, though they have been much abused, are real; and so are the interests of Sinkiang in its connection with China, if this connection is wisely handled. 000

The probability is that the Chinese Communists will, as Chinese, renounce no sovereignty in lands long claimed as Chinese. At the same time, it is to be expected that they will attempt to apply new policies — not only to Sinkiang, but to Inner Mongolia, to the districts in which Chinese Moslems predominate in Ninghsia and Kansu, and to such parts of Tibet as they can penetrate. It is to be expected that, as Marxists, they will model these policies on those of the Russians in Soviet Asia. The Sinkiang of

III

SHENG SHIH-TS'AI AND THE "NEW NEW DOMINION"

185 WHEN SHENG SHIH-TS'AI was offered direction of Sinkiang destinies, history began to record a courageous new chapter—for long a secret and maligned one—in the annals of human emancipation. For Sheng urged that the province discard the old-style dependency tradition and, by adopting a great new six-point charter, cast in her lot with progress. By his Six Great Policies he aimed at reviving long-submerged cultural aspirations of Sinkiang native races and at bringing about revolutionary Sinkiang reconstruction. This he tried to do within the limits of nominal control of the Chinese Republic, at the price of favoring "radical" Soviet ideas, and at the cost of offending other less far-sighted Chinese, as well as many assertedly "foreign imperialist" interests. He has, in brief, made the province into a New Sinkiang *(Hsin Hsin-chiang)*, a remarkable "New New Dominion."

75 Sheng, a moderate-sized, handsome man, with an exceptionally full crop of dark hair and a thick, descending mustache, started out for the region late in the 1920's. Yang Tseng-hsin, warlord master of the province since abdication of the Manchu Dynasty, had been assassinated in July, 1928, and his place taken by the weak, avaricious Chin Shu-jen. Provincial General Secretary Lu Hsüeh-tsu had gone from Sinkiang to Nanking on business, and had been requested by Chin to look around while there for a man of military background possibly suited to build up the army of the frontier province. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was the man Lu selected.

643 Born in K'ai-yüan county of Liaoning, Manchuria, in 1893, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been reared "in a small family" and amid conditions of "poverty" and "cold." How he managed an education with such meager resources is not clear, but he attended primary and middle schools, and even had some university training in Nanking. There he studied European history under Chang Chi-luan, the late editor of China's most famous newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*. Sheng never seems to have forgot-

ten his old teacher, and that is probably one of the reasons that the *Ta Kung Pao* has often been able to reveal more information concerning the New Sinkiang than other Chinese journals. 643

Though Sheng started out to be a student of the arts, the trend of events in China led him, midway in his career, to study military science also. It was after a period of attendance at a university in Japan—where he and his biographer, Tu Chung-yüan, became friends—that Sheng returned to China and entered the then famous military academy at Shaokwan (Ch'ü-chiang) in Kwangtung Province. Li Ken-yüan, an old-time Yünnan militarist-revolutionary, was in charge and guided the young student through the academic ropes. On graduation, Sheng was given an introduction to Kuo Sung-ling, one of the prominent war lords of his native Northeast China.

General Kuo made Sheng a *Hsiao P'ai Chang* (Second Lieutenant) and rapidly promoted him until he became a *Ying Chang* (Battalion Commander). Then he was permitted another period of study, this time in a Japanese military academy. He had not been in Japan long, however, when he was called back to China to join in a military *Putsch*. It failed, and as a consequence General Kuo was killed. Sheng, having lost his benefactor and himself become involved in difficulties, returned to Japan "to read books." While there he received financial backing from none other than Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. As a consequence, it is said, he has since referred to himself as "The Student" when signing telegraph messages addressed to the Chinese national leader.

Soon after his Japanese military training had been completed, Sheng Shih-ts'ai joined the Generalissimo in the northward march against the war lords of Pei-p'ing or Peking as it was then called. He was shortly given a post in the office of the Chinese General Staff but was not happy there and decided to try his luck on the Chinese frontier. On first thought, probably due to his past tutelage under a Yünnanese schoolmaster at Ch'ü-chiang, he considered going to Yünnan. The attractions of the vaster and richer territory of Sinkiang, however, ultimately won him.

Not the most pleasant introduction to Sinkiang awaited Sheng. He 643 175

643 175 had met Lu Hsüeh-tsu in Nanking through the offices of a mutual friend, and Lu was persuaded to recommend him to the Sinkiang Military Governor. But when Chin Shu-jen learned of Sheng's background he seemed to fear to take him on; Chin wanted a subordinate, not a possible rival. It was only through third party pressure that Chin agreed to give Sheng his chance. Then, just as the young appointee was about to leave Eastern China, Sino-Russian hostilities over the Chinese Eastern Railway broke out and interrupted normal air transport through Soviet Russia via Vladivostok. Since it was by that route that Sheng had planned to travel, he was forced to spend eight months in Pei-p'ing "reading" again until communications were restored. When the line was at last reopened, he flew through Siberia to his destination; there he was temporarily lodged as a guest of Lu Hsüeh-tsu, who had been his traveling companion. But Sheng did not get to see Chin Shu-jen until over a week had passed; for Lu and the military governor had had a quarrel almost as soon as Lu arrived.

At last Sheng was assigned a position with the General Staff in the Office of the Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang. Not a particularly attractive "boost" for one with Sheng's background, the assignment found him nevertheless immediately setting to his tasks. By 1930 he had worked himself up to the position of Chief of the General Staff in the Office; then, when revolt broke out in Ha-mi, he was made Commander-in-Chief at the Front.

175 669 Chin Shu-jen, a man weaker than those before him and yet covetously retaining the old exploitation methods, had attempted to monopolize taxes on Sinkiang foreign trade and had given his sons extensive regional authority. This combination had caused such resentment that, apparently with some Japanese instigation filtering in through Mongolia, it surged up in a swelling tide and flung the waves of civil war over the province. The incident which finally precipitated his downfall came with the death of the Mohammedan Prince of Qomul in 1930.

Qomul, the Moslem city known to Chinese as Ha-mi, as late as 1930 had been still under only nominal Chinese suzerainty. But when its prince died his son was "received" into Chinese protective custody; then the ancient principality of Qomul was legally abolished and the region

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broken down into three Chinese counties, Ha-mi, I-ho, and I-wu. From those, according to the existing Chinese law, certain taxes were automatically due to the provincial government and to other Chinese government authority. This alone might have been enough to rouse the Moslems of the old principality, for up to then they had not been accustomed to pay such taxes. But to make matters worse a party of eighty Kansu refugees had been brought by Chin Shu-jen to Sinkiang and allotted some of the Moslem land in the "new" I-ho county. Finally, one of the "infidel" tax collectors tried to marry a pretty Moslem girl. In their fury the Moslems killed the tax collector and the eighty Kansu refugees. The small nucleus of Mohammedan rioters gradually accumulated "thousands" more, and open revolt against the Sinkiang administration began.

The whole affair was an expensive demonstration of Chin Shu-jen's ineptitude for the office of Sinkiang Provincial Chairman. The old Prince of Qomul had been thoroughly hated by his own people, and his demise need not have created such an outbreak. Yet, once the revolt had been started, it assumed devastating proportions.

Two of the rebels went to Kansu and solicited help from Ma Chung-ying. With some four hundred Moslem comrades from Kansu to help him, Ma marched forward into Sinkiang. This was one of the far-famed Ma's of the Tung-kan (Tungan) clan. Born at the town of Hochow in Southern Kansu, he had entered the Ch'inghai army of one of his namesakes, Ma Pu-fang, at the age of seventeen. After a time he had gathered his own Moslem Chinese army about him and swiftly brought his name to notice in Kansu military affairs. So prominent had he become by the spring of 1930 that Chiang Kai-shek had permitted him to enroll in the Nationalist military academy at Nanking for a three months' indoctrination course. When he returned to the Northwest, however, his ambitions brought him rapidly into difficulty with other prominent leaders of the region. He had just suffered a military defeat at the hands of Ma Pu-fang when the call came from Ha-mi.

Ma Chung-ying entered Sinkiang as a liberator, and at first recruits came by the throng to his army, the official 36th Division which

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Nanking had authorized him to command. He attacked Chen-hsi (Barkol) successfully, and then Ha-mi and Ch'i-chio-ching. Though partly victorious in these latter encounters, he was wounded and temporarily retired to refuge in Kansu. He returned to the fray in May, 1932, chiefly assisted by another Moslem, Ma Shih-ming. Chin Shu-jen then directed Sheng Shih-ts'ai, already promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief at the Front, to march against the rebels. Sheng was so successful that two of the Moslem leaders, Yulbaz and Khoja Niaz by name, fled from the province. Ma Shih-ming, however, had marched to Shan-shan and launched a counter-attack in the winter of 1932. His forces soon were approaching the outskirts of Tihwa, the provincial capital.

At this time over a thousand of the refugee troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army from Manchuria—then continuing a journey back into China via Sinkiang—began to march down from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak) to defend Tihwa. Ma Shih-ming, noting this, withdrew his Moslem forces to San-tao Pa, which commanded access to the rice-producing areas on which Tihwa was dependent. Chin Shu-jen therefore ordered Sheng Shih-ts'ai to take the new forces with him in an attack on San-tao Pa and later Fou-k'ang, another Moslem stronghold. Sheng had just chased the Tung-kans out of San-tao Pa when there came a new turn of events.

A heavy slaughter of Han Chinese had been going on in many centers elsewhere in the province, and within the provincial capital there was a great rice shortage. Chinese military and civilian leaders alike, therefore, had by this time begun to resent the continued fighting; Tihwa had even come to feel that if Chin Shu-jen were ousted from his post as Provincial Chairman the warfare might subside. White Russian troops, constituting a sizable portion of the soldiers upon whom Chin counted for protection, were at the same time restless about poor treatment they had been receiving. This unhealthy state of affairs came to a climax on April 12, 1933, the occasion of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, when these same White Russians announced that Moslems were attacking the city. A mob, entering the gates of Tihwa, rushed forward in a direct attack on the provincial government headquarters. In the midst

of this pandemonium Chin Shu-jen fled out of the city. Provincial military responsibility thus fell directly on Sheng Shih-ts'ai's shoulders. 175 669

Tu Chung-yüan, whose account in Chinese of the New Sinkiang has been exceptionally revealing, continues with the story in this way:

> After Chin Shu-jen had fled, the White Russian Army captured both Chin Shu-hsin, his son, and Commander Ts'ui Chao-chi. Ultimately Chin Shu-hsin was killed because he tried to flee during his trial.
>
> It was evening in the city when the White Russian Army opened the meeting. Liu Wen-lung, Provincial Commissioner of Education, was chosen Provisional Chairman of the Provincial Government. Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian Northeast National Salvation Army, was named Provisional Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, and twenty-four men, including Ch'en Chung, T'ao Ming-yüeh and others, were selected as members of a Sinkiang Provincial Government Maintenance Committee. Liu Wen-lung posited three principles for the meeting: Protection of Chin Shu-jen's life and property; Protection of the Consulate; and Maintenance of order.
>
> At the time Cheng Jun-ch'eng was outside the city and did not know what had taken place, so Yang Hsüeh-yüan was sent to get him. Cheng, after declining his appointment three times, finally consented to accept it temporarily. But it was known Chin's appointment of Sheng Shih-ts'ai indicated the latter had considerable power, and some feared that Sheng might help Chin Shu-jen. Pai Yü-hsiu was appointed to see Sheng about taking over Chin's office . . . but was wounded. At the time both Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Yang Hsüeh-yüan were at Cheng Jun-ch'eng's headquarters, and all three of them entered the city together. Cheng continually argued that he and his troops were guests of Sinkiang, and that he could not accept appointment in the province. The people therefore selected Sheng as Provisional Border Defense Commander . . .

Young Sheng Shih-ts'ai, rich in military background, recognized this opportunity for what it was; his military successes had already won him acclaim and the Sinkiang capital was looking for a new military leader. Though Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian contingent passing through Sinkiang, might have been first choice, he did not feel free to accept provincial military command. Perhaps Sheng helped persuade him to decline. Sheng was the most eligible leader left and, accordingly, was selected.

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Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been placed in a difficult position, and at first there seemed little that he could do. The Tung-kan armies of Ma Chung-ying had cut him off and were bleeding the countryside of Eastern Sinkiang of its sustenance. Everywhere along the road from Ha-mi to Tihwa there was "misery, debris, devastation!" At Ha-mi the shops were closed, their fronts barred with sinister wood shutters. The village of T'ou-p'u had become merely "heaps of clay." At Ch'i-chio-ching the streets were littered and stinking with the bodies of dead horses shot in battle. Movement on the thoroughfares of Turfan had ceased, its commerce was paralyzed and there, too, the shops were shuttered and bolted. Ma Chung-ying had become the "autocrat of Eastern Sinkiang" from Ha-mi to Korla and west as far as Kashgar; by June, 1933, he had entered even Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) "unhindered" and had begun to push from there towards Tihwa. Behind him, though, he had left a wake of pillaging and poverty. The ruthlessness with which he and his men plundered the countryside and the people earned him hatred even from countless fellow Moslems as well as from the Han Chinese.

Sheng directed the Northeast Resist Japan Army to continue the march against Ma, who was as a consequence forced temporarily into a retreat; but he recovered enough to reform his men into ranks and to capture Turfan. From there, where the North and South Roads of Sinkiang come closest to juncture, he controlled access to both East and South Sinkiang. This news came as a severe jolt to the capital, for revolt had also broken out further north at I-li (Sui-ting), under General Chang Pei-yüan. Representatives of the Chinese National Government took this opportunity to attempt negotiation of a peace between Sheng and Ma. Nanking sent first General Huang Mu-sung, then the late Lo Wen-kan. But both were unsuccessful. Sheng was amenable, yet requested that Ma make Ha-mi his headquarters and take orders from the provincial government; to this Ma would not consent. Instead, at the turn of 1934, he once more marched his armies toward the capital which had just sent its main force in the direction of T'a Ch'eng to put down the Altai uprising of Chang Pei-yüan.

At this point Sheng Shih-ts'ai arranged with Soviet Russia to import

large amounts of war materials—trucks, armored cars, machine-guns, ammunition, and even airplanes. With these and the help of Russian troops from the Altai area, the government forces captured Hsi-hu, on the Altai road, and compelled General Chang to flee ultimately toward an ignominious suicide. Then Sheng turned once more to press home his attack on Ma Chung-ying. Had the Russian matériel not been obtained, Ma might have won the battle of Tihwa. As it was, the Tung-kans were forced to flee back all the way to Toqsun; and Sheng's armies began to block their enemies off, both outside Turfan and in the vicinity of Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). Ma's position quickly became so desperate that he began a long retreat to the southwest in the direction of Kashgar. Sheng's airplanes harried the retiring forces with bombs at Turfan and again at Korla, and it was only by the narrowest margin that the Tung-kan leader squeezed past those towns to Kucha. From there he fled to the comparative security of Kashgar in April, 1934. Yet he was forced to leave even that refuge, for troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army marched in within four months. Ma is said to have been escorted over the Chinese frontier into Russia, and his whereabouts have since then seemingly been swallowed up in mystery. 175 669

Sinkiang was not, however, sorry to see him depart, after the four years of warfare. The desperate people were instead only too ready to heed proclamations which were dropped from Sheng Shih-ts'ai's airplanes urging the populace to make "genuine submission" in return for "rehabilitation" and "safety." An army of Kirgizes, Turkis, Torguts, Taranchis, and White Russians, according to words ascribed to one of the tribesmen himself, had at last been formed "to drive Ma and the Tungans out of Sinkiang." All who followed Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been promised, too, that "a new era" had begun for the province; that General Sheng was going to reorganize Sinkiang administration and bring "order, peace, and security."

On first coming to power in 1933, Sheng Shih-ts'ai concerned himself principally with the handling of dissident factions; soon, however, he issued declarations of radical administrative policy, and then introduced a first, and in due course a second, three-year plan of provincial reconstruction. His program was not at first so effective in South Sin- 185

it only been these. China has had great difficulty in defending this frontier during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet she herself probably began imperialism in Sinkiang some two thousand years ago. And she had to compete even then with the nomads of Siberia, Mongolia, and Turkestan. It is through "Anti-imperialism" that the New Sinkiang has attempted to arm herself against all this. 648

Chinese Imperialism in the Western Regions

The "Anti-imperialism" of the New Sinkiang may well have been, in the first place, a reproach for Chinese imperialist frontier policies of the past. For Sinkiang Province was not always Chinese territory. The area appears to have been inhabited in ancient times by a number of separate independent clans, principalities, and states which Chinese gradually came to know collectively as the *Hsi Yü,* or "Western Regions." By conquest, and often by repression, of the natives of these Western Regions, Chinese were among the first to acquaint them with imperialism. A related, but slightly different, approach to this point is made by Owen Lattimore in his study, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China:* 648 175

> The history of the Chinese in Central Asia . . . is a history of imperialism, of conquest. The Chinese could not here expand, adding contiguous region to contiguous region as they did in their advance toward the Yangtze and beyond, but had to subjugate and dominate from afar. They had, moreover, to compete with the imperialism of the steppe, which also attempted to assert its control over the oasis world. The record of the Chinese in Central Asia is therefore by no means continuous; in fact, their effective control has been estimated at only about 425 out of about 2,000 years, divided into a number of periods, of which the present Chinese rule in the province of Sinkiang is the fifth major period.

China seems to have had earliest contact with the Western Regions during the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-220 A.D.). The Hsiung-nu (Hun?) nomads of Mongolia had been raiding the Chinese frontier, and the Chinese Emperor, Han Wu Ti, wanted to outflank them with bases in the Western Regions. He didn't get those bases at first; but through an emissary, Chang Ch'ien, he did initiate Chinese frontier activity

648 in Central Asia. By the end of the first century A.D. a Han general
175 Pan Ch'ao had expanded that activity so successfully in a military sense that "more than fifty kingdoms" of the Western Regions had "sent hostages," and countries as far away as Persia were regularly sending "tributary" missions to the Chinese throne.

China did not retain this position permanently. Some three to four hundred years later, Chinese of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties had to play off "western Turks" (apparently a people of the Western Regions) against the "northern Turks" (probably a people then in present-day Mongolia) to regain mastery of Turkestan. In this period, during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty, (713-756) Chinese power extended as far as the sites of Kashmir and Gilgit (in present-day Northwest India).

But this was the limit to which Chinese westward expansion was then to go, and later it even met with severe reverses. When the Sons of Han did carry their authority back to Turkestan, it was centuries later and then they were mainly henchmen to their own "barbarian" overlords: the Mongols in the thirteenth, and the Manchus in the seventeenth century. What memories must have been left the people of Sinkiang by plundering Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan! And by the Manchus! In 1750 during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung, their armies laid waste the Altai region and annihilated 600,000 inhabitants. A century later they slaughtered numberless Moslems in the "pacification" of such Asiatic revolts as that of Yakub Beg of Kashgar.

Nor, for almost a quarter century after Chinese revolt from Manchu rule in 1911 and 1912, did Sinkiang have an opportunity to dissociate the idea of Chinese rule from that of stern military conquest. The administration of the first Republican governor of the province, Yang Tseng-hsin, aroused so much resentment that he was assassinated on July 7, 1928. Once his firm hand was withdrawn unrest again stirred; and it was thus that the Sinkiang civil war which brought Sheng Shih-ts'ai to power broke out in the 1930's.

Tsarist Imperialism

In the later days of the Manchu Dynasty, meanwhile, a new imperialism had come to Sinkiang. The expanding Russian Empire had not been slow to profit from her proximity to China, and in the Treaty of Kuldja of 1851 she gained her first sizable foothold in the Sinkiang economic door. The treaty, kept secret for a time, was made public in 1861. It gave Russia the right to send agents into the region, permitted Russian commercial dealings with Kuldja (Sui-ting or I-li) and Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng), and foresaw the opening of a Russian consulate at Kuldja. In the Treaty of Peking, November 14, 1860, this beginning was enlarged to permit the opening of another consulate, at Kashgar.

Then came the Yakub Beg revolt of the 1860's and an upset in the Central Asian balance of power. The Turkestan frontier was so "disturbed" that in 1871 Russia occupied points on the Chinese side, promising that her forces would be evacuated as soon as China had restored order. There was doubt at the time as to Russia's true intentions, and all might not have gone so well subsequently had China's army under Tso Tsung-t'ang not been successful in its bitter campaign to "pacify" the Moslem uprising. Russia, unable in 1881 to challenge the victorious Chinese, reluctantly signed new conventions with China. By these the Tsar, in return for a monetary payment, ultimately gave back [illegible] of the Chinese territory he had occupied. A *modus operandi* was achieved by which China, among other matters, recognized the Russian right to open consulates at Kuldja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan, and assented to creation of other Russian consulates at Ha-mi, Tihwa, and Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) should commercial relations warrant.

British Imperialism

Russian ambitions in Chinese Turkestan in the time of the Tsars had, however, additional reactions farther south. It is not too surprising that, once Russian troops had moved across the Sinkiang frontier in 1871, authorities of the British Empire tendered political "recognition" to the "government" which the rebel Yakub Beg had

648 175 then organized at Kashgar. The British felt their "preserve" in nearby India was being "threatened" and as a consequence "countered" Russian action both by recognizing the Beg and by taking a more active interest in "trade" with South Sinkiang.

Sinkiang-Indian trade had been under way for some time, but the British Government became officially committed to its furtherance in 1876. This policy, they found, could not be pursued satisfactorily without dispatch of an armed force to pacify the Northwest Frontier of India. In taking this step, they trespassed on what Chinese feel was and is their ground. Thereupon, say Chinese, when in 1884 a British force marched into "Kanjut" *(K'an-chü-t'i* or *Kan-chu-t'e)*—the site of the Gilgit Agency and Hunza Valley of modern Northwest India—outright English "aggression" against Sinkiang began. Subsequently a British agent and a British consul were established at Kashgar. This South Sinkiang metropolis became a focus for British activity which, under the aegis of the Indian trade agent, the British consul, and native *aqsaqals* (headmen), was carried on mainly as an intra-Mohammedan affair. It became, consequently, subject to a persistent suspicion on the part of Chinese non-Moslems.

Manchu Commercial Efforts

439 That the Russians and British were attempting to dominate Sinkiang trade became apparent to China by the closing years of Manchu rule. In a limited and tardy way the Manchus attempted to strengthen administration in the province, therefore, and to foster new development of intra-Chinese trade. New colonizing blood was poured into the veins of Sinkiang. At the same time went manufacturers and ideas; and from the province came jade, gold, furs, skins, and a number of other items. The avidity with which foreigners in Tientsin and Shanghai sought the furs, skins, and wool especially helped, and by the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese traders were bringing these goods out of Sinkiang in such amounts that she was beginning to experience a new prosperity. But the process of itself could not develop to satisfactory proportions, due to the then current weakness of the

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—

175 815 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 745

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung*, or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

563 to a rare imported brandy. The rough, unkempt Kalmuck Mongols of the Tekes Valley of North Sinkiang are especially devil-may-care fellows; but they have, at times, got amazingly rich from their countless horses and sheep.

175 A vast sweep of nomad devastation, which won them the throne of China and carried their warfare as far west as the Danube, brought the Mongols to Chinese Turkestan. What is now both Chinese and Russian Turkestan, once those areas were subjugated, came under Jagatai, second son of Genghis Khan, and he and his successors remained in power for almost two centuries. But in 1368 the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China was overthrown by the House of Ming and soon afterwards Turkestan also seceded from Mongol rule. Thus temporarily the Mongol star seemed to have set, and differences between the peoples of Mongolia proper and those in the Altai area (the Western Mongols) set in.

563 One of the subordinate leagues of the Western Mongols, the Ölöts (Eleuths), soon came into military prominence in Turkestan under a [103] Khan by the name of Galdan. Galdan's nephew, Rabdan, gave the name of his branch of the Ölöts—the Jön Gar (Jungars, sometimes written Dzungars, Zungars)—to the kingdom when he succeeded to the Mongol possessions. The name has since stuck in geographies as Jungaria (Dzungaria or Zungaria), and it has reference to the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai, i.e., North Sinkiang. These same Ölöts took advantage of political differences to the south of them and came to dominate South Sinkiang, Ch'inghai, and Tibet for a brief historical period; this epoch has even been viewed by one Chinese historian as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions. Yet the fount of Ölöt power, for the Ölöts as for others of the Western Mongols, was Jungaria and the steppes, not the oases of South Sinkiang, where Uighur (present Wei-wu-erh) civilization appears to have persisted. For Mongol life has been the phenomenon of nomadism, and life in South Sinkiang has been that of the isolated, petty agriculture of the oasis. The power of the nomad is his mobility, and he requires extensive pasturage for his cattle; yet the life of oasis agriculture is essentially fixed and in South Sinkiang it seems to have continued with

VII

CLEAN GOVERNMENT

SINKIANG as a Chinese province has existed for less than three-quarters of a century, and even during that period it has been not so much a province as a Chinese outpost and dependency. The changes in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power have brought a new administrative pattern, one which has been summed up in the Six Great Policies as "Clean Government." This new political structure came partially as the result of close ties to Sovietism; but it has never meant surrender of Sinkiang autonomy to Soviet Russia. "Clean Government" has been, instead, an effort to improve upon old Chinese institutions and upon the treatment formerly allotted to the Sinkiang natives.

Han Relations with Ancient Sinkiang (Western Regions)

The degree and type of influence which China has exerted in Sinkiang has in a sense varied with the good or bad fortune of effective Chinese control over that dependency. For the purposes of this study the Han (B.C. 206-220 A.D.), T'ang (618-907), Ta Ch'ing or Manchu (1644-1912), and Republican (1912-present) epochs have been selected as periods which modern Chinese themselves view as outstanding for effective Chinese influence in Sinkiang. Though there has been considerable difference in particulars, up to the inception of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration there ran through them all a like—though in many ways maturing—thread of colonial policy.

In Han times when Chinese first began to assert their colonial influence in Central Asia they sent gift-bearing, sometimes militarily escorted, diplomatic missions to the numerous petty states of the Western Regions. Once they had opened cordial relations in this manner, they followed with intermarriage between Chinese and members of a particular ruling family or principality of the outlying area. Then came exchange of hostages between the Han and the outlying state. When the Han had thus become established in the Western Regions, they entered more seriously into local politics and began where possible

to enthrone puppet or at least "loyal" princes. Political manipulation was followed, or accompanied, by military demonstration where it was needed and where it was possible. The policy of letting "barbarians rule barbarians" early became a cardinal feature of Han-Turkestan relations and, in many ways, it has remained so. This was important in an area so distant as the Western Regions, and in ancient days was practiced to the extent of utilizing one colonial principality in military compaigns against another and to the extreme of "permitting" native personnel to administer localities—though this often seems to have been "allowed" in cases where it could not have been prevented. In instances of severe difficulties whole populations were shifted to distant areas or, where deemed necessary, depopulated by the sword.

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The pinnacle of Han administrative achievement on this frontier was the creation of the office of the *Tu-tu*. His job, Chinese history states, was to "watch" a particular outpost. He was, it is evident, an all-around colonial executive and the ancient Chinese counterpart of the Occidental Military Governor of a dependency in the pre-Pearl Harbor epoch.

T'ang Improvements

Where T'ang Chinese considerably improved upon the Han was in their attempt to convert much of the Western Regions into the administrative units used in China Proper—the *chou* and *hsien* (department and county). This meant application of customary Chinese law to the Central Asian frontier, but it did not mean abolition of the office of the Tu-tu. He still administered outlying areas. His duties, however, became in some cases more closely allied with the regional and local government machinery of China Proper than previously. By the new arrangement, also, executive machinery in the Western Regions became exceedingly complicated and broad. At one time this machinery was centered in the Tu-tu prefecture *(Tu-tu Fu)* at An-hsi (in present-day Kansu), with power said to extend from Khotan to Persia, and the following units under its direction: sixteen "states," eighty departments, one hundred eleven counties, and one hundred twenty-six military departments *(chün-fu,* also called *chi-mi chou* or "restrained" departments).

[631]

Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) policy

175 642 The situation that faced the Ch'ing Dynasty was, however, considerably different. By the Ta Ch'ing period the Khitans and the Mongols —in particular the Ölöt Mongols—had accustomed the North Road of the Western Regions to a system of widely effective overlordship. Moslem influence, on the other hand, had consolidated itself in the south. Chinese, therefore, spoke of "Four Ölöt Leagues" on the North Road and of a "Moslem League" on the South Road. These regional distinctions were complicated further by the fact that the Ölöts were exceptionally ambitious and had been expanding from the Altai southeastwards across Turfan and Kokonor as far as Lhasa.

In tackling this problem the Ch'ing first attacked Ölöt power on the southern flank, in Tibet; after ousting the Ölöt party from power there, they devastated the Road North of the Heavenly Mountains *(T'ien-shan-pei-lu)* and wiped out that Mongol stronghold. They then turned to subjugation of the weaker Moslem League in the south.

To ensure that order could be maintained, more than twenty thousand Manchu soldiers were imported into the Western Regions and stationed at I-li (Sui-ting), Yangi Hissar, and Kashgar. I-li became the central military headquarters, and a complicated new system of control was set up. It included at least a hundred special emissaries for handling tribute relations, military affairs, and rationing of food, besides a special office for Moslem affairs. All in all, the early Ch'ing emphasized military, more than political, activities in the Western Regions. The innumerable ramparts and petty military stations *(ch'eng-pao)* constructed are concrete evidence to that effect. Not only had the Ch'ing rulers resented Mongol strength in the Western Regions; they had begun to view with alarm the rise of Islam in Chinese Central Asia and to sense danger from Europe.

Tso Tsung-t'ang, who was drawn out to the Western Regions by Moslem rebellions of the late nineteenth century, made many new administrative changes there. It was he who stressed the importance of, first, Urumchi (Tihwa) and Aqsu and, second, I-li (Sui-ting) and T'a Ch'eng for control and defense of the area. He also suggested

irrigation projects, more extensive colonization, and a land survey. 175
But most important, Tso recommended that the Western Regions 642
be consolidated into one province, *Hsin-chiang* ("The New Dominion") or Sinkiang. By this he at last crystallized the Sinkiang frontier, on the one hand for China and on the other hand against the empires of the modern Occident. Actually the regional lines—that is to say, China's more rigid northwest national boundary and the framework for the province of Sinkiang—cut across the natural grain of traditional Central Asian life and jarred the nomad, the farmer, and the merchant there. The strategem, with local squabbles within Europe indirectly assisting, did help to counter the threats of imperialism, primarily that of Tsarist Russia.

But for at least three reasons Tso Tsung-t'ang's recommendations did not suffice. First, his major emphasis was upon the old-style Ch'ing military control which could not stand up in the face of the weapons Europe was even then beginning to fabricate. Second, his constructive measures do not seem to have been far-reaching enough in scope or in execution or to have provided suitable means of binding Sinkiang to China Proper through economic ties. Finally, the ebb of Ch'ing power which brought Republican revolt and the fall of the Dynasty in China by 1912 was bound to be felt keenly on the far-flung Sinkiang frontier.

Under the Early Republic

Tu Chung-yüan speaks of administration in Sinkiang during the 661
early years of the Chinese Republic in this manner:

> . . . The Yang [Tseng-hsin]-Chin [Shu-jen] period was lengthy and greedy. The politician did not believe in working but only in officiating; even when he was officiating he aimed only at making money. This arose from the fact that Yang and Chin were basically that type. In general if a person were to come to Sinkiang from the interior it was not asked whether he had qualifications or not, whether he was talented or not. All that was necessary instead was that he be of an "experienced" temperament or perhaps that he had served in an office of a military governor or of a provincial government for eight to ten years so that it could be seen he had been reared in the atmosphere of slavery. . . . Or, again, if he were appointed, say as a county magis-

185 of soldiers and workers have been working day and night on part of the public works scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. This includes the building of four asphalt roads of over 1000 meters, several macadamized roads of 1500 meters and the modernization of buildings. . . . Over 1,000 old and dilapidated houses are to be torn down and rebuilt, and some 1,800 new houses put up in the new civic center."

735 The Sinkiang representative on China's National Political Council, Sheng Shih-chi, pointed out during the fall of 1942 that there are no beggars in Sinkiang; I heard the same thing from Chinese Moslems when I was in Kansu Province in 1940. At that time one Moslem, a Lan-chou vendor of Sinkiang raisins and Soviet lump sugar, made pointed examples of one of the city's numerous ragged and grimy child indigents and of a nearby beggar cripple, both whining with hands outstretched. "*Tsai Hsin-chiang mei-yu-liao*" ("That doesn't happen in Sinkiang"), he commented with a shake of the head. Tales that filtered through to Lan-chou in 1939 and 1940 painted Sinkiang in a favorable [464] light indeed. The shortage of labor, the abundance of land and resources, the crying reconstruction needs, and the progressive point of view of the administration in Sinkiang all tend to corroborate Sheng Shih-chi's assertion.

735 Sinkiang's transformation in the past decade may not appear miraculous in terms of superficial material measurements. The task of domestic reconstruction is not nearly complete; and at least partial credit for what has been accomplished is due to outside aid. Yet, with all this, unswerving and successful application of her Six Great Policies has put the New Sinkiang and the interfusion of frontier races inhabiting the region among the major phenomena of this age. In the years between 1937 and 1943 the province cast aside five centuries of decadence and began to play a unique and vigorous part in modern living. Now, in the midst of a magnificently intermingled old and new—the Sinkiang newspaper hawked in a native bazaar, the phone call to Chungking from a picturesque yamen, an airplane flight over the old Silk Road —the Sinkiang people have shown their eagerness to join in the fashioning of a better world life.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang AI.

[134] and it will grow into a full-sized tree; the other is its tendency to vertical rather than horizontal cleavage. The result of the first is that wherever water can be brought (the climate of the plains is almost rainless, but water from the encircling mountains is plentiful for irrigation) the land is closely cultivated, willows and poplars line every water-channel and the farmsteads are buried in foliage. The second peculiarity results in the landscape being broken up most picturesquely in the neighbourhood of the many rivers by perpendicular cliffs or river-bluffs, seldom more than thirty or forty feet high, but bold of outline and of a rich yellowish hue, with farmsteads perched on top of them and mills nestling below, trees and crops growing to their very edge and greenery in every cranny.

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The whole aspect of the better-watered parts of the oases is one of immemorial peace and contentment and of a civilization, such as it is, that has persisted unchanged for centuries. Nowhere could be found a more striking illustration of the strength and permanence of a rural population with its roots deep in the soil, especially when that soil can only be made productive by means of an elaborate system of irrigation. Politically, Kashgaria has had as stormy a history as any country in the world. During the last 2,000 years or a little more the Chinese have conquered it five times, and four times they have been evicted from it. The total period of their occupations up to date only amounts to about 425 years; during the remainder of the time Kashgaria has been the prey of one conquering people after another. Huns, Yüehchih or Indo-Scythians, Hephthalites or White Huns, Tibetans, Uigur Turks, Qara Khitai,[1] Mongols under Chingiz Khan, Dzungar Mongols and Turkis from the Transcaspian Khanates have all won and lost it in turn. Apart from these more cataclysmic changes, civil war has at various periods raged between the larger towns, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu. Yet down through the ages generation after generation of peasants have yearly tapped the summer floods from the mountains and have raised their crops of wheat and barley, rice and millet, cotton and maize and melons, while wave after wave of conquest has rolled over their head. Whenever any conqueror or tyrant has interfered overmuch with the cultivator, his greed has been his downfall. A striking recent example of this

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[1] The twelfth-century conquerors who gave their name to "Cathay." Stein, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 495.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

was in the case of Yakub Beg, the Khokandi adventurer who led a successful revolt against the Chinese in 1865 and ruled the country after the traditional manner of the Oriental despot for the next twelve years. Under his tyranny, according to Stein,[1] the population of some of the oases sank to one-half of what it had once been, and the cultivated area everywhere shrank greatly. The result was that when in 1877 the Chinese came back in force, they were welcomed with open arms by the people and the power of the self-styled "Amir" collapsed like a house of cards.

Nothing is more impressive than the persistence with which through the ages China has enforced her claim to Eastern Turkistan. Whether to safeguard the transcontinental "Silk Road," which in the palmy days of Imperial Rome carried the produce of her looms to the Atlantic shore, or whether because she must extend her effective occupation to the westernmost mountain barriers of her empire on pain of losing their protection, China has always returned to the charge, even after a thousand years. Despite the gigantic distances involved—for even now, with several hundred miles of railway to help, the journey from Peking to Kashgar takes five months—her armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Emperors of Cathay has leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as though they had never been.

Since their last re-conquest in 1877 the Chinese have governed Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," from Urumchi fifty marches north-east of Kashgar. Standing on the site of Bishbaligh, one of the chief centres of the Uigur civilization in the Middle Ages, Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China, except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, where a man may travel for fifty days without meeting a single human being, the New Dominion has recked little of the civil wars which during the last twelve years have rent the mother-country from end to end. The only effect on Sinkiang of the Revolution of 1911 and the consequent weakening of the Central Government has been to permit a Governor of outstanding ability to establish himself as the virtually independent ruler of Chinese Central Asia. The result of Yang Tseng-hsin's twelve years' rule has been that the military and other

[1] "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 498.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

144 and southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert is the same as that still found among the valleys of the Italian Alps and the Caucasus—found, too, by Stein in the third-century graves of Loulan at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.

I have already referred in Chapter V to the illustration afforded by Kashgaria of the racial continuity and persistence of a population firmly rooted in the soil, especially when the extreme fertility of that soil depends entirely upon an elaborate system of irrigation. This permanence is in striking contrast with the state of perpetual change and flux which has through the ages characterized the history of Central Asia as a whole. Throughout the vast spaces of Mongolia, Dzungaria and Turkistan the winds of migration and conquest have swept to and fro; from the Gobi Desert to the Euxine, from Châlons to the Yellow Sea, the great nomad peoples, Hun and Turk and Mongol, have ransacked the world in the lust of dominion and the search for new grazings. Over the Tarim Basin, too, they have passed time after time, but they have left little impress upon it. The reason is not far to seek. With a rainfall of but two or three inches per annum, the grass that pastoral peoples need scarcely exists.

"Nature" (says Stein) "by denying grazing-grounds to the vast basin between Kunlun and Tien Shan, has protected it against ever becoming the scene of great migratory movements and of such upheavals as are bound to accompany them." [1]

It is the aridity of its climate, then, as well as the seclusion afforded by some of the greatest mountain ranges of the planet, that has preserved the population of the Tarim Basin relatively intact since the dawn of its history in the second century before Christ. But it is not this continuity alone that lends such exceptional interest to the history of the region. There are people with as high a lineage in other secluded parts of Asia and Europe. The peculiar feature of the history of the Tarim Basin is the fact that throughout a vast period of historical time it served as the channel through which the ancient civilizations of China on the one side and of Persia and India on the other maintained contact and to an appreciable extent reacted upon each other.

From the second century before Christ to the eighth century of our era there flourished in these oases a civilization in which, though it was predominantly Indo-Scythian, cultural

[1] "Geographical Journal," May, 1925, p. 403.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

influences from the China of the Han and Tang Emperors mingled with those transmitted through Iran and North-West India from the great world of Hellenism in the West. It was through the channel of the Tarim Basin and the medium of its settled populations that the fame of the "silk-weaving Seres" and the fine products of Chinese looms reached the Mediterranean and became known throughout the Roman Empire. It was by this same route that the elements of Indian as well as of Græco-Roman art and culture reached China's western borders. More important still, it was along the Khotan road that Buddhism, in Stein's words "India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of mankind," found its roundabout way in the first century of our era to China through the Central Asian kingdoms.

It would be presumption for me to attempt even the briefest survey of the immense field covered by the archæological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein among the sands of the Takla Makan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan and Kansu. I can but refer the art-loving reader to those monuments of fascinating if recondite erudition, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," "Serindia," and the rest. Here will be brought vividly before his eyes the splendour of Khotan's Græco-Buddhist civilization, in the days when that ancient kingdom was culturally an Indian colony.[1] He will discover for himself how exquisitely that civilization was tinged by the classic art of China; he will see, on the other hand, how in the east of the province and along the great Silk Road the powerful influences of Græco-Buddhist and even of purely Persian art modified the work of Chinese masters. The frescoes of Miran, the classical seals of Yotkan, the relievos of Khadaliq, the wood-carvings of Niya, the amazing painted silks, brocades, tapestries and embroideries of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas—these and many other beautiful things appeal to the lover of art, and not to him alone. They appeal even more strongly to the Western student of *les vieilles civilisations qualitatives*, as Ferrero calls them, which aimed at perfection rather than progress or power—the old civilizations which we have so ruthlessly destroyed in our pursuit of wealth and our conquest of the earth, and which now, too late, we find to be our lost Paradise.

My few excursions into this field of research may be dismissed briefly. In the course of long tours on Consular duty, when our programme had to be thought out carefully beforehand

[1] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, p. 290–91.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N 563 salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or S N governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking 175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu- 642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner- 177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," 631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had S existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners S N ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend- 649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 659 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese 175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, 631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. 649 Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China.AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the *Sinification of the frontier areas,* and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
657 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
647 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 657 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

175 647 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants *in general*.

S N 175 659 563 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 619 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

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S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:
241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:
563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.
[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [131] [16] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

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A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

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All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
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During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
• 175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

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17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic E ruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
(131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
S in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
175 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb
648 when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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175 into China to establish militaristic states in North China. The
648 aggregation of invaders included the Huns, the Hsien-pi, the Juan-
S juan, the Toba, and the Tibetans. But the dominant group to
175 emerge was the Turks, who eventually ruled an extensive terri-
648 tory stretching from Mongolia to the Urals. Once more China, reunited under the Sui dynasty, was able to hold off the nomads. Under the T'ang dynasty the Chinese were able to advance into the domain of the nomads and to destroy the Turkish federation.

By the ninth century, as China declined in power, the nomadic peoples on the northern rim of the Chinese empire came into their own again. The situation appeared to be a repetition of what had happened at least twice before. The decline of the Chou had been followed by the disintegration of China into warring states (cycle one); the collapse of Han had ushered in the Three Kingdoms and the North and South Dynasties (cycle two). Now, with the fall of T'ang, there came the chaotic Five Dynasties and the division of China again into the north and south (cycle three). In each successive stage, the extent of nomadic power was greater than in the previous one. In the first period of division, both northern and southern states were primarily Chinese; in the second stage of division, the northern states were non-Chinese while the southern states were Chinese; but in the third stage, at first the northern states were alien and the southern state (Sung) Chinese, but later the northern invaders (Mongols) succeeded in conquering all of China.

3. Mongol expansion

In the period following the fall of Tang, peoples from Manchuria, Khitans and Juchens, as well as peoples from Turkestan, such as the Sha-t'o (or Chöl) Turks, poured into China. In the Northwest, the Western Turks and their offshoots, the Qarluqs the the Uighurs, were active. Later, some of the Khitans, ousted from North China, also established themselves in Turkestan. Here too, the Arabs, who had penetrated Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries, were influential. But the most powerful were the Mongols who, having united the tribes of Mongolia into a vast confederation of nomadic people in a series of sanguinary wars, in the 13th century embarked on a career of conquest that was to include all of Asia and part of Europe.

The Chinese, in their resurgence under the Ming dynasty, did not recover Turkestan. Central Asia remained in the grip of the later Mongols, from the Timurid dynasty in Persia, through the descendants of the Chagatai princes in Turkestan, to the Oirats in Northwestern China, the last of whom by the mid fifteenth century, were bold enough to make forays into China. The 17th century saw the rise to power of the Oirats who dominated vast areas of Mongolia and Turkestan. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the power of the Oirat confederacy broken and China,

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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• 175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the
N S disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

175 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
12 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in
N S the realm of assumptions.

175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

175 As soon as he had subjugated the Dzungars in 1756, the Ch'ing commander, Chao-hui, sent a part of his army into the Tarim Basin. There they freed the scions of a princely family, the Little Khoja of Yarkand and his brother Burkhan al-Din, the Big Khoja of Kashgar, who had been imprisoned by the Dzungars. However, the Uighurs did not take readily to the exchange of overlords. Rallying the Moslem population south of the Tienshan, they revolted and set up the Khojas as their rulers. The Moslems were unable to present a united front, split as they were by factional disputes and by quarrels between the Old and the New Sects (see section Religion). They were easily subdued by a Chinese army under Chao-hui in 1759. The cities in the Tarim Basin fell one by one to the forces of Chao-hui who pursued the fleeing Khojas to Badakshan and the Pamirs. Among the prisoners was the beautiful wife of one of the chiefs. Taken back to Peking she became the "fragrant concubine" of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor and the source of many romantic stories.

The wars against the Oirats and the Moslems were commemorated in engravings done by French artists in Paris in 1774. Although they glorified the military deeds of the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung Emperors, the seventy years of warfare left Turkestan in a state of devastation and had been a heavy drain on the resources of China.

The killing of the Khojas, regarded as descendants of the Prophet, aroused the people of Turkestan and there was general talk of revenge. The people refused to cooperate with the Ch'ing officials and carried out both passive and active resistance against them. Among the members of the households of the Khojas who had fled to Khokhand was Jehangir, the grandson of Burkhan al-Din, the Big Khoja. Raising a force of several hundred Burut (Khirghiz) tribesmen, he crossed the frontier in 1820 with the avowed aim of retaking Kashgar, Yingishar, Yarkand and Khotan. The Ch'ing government sent Ch'ang-ling with forces from Aksu to quell the rebellion. After defeating the Khokand army, Ch'ang-ling recaptured Kashgar in 1827. Jehangir, who was lured into a trap, was captured and taken as prisoner to Peking where a big victory celebration was held.

But the Moslems still resisted. Jehangir's brother, Yussuf, collected another army from Khokand and attacked Kashgar and Yarkand. By this time, the Ch'ing government was too weak to take positive action and, in a treaty signed in 1830, it tried to buy off the rebels by granting them special commercial privileges. The raids carried on by the Moslem rebels with the assistance of Khokand did not cease. As the Ch'ing government declined in power, the rule of its frontier officials became more oppressive and the opposition of the native people became more widespread and more determined. In 1848, a fresh force from Khokand invaded the Tarim Basin. It was led by Wali Khan, the nephew of Jehangir, and by six others. Known collectively as the Seven Khojas, they plunged Turkestan into

175 another sanguinary and desolating war.

The suppression of the "Rebellion of the Seven Khojas" was achieved only after the massacre of thousands of the resident population, Chinese, Chinese Moslems, and Uighurs. Thereafter, nothing was done to ameliorate the situation. The officials sent by Peking treated the local residents as a conquered people and levied heavy taxes as a means of self-enrichment. The local functionaries whom they appointed to assist them in the administration emulated them in tyranny and rapacity. Consequently, as soon as China was prostrated by domestic insurrections, the Taiping Rebellion in South China and the Nien Rebellion in North China, the Moslem peoples in the entire region of the Northwest, from Shensi province all the way to Kashgaria, rose in revolt.

The first to rebel were the Chinese Moslems in Shensi in 1862. A raid on the province by a small Taiping force precipitated the uprising. In the confusion that ensued, the Chinese Moslems, led by Pai Yen-hu, seized a number of Shensi towns, spread fire and rapine throughout the Wei River Valley, and at one time even reached the gates of Sian. When the rebellion in Shensi was finally put down in 1863, it spread to Kansu where it was led by Ma Hua-lung. To-ming, a Chinese Moslem from the Shensi-Kansu region, marched west to occupy the area around Turfan, Qomul (Hami) and Urumchi (Tihua). The steppe-land of Ili was occupied by another rebel band. The strongest of the insurgent groups was led by Yakub Beg, who had control of the territory around Kashgar.

When the Moslems of Eastern Turkestan joined in the general insurrection against Ch'ing rule, they had sought the assistance of Khokand, which was then having trouble with the Russians' steady advance into Central Asia. Unable to provide direct assistance, it sent Buzurg, the son of Jehangir, and Yakub, an adventurer with a checkered career including that of a dancing-boy and a bandit. There were stories that they were supplied with arms by the Russians in a sub rosa attempt to use them as vanguards of Russians advance, but these stories may have been apocryphal. They arrived at Kashgar in 1865, and thousands of rebels flocked to enlist in their forces.

After Buzurg was made king of Kashgaria, Yakub Beg, as commander-in-chief, set out to eliminate the other rebel leaders and to expand and consolidate the territory under his control. Some of the rebel leaders lost their lives in the bloody struggle for power. Others, such as To-ming, who held the Qumul-Urumchi region, were murdered by their own people, leaving Yakub Beg master of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. Later, in a coup d'etat, Yakub deposed Buzurg and made himself king. Pai Yen-hu, expelled from Kansu by Chinese forces, threw in his lot with Yakub so that the latter controlled an empire extending from the Pamirs to Lop Nor. The British in India afforded him diplomatic recogni-

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175 tion by sending two missions to negotiate a trade treaty with him. The Sultan of Turkey made him the Amir of Kashgaria and bestowed upon him the title of Commander of the Faithful, supplying him with arms and sending officers to train his army. His relations with the Russians, who had annexed Khokand, were strained. He feared their designs on his empire and they refused to give him military assistance.

Meanwhile, the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (in 1864) and of the Nien Rebellion (in 1868) enabled the Ch'ing court to take more energetic action in the Northwest than before. Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Chinese officer who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Taiping and the Nien rebels, was given the responsibility of rooting out the Moslem rebels in Kansu. By 1869, having cleared Shensi of all insurgent forces, he besieged Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Chin-chi-pao, the rebel stronghold in Kansu. With the capture of Chin-chi-pao and the execution of Ma Hua-lung in 1871, the resistance of the Chinese Moslems in Kansu collapsed.

The next step, to press on westward beyond the Kansu Corridor and to recover Turkestan, was harder. The Peking court complained that it had no funds for an extended campaign. Many of the high officials believed that peace could be obtained by a renunciation of China's claims on the Far West and the recognition of Yakub Beg as an independent monarch. The British minister at Peking suggested that Yakub's domains be made into a buffer state. All this opposition and the suggestions were brushed aside and Tso Tsung-t'ang's views finally prevailed. Funds were obtained from many parts of China as well as in loans from foreign banks. Veterans of the wars against the Taiping and Nien rebels were sent to bolster Tso's command. Having reconquered the northern areas of the Tienshan in 1876, a column of his troops led by his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, pushed into the Tarim Basin. In 1877, Chinese troops recaptured Turfan and the kingdom of Kashgaria came to an end. Yakub Beg committed suicide and Pai Yen-hu, who had joined forces with him, fled to Russia.

Tso Tsung-t'ang's pacification of Turkestan brought Chinese forces face to face with Russian troops. By the Treaty of Peking in 1860, China ceded to Russia all the land east of Lake Balkash and west of the Tienshan, a region that Russian troops had occupied after their conquest of Central Asia. In 1871, when Yakub Beg was at the height of his power, the Russian government sent troops to occupy the city of Kulja and the territory of Ili on the pretext of safeguarding the region and preserving peace and order. They promised to withdraw when the Chinese had recovered the area. However, the Russian move also was designed to counter the extension of British influence in Chinese Turkestan and the steady advance of Chinese forces under Tso Tsung-t'ang.

In 1877, when the Chinese finally reconquered Turkestan, the

175 Russians were reluctant to withdraw. The Treaty of Livadia, signed in 1878 after negotiations held in St. Petersburg, was unfavorable to China. China was constrained to pay for the expenses of Russian occupation. Moreover, China also had to agree to Russian retention of the region of the Tekes River and the strategic passes between Ili and Kashgaria and to the establishment of Russian consulates as far interior as Kansu. All China received was the city of Kulja. The Ch'ing court refused to ratify the treaty. The Chinese envoy, who had exceeded his instructions by agreeing to the terms of the settlement, was condemned to death. At Qomul (Hami), where Tso Tsung-t'ang had his headquarters, Chinese troops made threatening moves, and Russia sent reinforcements into Ili. For a time a full-scale war between China and Russia seemed imminent. Finally, cooler heads prevailed, both sides yielded ground and in 1881 at St. Petersburg a treaty was successfully concluded in which China regained the Tekes Valley and the mountain passes between Ili and Kashgaria. Instead of the five million rubles for the cost of occupation, China agreed to pay nine million rubles. In addition, China permitted the opening of Russian consulates not only at Kulja (Ining), Tarbagatai, Kashgar, Urga, but also at Su-chou and Turfan.

B. Sinkiang as a Chinese province

In view of Russia's covetousness and Britain's hints of alienation of the region, Tso Tsung-t'ang proposed that Turkestan be made into an administrative province of China. His suggestion encountered strong opposition at court. Many high officials favored the construction and consolidation of the southeastern coastal provinces for defense against the Western powers, rather than the diversion of China's attention to the northwestern territories. But the recommendation of Tso Tsung-t'ang was finally adopted. The entire region north and south of the Tienshan range was made into a province in 1884 and renamed Sinkiang, the New Dominion, with Liu Chin-t'ang as the first governor. The provincial seat was located at Urumchi (Tihwa) and the headquarters of the military governor established at Kulja. The Chinese system of administration was organized in all the cities and counties of the New Dominion.

This was the first time that the region of Chinese Turkestan formally became a Chinese province, although the way was prepared in the Han and Tang Periods. However, in the past, Chinese troops only held the main cities. The administration of the region was largely relegated to the native princes, and the civil government was quite different from an actually Chinese-administered province. Again, during the Mongol period, an ambulatory government was set up in Turkestan, but it was only a nominal government. The real power was in the hands of the Chagatai princes. The occupation of Turkestan during the reign of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was largely military, and the civil administration consisted of Ch'ing officials working through the native chieftains, and it was their excesses and exactions that provoked large-scale uprisings.

• 175 Under the energetic administration of the first governor of Sinkiang, Liu Chin-t'ang, and, to a lesser extent, under the administration of the second governor, Yüan Ta-hua, there was a genuine attempt to reform the government and to work for the welfare of the native peoples. Some of the abuses were eliminated, the tax burden was equalized, more schools were established, and wastelands were opened for agriculture. However, the good intentions of the governors were not enough. Repayment of the three million taels borrowed from abroad for the military campaign and of the nine million rubles for Russia's occupation of Ili drained the province. With a large percentage of its revenue siphoned off little funds were left for internal development.

In the train of the Chinese army there came hordes of Chinese migrants, many of whom were merchants and craftsmen from Hunan, Tso Tsung-t'ang's native province. Gradually, they entered into the business life of the cities and operated farms in the countryside. Soon their encroachments led to clashes with the native peoples.

There is little evidence that the Mongols were influenced by the Moslem rebellions of the early 19th century. These disturbances were confined almost entirely to the oases south of the Tienshan range. In the sixties of that century, however, the revolt spread to Dzungaria and the Ili valley and to some degree involved all the nationalities of the province. Many Mongol groups abandoned their ranges, particularly in the Tienshan mountains and the Ili region, and fled to more remote and possibly less desirable areas. Some may have returned to their former pastures after hostilities ceased, but it is probable that these wars effected a redistribution of Mongol tribes.

The Chinese rebellions of the early 20th century - the Boxer uprising in 1900 and the revolution of 1911-1913 - caused no mass disturbance in Sinkiang. However, apparently these years saw the growth of a spirit of independence throughout Mongolia, especially in the western regions most remote from Chinese authority. In this developing spirit the provincial government saw a threat to the ruling Chinese minority. It was feared that the Mongol tribes of Sinkiang might join with the clans of Outer Mongolia in a bid for autonomy.

C. Sinkiang during the Republic

Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, there had been a slackening of the administration in Sinkiang. The officials sent out from Peking were not men of high caliber. Their failure to understand local conditions and their maltreatment of the natives had aroused much resentment and hostility. Yüan Ta-hua, the governor, was virtually an independent ruler of Sinkiang while the rest of China was engulfed in the civil war that resulted in the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the formation of the republic. In 1911, when

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's
635 administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of
175 Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang.
648 At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh
167 refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete
635 repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in
175 the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible
648 to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was
648 characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 648 took advantage of it, Ja Lama assumed the role of liberator. He was influential in swinging Western Mongol support from the Sinkiang government to Outer Mongolia. His apparent objectives were the conquest of Sinkiang and part of Tibet, and a union of all the Western Mongols to form a new Western Mongolian state. In 1912 he led a successful attack on the town of Kobdo. He assumed religious and princely titles and served briefly as military governor of the region. In 1914 he was arrested and deported by the Russians, whose negotiations for a Chinese-Mongolian treaty were being disturbed by his aggressive activities. Eventually he returned to eastern Sinkiang. There he again rallied a group of Mongol adherents and built a fortification. He was hunted down and killed by assassins from the Urga(Outer Mongolian) government, which apparently feared the consequences of a new Western Mongolian union.

The destruction of Ja Lama and his "organization", and the policy of the Sinkiang government in dealing with the Mongols, both contributed to the permanent detachment of the Kobdo district from Western Mongolia. The actual separation dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century and the Manchu conquest of the Northwest. In 1754 the Imperial government set up the Kobdo region as an administrative district under the administration of Outer Mongolia. When Ja Lama attacked and captured the city of Kobdo and established himself as governor of the district, it was Russian power that expelled him and forced the return of Kobdo to Outer Mongolia. Finally when Ja Lama established himself in eastern Sinkiang and attracted a new following of Western Mongols, he again threatened the detachment of Kobdo. It was the Urga government that sent men to kill him and thereby insure Outer Mongolia's retention of Kobdo. The Mongols of the Kobdo district were, and probably still are, descendants of Oirats whose attachment to Outer Mongolia was merely a military and political convenience for the Manchu administration. Ja Lama's temporary success and the actions taken against him by the Russian and Outer Mongolian governments probably reflected a real feeling of "Oiratism" among the Mongols of Kobdo.

175 Before the Chinese Revolution in 1911, Western Mongol tribal territories were administered by princes who enjoyed virtual autonomy under the provincial government. This arrangement was continued with some modification under the Republic. The government extended its control over the princes and consequently over the Mongols themselves. The league and banner system probably remained in effect until the establishment of regional autonomy in Sinkiang, although the administrative units did not correspond strictly to tribal divisions and, in some cases, even included groups of unrelated peoples. There were three leagues and two special groups which were constituted as follows:

The Unen Susuktu League consisted of ten banners of Torguts,

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 159 635 669 578 rebellion.

The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 159 635 669 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides. In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, '933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

S
175 5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and
159 misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in com-
635 parison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the
669 characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N IV. The Rise of the Communists

*175 While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang,
*668 events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast
669 territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

S
175 The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war
159 against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a
648 virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he main-
[635] tained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

175 One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
669 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
[563] protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

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Sinkiang AI1
Iran MA1
China AF1

WESTERN ASIA Present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia	NORTHWEST CHINA Sinkiang (Ili Region, Tarim Basin), Chinghai and northern Kansu	CHINA PROPER including Shensi and southern Kansu
1200 -		
1100 -		CHOU (Capital: Sian) 11'th
1000 -		
900 -		
800 -	Jung, Ti, and Chiang	Invasion of Jung
Medes 708-550		
700 - Zoroaster-zoroastrianism		
600 -		
Rise of Persia 580		
500 - (Achaemenids)		Warring States
400 -		DIVISION
Conquests of Alexander 321-331	Huns (Hsiung-nu). Chinese settle in Kansu, Chinghai. Huns drive Yüeh-chih westward	
300 - Greek states in Bactria	165 B.C. Chang Ch'ien's Travels 138-126	CH'IN (Capital: Sian) Great Wall linked
Parthia (Assakids)	Chinese advance into Turkestan 121-119	
200-	Take Tarim Basin, 104, 4 garrison cities; three campaigns against Lou-lun, 99-90;	HAN (capital: Sian) 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.
Scythians (Sakas) 165	defeat of Wu-sun 72 B.C.	
100 -		
B.C. / A.D.	Chinese split Hun Confederacy -44 A.D.	Wang Mang 9-23
	Revolt of Nomads, Kushan (Yüeh-chih) invade Turkestan 87	

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100 -		
Pan ch'ao reaches Caspian Sea 92	Pan Ch'ao regains Turkestan 74-94; returns to China 102 Huns retake Turkestan 107-31. Invasion of Kushan 127	
200 -		
Sassanid Dynasty in Persia 226-651		THREE KINGDOMS (221-265) CHIN 265-419
300 - Mani; Manichaeism		Barbarian Invasions Foreign States in North China
	Hephthalites (White Huns), Juan-juan, Kao-chü (Tolös)	
400 - Wars with Rome	Appearance of Turks; Expansion Turks destroy Juan-juan and the Hephthalites	Minor Chinese state in South China
500-	552 Division of Turks into East and West 582	DIVISION
554 -subjugate the Hephtalites in region of Oxus		
600 - Arabs invade Persia	Travels of Hsuan-tsang	SUI (capital:Sian) 589-618
Expansion to Mediterranean; Last Sassanid King flees to China, 674	Chinese defeat E. Turks 636; Tibetans 639; W. Turks 659; Chinese control of Turkestan	T'ANG (capital:Sian) 618-906 invasion of E. Turks 629
700- ARABS -	Arabs and Tibetans effect junction 741 Expedition of Kao Hsien-chih over the Pamirs 747	Rebellion of An-lu-shan 755 Uighurs sack Loyang 762
Qutaiba conquers Central Asia 707-713	Battle of Athlach 751, Chinese defeat. Uighur Empire on the Orkhon 744-821	Tibetans sack Ch'ang-an 763
800-	Defeat of East Turks, 745 Tibetan Wars 763-821 Kirghiz destroy Uighur Empire 840	Barbarian Invasions
900-	Uighurs migrate to (1)Irtish (2)Urumchi-Turfan Qarluks, Uighurs, Sha-t'o (Chöl) Turks	FIVE DYNASTIES (North) and TEN STATES (South) DIVISION

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Iran MA1
China AF1

1000 -	Hsia	Liao(Khitan) Sung(Chinese) 960-1279
1100 -	Kara-Khitai	CHIN (Juchen)
1200 - Mongols destroy Khwarezmian	Mongols destroy Hsia & Kara-Khitai	Mongols destroy Chin 1233 Mongols destroy Sung 1279
1300-Mongol Il-Khans in Persia; Tamerlane 1369-1405	Chagatai and Usedei princes (Mongols)	YUAN dynasty 1260-1367 (Capital:Peking) MING dynasty 1368-1644 (capital:1. Nanking 2. Peking)
1400 - Timurid Dynasty 1387-1449	Oirats (Mongols) -Esen, ca. 1450	Expulsion of Mongols Invasion at Oirats 1449
1500 - Safavid Dynasty in 1560-1736	Oirats (W. Mongols) Atan Khan ca. 1550	
1600- Abbas I ("the Great") 1587-1629	Oirat confederacy; Galdan invades Mongolia 1697; Tsewang Raptan 1697-1727	CH'ING dynasty 1644-1911
1700-	Conquest of Tibet 1717 Amursana 1755 Chinese dominate Turkestan, 1759 Return of the Turgots, 1770	
1800 - Kajar Dynasty in 1794-1925	Moslem Revolts, 1820-1878 Jehangir 1820-27; the 7 Khojas, 1848; Yakub Beg, 1865-78. Tso Tsung-t'ang reconquers the Northwest 1869-78. Sinkiang Province created 1884	Taiping Rebellion, 1851-64 Moslem Revolts in Shensi & Kansu, 1862-71; Ma Hua-lung, 1862-71; Pai Yen-hu, 1862-78
Anglo-Russian Rivalry		Revolution, 1911
1900 Revolution in Persia 1905	Yang Tseng-hsin governor 1912-1928 Dungan Revolt 1932-34 Sheng Shih-ts'ai 1932-44; Ili Revolt 1944-46 Sinkiang submits to Communists, 1949	REPUBLIC, 1912 Communists in Shensi, 1935 Communist Govt. in China, 1949

000 N *175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between S 175 • 635 the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although S N 635 162 the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 186 [563] The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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S
N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
563 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 771 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[171] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[203] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[175] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
[173] tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[171] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:

(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 1. The Mongours

a. history

M [101] The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours

N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already

M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zŏůn gar "right wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan,
[131] another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egů, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaʃaɣar "bridle	qaʃaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣə
*čīɣiraɣ < *tīɣīraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīrəG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarī- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bŭrū
miqan "meat"	maχn̥
sira "yellow"	šarə
milaɣa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dǰidə < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dǰ:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegůn "cold"	zekŭn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkē

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-
b) Contrast between v- and u-
c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i
d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

S
N
197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
S U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers,
[563] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e.
[67] Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek), The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N
*175 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
197 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
S texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
175 These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
197 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V. Concluding Remarks

S
N Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak
191 Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the rulingleader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
N limit the choice of possible spouses.

*563 Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
648 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
[651] ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader,
N i.e., every Tibetan.

*563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
554 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
556 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
• 175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[177] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a
member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irri-
gated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

563 517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Com- [268] munist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[175] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an [197] [177] impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, and the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

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563 538 199 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

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I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

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Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

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Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

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During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

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(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

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(635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

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(668) (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

(635) Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were

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*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang

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668 in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
631 1955, are shown in Table 9.

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*668 After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
631 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
666 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 ### A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-

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• 175 ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
631 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
563 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

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*668 ### B. The Communist System
*563 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
631 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the

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668 friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
563 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
631 control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the
political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the
Communist Central People's Government were the same men who
had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of
local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many
of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the
underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-ap-
pointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
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S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the
large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who
had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Repub-
lic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic
of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the
Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties,
such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing
and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions.
They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili
faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on
the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to
march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as
Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and
the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to
the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since
1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and
the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To
recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant,
Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

175 Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
631 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
635 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
648 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
669 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

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A. Top Echelon Officials

*175 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
*668 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
554 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There
635 were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

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*175 Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's
635 Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's
554 Supervisory Commission.

In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between
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*175 the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the
554 rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was
635 a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
*668 Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan. Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

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B. Parties

• 175 Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political
668 bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

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In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the
*175 China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang
*668 Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

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*175 the Northwest under the leadership of the Chinese Communist
*668 Party.

In May, 1953, the Northwest Work Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee was organized with Chang Chih-chung as chairman. Its avowed aim was to coordinate all its branch offices and members of the KMT Revolutionary Committee in the Northwest under the leadership of the CCP and to implement so-called United Front work. It was significant that the conference of the KMT Revolutionary Committee at Sian was attended by high-ranking Communist Party and Democratic League officials, who were there apparently in a supervisory capacity, a fact which may indicate that the KMT Revolutionary Committee had not then gained the confidence of the Communists. Ma Ming-fang, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, expounded on the role of the "democratic" parties during the stage of New Democracy, which he said was "to educate their members to actively participate in political campaigns." Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the Northwest branch committee of the Democratic League, in a speech similar in content with those of the other speakers, declared that it was imperative "to continue the enlargement of the people's democratic united front (and) to get closely united under the CCP and Chairman Mao." (Sian Ch'üan-chung jih-pao, May 26, 1953).

III. United Front Work, 2. The Masses

A. Mobilization of the Masses

The organization of people's governments and the employment of non-Communist political leaders were part of the window-dressing for the organization and mobilization of the masses of the people.
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[175] As early as January, 1950, the Sinkiang People's Government Coun-
[668] cil, in a statement of its policies, declared that one of the primary tasks was "to activate and organize the workers, farmers, youth, women, and other popular bodies so that they would become strong and reliable support for the government in all fields of construction." (NCNA January 8, 1950).

The agencies for the mobilization of the people were, as in other parts of China, the mass organizations, which supplement and bolster the work of the political parties, and were either directly controlled or indirectly manipulated by Communists or trusted agents of the Communists. The following are a few of the organizations of mass control.

The United Front Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: This agency has overall supervision over the other mass organizations and also serves as liaison between them. The chairman, Wang Feng, was also director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
467 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

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*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47
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[175] of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts,
[668] and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

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*175 Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*668 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
[467] to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.
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An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League
[175] in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953,
[668] there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

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*175 Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*668 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
648 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over
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N 60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were
*175 from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-
*668 Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-
648 chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-
S presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friend-
175 ship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the
668 following figures show: three million in 1950; 17 million in 1951,
648 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953. The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Ashan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

N B. Elevation of Political Consciousness
*175 Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association
*668 in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign
S in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities.
175 This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or over-
668 lapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

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*175 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual
*668 aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'un-chung
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175 jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership
668 in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

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175 Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political
668 organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points: (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people s political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

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*175 Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions.
792 In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams,
*668 monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas.
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175 Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation
668 meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to sup-
793 port the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A
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175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[793] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[346] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Govern-
[995] ment, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter--revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

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668 make use of reactionary elements of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-
669 Islamism to establish anti-Communist and anti-Soviet bases of
578 operation." (JMJP October 1, 1950).

175 The extent of opposition to Communist rule may be seen in
N the news dispatches issued by the Communist authorities on the
#175 results of their relentless crack-down of the counter-revolution-
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175 Item: September, 1950, liquidation of 58,000 bandit troops who
668 refused to disarm and continued to resist.
669 Item: November, 1950, arrest of 6,249 Kuomintang agents and
578 seizure of 208 special service cells and 275 radio stations.
Item: February, 1951, capture of Osman Batur and Jamin Khan and escape of Yolbars Khan to Formosa. April, 1951, Execution of Osman Batur.
Item: 1951. Revolt of workers in the Yen-ch'ang Oilfield, Shensi.
Item: December, 1950, Suppression of the Taoist secret society, the I-kuan-tao, which claimed to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia. Members of the organization were charged to have infiltrated into farmers' associations and sabotaged the land reform and peasant organization work.

Despite the savagery of the suppression, the Communists were unable to snuff out the opposition. Kan Ssu-ch'i, director of the Department of Public Security of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, pointed out that in the province of Kansu alone, the counter-revolutionaries killed and wounded 2,117 native cadres resulting in a profound demoralization of the people. "The people blame us," he said, "for having only government and no law. We must...by means of accusation meetings, exhibitions, public trials and forums, mobilize the broad masses to partake in the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries." (NCNA, April 7, 1951).

The alibis for the failure to wipe out the opposition in the Northwest was attributed to many causes. T'ao Chih-yüeh, deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military District, charged that "hidden enemies are utilizing old relations, old friendships and all opportunities for winning over and buying over a few backward elements." Ma Hung-pin, vice-chairman of the Kansu provincial people's government, warned the people to renounce their old friendships. "All counter-revolutionaries," he said, "be they your relatives, your friends and your neighbors, or even your family members, must be denounced." (NCNA, April 7, 1951). Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, charged that "the imperialists" were fanning the fires of "narrow nationalism" by spreading rumors and fostering animosity among the minority peoples and they have seized upon pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as their weapons." (JMJP, October 2, 1951).

The admonition and the threats by the officials had no effect

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
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• 175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were established for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
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• 175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.
668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.
Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).
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[563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

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175 graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks
668 of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent
871 to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was
[563] regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher
*175 education in the Northwest. The most important was the North-
*668 west Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950,
873 it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres
N School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at
*[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the
S CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by
175 provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of
668 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It gradu-
873 ated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Gov-
[563] ernment and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist
S Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training
175 classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the
668 summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nation-
874 ality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational
873 cadres.

N The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries
*175 for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai
*668 over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in
871 the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

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As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
*175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
*668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
*563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
175 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
668 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
563 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.
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Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

N The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
*175 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
*668 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
*663 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
162 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
631 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
S counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
175 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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*175 in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*668 January 8, 1952).
*563 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
162 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
631 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
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175 The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
668 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
563 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
162 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

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*175 A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*668 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
578 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-N nghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950),that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
[661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that
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[635] followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were
[632] also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

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*175 While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*668 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
635 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
632 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
666 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference
S
[175] of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities
[668] in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily
[631] devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)	
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

N
*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'en-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in N nghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

S
175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

S 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
175 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
668 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
563 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken
631 part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

S
175 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racial-
668 ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the...
563 Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in
631 opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

N 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total
*175 of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or
592 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung
162 jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized
S peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only
175 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only
592 the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the
162 whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in
[474] the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations
[476] and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statis-
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses
are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet
175 Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a
648 foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950,
to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To
implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical
research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October,
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint
stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

S
175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

S
175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü) level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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*175 C. The General Election of 1953-54

*668 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
666 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
[641] tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[635]

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

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*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
S
*175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

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178
*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

N
[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

S
175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45.62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

N
*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organization in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
S
• 175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*175 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
*668 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and
166 workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

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Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

northwestern provinces during 1955.

Thus, even from incomplete sources, the number of people sent out to the Northwest came close to 30,000. Of this number, the bulk were destined for Sinkiang. The influx of this horde of Chinese into Sinkiang was to safeguard Chinese Communist interest and Chinese ascendancy prior to the granting of autonomy to the native peoples of Sinkiang. As early as the summer of 1953, Burkhan had sought to prepare the ground for the invasion of the Chinese. In a speech, he said, "It has been due to the great help rendered by the Han Chinese cadres from other provinces and the People's Liberation Army during the past three years since the liberation that achievements of the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang in their construction work was possible. Therefore, after the enforcement of regional autonomy, autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres to take part in work." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

C. Expansion of the Communist Party

Along with the assignment of cadres to the countryside to carry out the work of collectivization and the transfer of workers and cadres from China Proper to the Northwest, there was also an expansion of the membership of the Communist Party in the Northwest. The induction of men into the Chinese Communist Party and into its auxiliary, the New Democratic Youth League (Communist Youth League), had been active from the beginning of Communist rule. In 1950, out of the 3,600 national minority cadres trained in the short-term classes, 560 joined the Chinese Communist Party and 1,000 the New Democratic Youth League; in 1951, out of the 1044 graduates of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party Sub-bureau Cadre School, 88 joined the Communist Party and 726 the New Democratic Youth League.

In May, 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued instructions to strengthen the work of party expansion, and ordered the directors of the Organization Departments of local party committees to convene and to work out methods for party expansion. "In rural areas where land reform has already been carried out, we must recruit more new party members and build up our party organizations so that we may vigorously promote mutual aid and cooperation of labor in production," stated a Central Committee directive (JMJP May 4, 1952). In 1954, the announcement of the General Line for the transition of the state to socialism brought a further acceleration of the work of party expansion.

Shensi: From June, 1952 to the end of 1954, a total of 3,625 basic level (hsiang) party branches were established, increasing the number from 60 per cent to 86 per cent, and 36,833 new members recruited. Up to the end of 1954, the majority of the new

175 178 668 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 668 642 563 177 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relegation of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and nationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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177 under the leadership of the local party and government organs."
668 (JMJP, August 28, 1954).
642 Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three
(563) autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four
were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts,
(631) it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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177 Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung
Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist
668 Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional
642 period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the
563 solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
[666] officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.
[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
668 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
669 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of
578 popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

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In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during S [177] the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to S N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. [671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol [674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that 681 184 674 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); [565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: 681 184 674 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow...is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacity the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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175 who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and
668 military and government officials of the former Chiang government
674 still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

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*175 12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy
*668 from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National
829 Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

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*175 "' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary
*668 elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This
669 is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance
*563 in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc.
787 It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

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*175 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there
669 appeared
*668 "An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

S 14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
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669 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases
668 of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

S The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturb-
[674] ances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

N The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
105 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
*668 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speak-
625 ing, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jenmin shou-ts'e.)

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FOREIGN RELATIONS

I. Strategic Importance of Sinkiang

175 648 439 [487] Sinkiang has been one of the most strategic areas of China in imperial and modern times. Ever since the area first came under Chinese control during the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), it has been for China a key position for the control of central Asia. The two caravan routes to the north and south of the Tien-shan range linked China with the steppes of western Turkestan and with Europe and the Near East. The control of the oasis cities along these caravan routes gave China not only a dominant position in the trade, but also a check over the states of central Asia that profited from this trade. In the times of the empire the Chinese control over tribal groups in central Asia was strongest when the corridor of trade was safely in Chinese hands.

175 648 Full Chinese control over Eastern Turkestan was maintained, however, only over limited periods in imperial history. In the period of division and chaos that followed the Han period, Turkestan was lost to China and became a contested area between rival tribal states. Chinese control was reasserted in T'ang times by a Chinese dynasty which itself was partly of Central Asian origin. The area was included in the Mongol empire when the Mongols established their rule over China. Lost again under the Ming dynasty, Chinese Turkestan was finally reconquered by the Manchus in the eighteenth century and has been recognized as a part of China since the time when the modern West came in contact with the Chinese world.

The strategic role of Chinese Turkestan has become somewhat modified in modern times. When Czarist Russia expanded her frontiers across the Asiatic continent towards the Chinese border, the Inner Asiatic frontiers of China were threatened by a new type of attack by a modern Western state. The Russian expansion across Asia found its counterpart in the British conquest of India. From that time on the British regarded the high plateaus of Asia as potential basis for an attack on India through the mountain passes of the northwest. Chinese Turkestan became an area of conflicting British-Russian policies, and at the same time an anchor of the whole Chinese defense of Central Asia against Russian and British invasion.

Of the two powers, Russia was by far the more dangerous to Chinese control. Through her move into Asia, Russia became China's neighbor along a frontier of 3,000 miles. Her pressure was exerted in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in Turkestan. The British-Indian border with China was shorter and the high mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Karakorum provided a

175 648 much greater physical barrier than existed on the Turkestan-Manchurian-Mongolian border with Russia.

II. Russian Advance in Sinkiang

In the middle of the last century when the Western powers, including Russia, opened treaty ports along the coast and in China proper, Russia had combined this coastal penetration with an inland advance. In the Treaty of Kulja of 1851, which was made public in 1861, the Russians secured the right to trade in Northern Turkestan by the establishment of trading centers in the Ili valley at Kulja. In the Treaty of Peking in 1860 Russia also secured the right to establish a consulate at Kashgar in southern Turkestan.

175 648 669 The Russian-British pressure on Turkestan came to a head in the 1870's when Chinese control was temporarily thrown off by the rebellion of Yakub Beg. This was the period when major rebellions were taking place within China, and the revolts against the ruling dynasty spread to the northwestern border. The Moslem rebellion began in the Northwest region of China and extended to Chinese Turkestan where one of the former ruling Moslem families which had been driven out by the Chinese administration into western Turkestan attempted to re-establish its power. Its leading military figure was Yakub Beg who soon took over the rebellious movement and attempted to set up an independent government over the southern and nortnern parts of Chinese Turkestan. During his stay in power, he negotiated treaties with both Britain and Russia. The British recognized Yakub Beg and permitted him to secure arms through India. A British envoy signed a treaty with his government at Kashgar in 1874, a treaty which was formally ratified by the government of India in 1876. In this treaty Sinkiang was opened to trade with India, and a British trading company was formed with the assistance of India. Through India, Yakub Beg established contact with the Sultan of Turkey in a Moslem religious alliance. At that time, the British believed that Yakub Beg would be able to maintain himself and hoped that Chinese Turkestan would become an independent or at least autonomous area, a buffer between India and Russia.

The Russian reaction to Yakub Beg's rebellion was a direct attack on the territory of Chinese Turkestan. When Yakub Beg had occupied Urumchi and moved towards the northwestern border area, the Russians moved troops across the border and occupied Kulja and the territory of the Ili valley in 1871. In 1872 they forced Yakub Beg to conclude a commercial agreement which opened Eastern Turkestan to Russian trade. In 1874-75, Russia concentrated troops on the border of southern Sinkiang. But unrest in Russian Turkestan prevented them from further military action. In 1876, they forced Yakub Beg to surrender the strategic moun-

175 648 669 tain passes west of Kashgar to Russian control. The Russian government had thus used the unrest in Turkestan for military expansion into Chinese territory, although it declared at the time that the occupation was only a temporary move for the protection of Russian commercial interests and that the area would eventually be given back to China.

This Russian attack gave the Turkestan rebellion an even more dangerous character in Chinese eyes. What was at stake now for china was not only the subjection of a rebellious leader but the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asian position. China's realization of this danger became very clear in the discussions that preceded the Chinese military compaigns to reconquer Turkestan. Two views were expressed at that time on the importance of that area to China. One was represented by Li Hung-chang, who had come to power as the leader of the Anhwei army, one of the regional forces that had been established to suppress the Taiping Rebellion. In this campaign Li had had his main base at Shanghai and had come to control the financial resources of the central coastal region. Later his army had been used in the suppression of the Nien Rebellion in Anhwei and Shantung and after this successful campaign he had become governor-general of the capital province of Chihli and was the leading military figure in the north. Li Hung-chang was willing to abandon China's position in Central Asia in favor of strengthening coastal defenses. According to him the expenses of a Sinkiang campaign would seriously endanger the coastal defense, so important for holding the capital.

III. Policy of Tso Tsung-t'ang

175 648 In contrast to Li's regional view on the importance of China's coastal area, Tso Tsung-t'ang, then in charge of the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in the northwestern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, saw the control of Sinkiang as a vital part of the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asiatic frontier. According to Tso Tsung-t'ang, "The reason why great weight should be given to Sinkiang is the protection of Mongolia. In protecting Mongolia, one ensures the defense of the capital. When the fingers and forearms of the West and North work in unison and the topographical position is continuous then there is no break in the country's defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be safe. Not only the border provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi would be constantly open to invasion and it would be difficult to defend them, but also Northern Chihli and Shanhaikuan would not have a day of rest or sleep." (Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi, chüan 50, pp. 76a, b.) Tso argued that the defense of Sinkiang would be less expensive in the

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long run than would be an inland defense of the northwest, if the Sinkiang passes were lost. The defense of Peking depended on the Chinese military garrisons at Kalgan, Uliasutai, and Kobdo in Mongolia; the defense of Mongolia depended on the control of Sinkiang; the defense of Sinkiang depended on the passes at Kulja and Chuguchak. He did not believe that there was a real military threat to the Chinese coasts because in his opinion the Western powers were interested in commercial privileges rather than in military conquest. When at that time the British minister to Peking intervened in support of Yakub Beg and suggested that the imperial government should allow the rebel leader to maintain his rule over Turkestan as an autonomous area under Chinese suzerainty, Tso Tsung-t'ang sent a memorial to the throne stating that the status of Yakub Beg was purely a domestic question, and that "if Britain wished to create a buffer state in central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory." (Arthur W. Hummel Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, 1944, vol. II, p. 766.)

Tso Tsung-t'ang's main concern, however, was the Russian military invasion. It was his avowed strategy to use such overwhelming force in the defeat of Yakub Beg and to make the reconquest of Turkestan so convincing that Russia would have to live up to the promise which she had given at the time of the occupation in 1871 and return the Ili area to Chinese control. But the diplomatic negotiations between China and Russia which followed did not bring the results for which Tso Tsung-t'ang had hoped. In the draft treaty concluded in St. Petersburg in 1879, Russia returned only the city of Kulja and the eastern part of the Ili valley but retained the western part of the Ili area including the valley of a tributary, the Tekes, and most important of all, the strategic mountain passes of the Altai and related ranges. This treaty aroused a storm of indignation at the court in Peking. The government refused to ratify it and imposed a death sentence on the returning envoy who had negotiated it. The sentence was not carried out, but a new envoy signed another treaty at St. Petersburg in 1881 with somewhat more favorable conditions. While Russia retained some of the territory she had occupied, she returned the Tekes valley and the strategic passes to China.

After it had reasserted its authority over almost all of the Turkestan area, the Chinese government carried through an administrative reorganization in order to strengthen the ties with its outlying region. In November, 1884, an imperial edict made Turkestan into a Chinese province under the name of Sinkiang ("The New Territory"). Urumchi (the Chinese Ti-hua) became the provincial capital and the province was divided into more than twenty districts. Thus, while Chinese political control

175 648 was re-established, economic penetration from Russia and to a lesser degree from British India continued. In the treaty of 1881, Russia had established consulates at Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan. The treaty also stipulated that consulates should be established at Urumchi, Hami (Qomul), and Ch'i-t'ai, if the development of Russian trade warranted it. England arranged in 1884 for the stationing of a British trade agent at Kashgar.

In the following period the Chinese political position in Sinkiang was not threatened again by either Russia or England. Chinese control created, in effect, something of a buffer area for the conflicting expansionist interests of these two powers. Towards the turn of the century, attempts were made to delimit Russian and British areas of expansion in order to diminish chances of conflict. In 1895 the two powers agreed to delimit their respective areas of expansion in the Pamirs. In a decision of the Pamir Boundary Commission the two powers agreed to set aside a narrow corridor of Afghan territory which would extend from Afghanistan to the Chinese province of Sinkiang. This corridor would prevent a direct Russo-British-India frontier. The Anglo-Russian tensions came to a new height during the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. When the war was over, Russian and England came to settle all their conflicting interests in the Triple Entente of 1907. By that time the neutralization of the central Asiatic area of possible conflict had already been recognized for so long that Turkestan was no longer mentioned in the agreement.

IV Policy of Yang Tseng-hsin

175 648 635 The Chinese position in Sinkiang entered into a new phase with the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The Revolution changed the relationship between the province and the new types of central governments that succeeded each other in China. In imperial times the Chinese governors were a part of the imperial bureaucracy, and the court had been able to appoint and recall governors more or less at will. It had also given the provincial administration a yearly subsidy of over two and a half million taels (a tael equals about 1.28 U.S. dollars). With the revolution, the central control over the province was greatly weakened. No more subsidy was forthcoming from China and the governors had to base their power and position almost entirely on local support. Yang Tseng-hsin, the Chinese governor of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928 gained such support by giving the non-Chinese population groups greater economic autonomy. At the same time he maintained good relations with Russia by permitting Russian economic activities which had considerably increased since 1905. The Russo-Asiatic Bank had its branches at Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, and Kashgar with the right to issue paper currency. These branches played a large role in the local trade.

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648 The isolation of Sinkiang from the Chinese government became even more pronounced as a result of the events in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave the Mongols the opportunity to declare their independence from Chinese control. This move was in part inspired and supported by Czarist Russia which established itw osn control over Outer Mongolia. Though Outer Mongolia remained nominally a part of Chinese territory, Chinese control ended and Outer Mongolia became in fact a Russian protectorate. The loss of Outer Mongolia changed the position of China in central Asia and greatly affected her hold over Chinese Turkestan. Tso Tsung-t'ang had described Turkestan as the key position for the defense of Mongolia, which in turn was important for the security of north China and of the capital. Now Turkestan itself was outflanked by the Russian position in Mongolia. From Mongolia, Russian forces could at any time cut the corridor that led from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. Sinkiang, formerly the central basis of the Chinese military position in Inner Asia, now became an exposed advance position which could only be held in the long run if a new and safe connection with China Proper could be found.

Of still greater importance for the power sturggle in central Asia was the change brought about in Russia by the October Revolution. The new Soviet Russia soon resumed the Czarist policy of expansion in central Asia. But to the economic and strategic interests which had been the morivating force behind Czarist advance there was now added the Communist aim of infiltrating the neighboring area with its ideological and political organization. This Soviet advance began slowly and accelerated with the growing strength of the Soviet government. During the early years of the civil war in Siberia, Soviet Russia was in no position to resume an aggressive policy in central Asia. The Russian position in Outer Mongolia was also temporarily lost and regained only in 1922, when after the defeat of the White Russian leader, Ungern Sternberg, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet satellite.

[167] The outcome of the red victory in the civil war in Siberia had the immediate result of bringing a stream of White Russian refugees to the central Asiatic areas. In addition to smaller groups, two White Russian armies retreated into Sinkiang in 1920 and 1921. The number of these troops has been reported as 30,000 to 40,000 men, a much stronger force than the Chinese army of governor Yang Tseng-hsin. In Outer Mongolia, White Russian forces retreating at that time had been able to take over the government, but the Chinese administration of Sinkiang managed to bring the Russian influx into its territory fully under control. Most of the Russian troops let themselves be disarmed and were interned at Kuchengste. Other troops which had retreated to the Altai border region of Russia and Outer Mongolia retained their arms.

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648 The Altai region has been an area of conflict all the more critical because of the potential value of its mineral resources. In imperial time some control had been exerted over part of the area by the Imperial Amban in Kobdo in Outer Mongolia. The border between Chinese and Russian territory was also not clearly delineated, and the Chinese claim that the highest mountain ridge formed the border being at times contested by Soviet Russia. The area was mainly inhabited by Kazakh tribesmen who were closely related to similar groups at the other side of the border in Russian Turkestan. During World War I a number of Kazakhs from the Russian side had moved over into Chinese territory to escape the draft for labor conscription, and no control had been exerted over these groups. Of all the Turkic people of the province of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs were the most nationalistic and unruly. The attitude of the Kazakh people played, therefore, an important role in the relations between Russia and Chinese Turkestan.

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At the critical time, in 1920, when the White Russian influx became a problem, the Chinese governor negotiated with the Soviet authorities an agreement which established friendly relations across the border but at the same time enabled the governor to deal successfully with the problem of White Russian immigrants. He gained a Soviet promise of amnesty for all those White Russians who wanted to return to Russian territory and encouraged as many as he could to go back to Russia, while others continued their journey to China proper. At the same time, he asked for Soviet support in removing the armed White Russians from the Altai region and strengthened the Chinese position in that area by dividing it into regular Chinese districts and sub-district administrations. Connected with this political agreement was a trade agreement in which the Ili valley area was opened to Soviet economic activities. Two soviet consulated were established in this area, in contrast to the seven consulates which the Czarist government had maintained in its last years in Sinkiang. In exchange for the Soviet consulated the Chinese administration was permitted to maintain two consulated in Soviet territory. These consulates were to be established at Semipalatinsk and at Verkhenevelinsk on the border of Outer Mongolia. The agreement also abolished extraterritoriality, and in opening economic relations with the Soviets, Governor Yang gained Soviet release of the property of Chinese merchants in Russian territory which had at first been confisfacted by the new Soviet regime. Through this agreement of 1920 Chinese-Soviet relations were established in Sinkiang long before the beginning of official relations between the government at Peking and the Soviet government and even before the arrangement of Soviet support to Sun Yat-sen at Canton. The agreement of 1920 was broadened by the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1924, signed at Peking, which provided for the opening of additional Soviet

195 consulates. Soviet consulates were opened at Chuguchak, at
648 Sharasume in the Altai region, and at Urumchi and at Kashgar in exchange for the opening of Chinese consulates at Tashkent, Andijan, Zaisan, and Alma Ata.

The Chinese administration under Governor Yang thus maintained a very cautious policy of friendly economic relations with the Soviet Union. This policy was continued even after the leaders of the Kuomintang had broken with the Chinese Communists and had sent the Russian advisers home. The economic relations between Turkestan and Soviet territory remained close; the Chinese consul at Semipalatinsk was quoted by Izvesta as stating that Sinkiang had nothing in common with central China and that the commercial as well as the political relations between western China and the friendly republic of the USSR remained unchanged. Even after Governor Yang accepted the nominal authority of the National Government at Nanking, this policy did not change.

From the side of the National Government, however, the first attempts were now made to strengthen the physical link with Sinkiang. These attempts were later to be renewed during and after the years of World War II and led to the building of new communication links, a policy to be continued later by the Chinese Communists.

In 1928 the Sven Hedin expedition was sent by the National Government to explore a new road connection from Inner Mongolia to Chinese Turkestan as well as to investigate the possiblity of using older caravan routes to the south of Qomul. The expedition was treated politely by the Chinese administration but was closely supervised and restricted in its movements. Even so the routes which the Sven Hedin expedition investigated would not have provided a road between Nanking and Sinkiang which would not have been in easy reach of Russian forces based on Outer Mongolia.

V. Foreign Relations under Chin Shu-jen

While Sven Hedin's expedition was still in Sinkiang, the Russian influence was greatly increased when the Chinese administration of the province was changed. Governor Yang was assassinated, and the former chief of the Political Department, Chin Shu-jen, assumed power. The assassination was carried out by Fan Yao-nan, the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, at a feast at which the Soviet consular officials and several other Russian guests were present. The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs was in turn seized and executed by troops under the control of Chin Shu-jen, who himself then became governor. Under Chin's governorship there was soon an opportunity for great expansion of the Russian influence. In 1929 the Russians reputedly began building up Communist Party cells in

175 648 Sinkiang. In 1930 the completion of the Turksib Railroad in Russian Turkestan along the Chinese border enabled Soviet Russia to intensify the exploitation of the Sinkiang economy. Ever since the Russian development of central Asia, the weight of Russian influence had increased and the Chinese National Government lagged behind in its attempt to answer this threat by a new development of the communications between Sinkiang and China.

175 648 669 The greatest increase in Russian influence came as the result of the revolt of the Chinese Moslems, the Tungans, in 1931, who called in as their leader Ma Chung-ying, a Moslem from Kansu who came close to capturing the provincial government. Governor Chin's administration was saved by Soviet Russia, which gave him arms and military support under the pretext that some Japanese had been on Ma's staff, implying that Japanese schemes were endangering Soviet interests in the province, although no proof has ever been brought forward for such Japanese activities. In order to get Russian support, Chin concluded in November, 1931, an agreement with Soviet Russia which was kept secret from the National Government. By this agreement, eight Soviet trade agencies were set up at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan; the tariff for Soviet products was reduced, and telegraph and radio communications were established with Soviet territory. Chin Shu-jen did not succeed, however, in suppressing the rebellion, and according to one account by a Mr. Tshumabay, then chairman of the GPU mission in Sinkiang, the Soviets, in order to weaken the Chinese military forces, did not at first provide the military support they had promised. When a Moslem force reached the outskirts of the capital of Urumchi, Chin turned over the defense to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, an officer of Manchurian origin. Sheng was placed in command of Chinese troops from Manchuria who had in their fight with the Japanese retreated on to Soviet territory and had been transported by Soviet Russia to Turkestan. Thus from the outset Sheng derived his military power from Russian support. He was substantially supported by another military force recruited from the White Russians living in Urumchi and neighboring cities. Within the ranks of this force could reportedly also be found Red Russian soldiers. When asked about this comradeship-in-arms the White Russians stated to members of the Sven Hedin expedition that there was no difficulty in working together for a common purpose. The equipment of both these forces was provided by the Soviet Union.

With these troops Sheng succeeded in driving off the Moslem attackers. In April, 1935, a coup d'etat by these Russian troops forced the retirement of Governor Chin, who fled to Russian territory and from there returned to China. Sheng Shih-ts'ai became governor and, with the help of Russian war materiel, including

175 648 669 military planes, succeeded in destroying the Moslem forces of Ma Chung-ying who was eventually driven to Kashgar from where in June, 1934, he fled to Soviet territory. All the three leading figures in the struggle for power, Chin Shu--jen, Ma Chung-ying, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai were thus in different ways under Soviet control. Chin had been supported and at the same time handicapped by the Russians who finally permitted him to return to China through their territory. Governor Sheng, his successor, depended from the very beginning on Russian support for his power. And Ma Chung-ying, the defeated aspirant for power, who might have established a closer link with the National Government, entrusted his fate to the Soviet regime. He was reportedly seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936, but from that time on his fate has remained unknown.

VI. Policy of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 648 From the outset Sheng Shih-ts'ai was strongly under Russian dominance. Soviet Russia did not only have influence over the locally recruited Russian forces and over the Manchurian troops of Sheng, both equipped with Russian weapons; it also sent a special tank regiment of 3,000 men, the so-called "Altai Volunteers," to be stationed near Komul on the main caravan route from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. This force was stationed in a strategic position ostensibly to guard against any Japanese advance from Inner Mongolia. In practice it also could interfere with any attempt of the Chinese National Government to re-establish its authority over Urumchi. Soviet military advisors supervised the training of the Chinese as well as the Russian troops, and through their influence communists were reputedly introduced also into the officer and private ranks of the Chinese forces. They also trained political commissars for the indoctrination of the Chinese forces. In addition to this control of the forces the Soviet government had a hold over the administration of the province. Two Russians, a Mr. Yuravlev and a Dr. Lapin, held high positions in the civil administration of the province and Russian advisers under the direction of the Russian consul-general had decisive influence in all important departments of government. Many of the Turks employed in the administration were recruited from West Turkestan or Turkic groups living in the Soviet Union. According to Chinese reports (see article by Yolbars Khan "Sinkiang Under the Control of Chinese and Russian Communists," Chung Hua Nien Pao, vol. 4, 1954, pp. 52-55), Governor Sheng was told by the Soviet consul at Urumchi that he had to follow Party orders. This was the time when, after the Sian kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, a united front had been established in China proper for the war of resistance against Japan. During the time

175 648 when this united front continued in operation, in 1937 and 1938, a number of Chinese Communists were brought in who seemed to have worked in close cooperation with the Soviet advisers.

When he came to power, Governor Sheng was given a Soviet loan of five million rubles for reconstruction. For the plans of reconstruction he was provided with Soviet technical advisers. In 1937 Sheng introduced a three-year plan of reconstruction for which he received a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans; a second plan was introduced in 1940. These funds were used to build motor roads, among other things, and to introduce a large fleet of Soviet trucks. It was reported that 1,350 miles of telephone lines were installed by 1941. By 1939 twenty factories had been set up in the province and over four hundred tons of Soviet machinery had been imported for the exploitation of oil resources and the establishment of an oil refinery northwest of Urumchi. In november, 1940, Governor Sheng concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Union which included permission for Soviet Russia to prospect for and exploit tin and other mineral resources in Sinkiang, and which gave Soviet Russia control over the mineral resources of the province. (The text of this agreement was published in 1950 in Formosa and appeared in 1954 in the American Journal of Foreign Affairs, and in November, 1954, in the German newspaper, Ost-Probleme.")

175 648 669 While extending their military and economic influence over the government of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet government attempted to deal separately with a group of Kazakhs in the Ili and Altai regions who had begun in 1940 to work for an autonomy of their region. When some of their leaders were invited to Urumchi and arrested there at the beginning of 1940, the Kazakhs rose in revolt in February of that year. A truce was concluded on May 15, 1940, in which the insurgents agreed to cease fighting provided that no more Russian troops would be brought into their area. But fighting soon broke out again and the Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, succeeded by the end of 1940 in establishing a provisional government in the Ili and Altai region which was called the National Republic of East Turkestan. A Soviet attempt to deal with the government of Osman Batur failed. Osman Batur turned down the Russian offer of arms which was coupled with a request to withdraw his forces from the Altai region and move them to the Ili area. In September 1941, the insurgent leadership split. Abdulaziz Kasim, a leader who was a Soviet citizen, concluded an agreement with the Soviets, while Osman Batur and his followers continued their fight against Soviet troops as well as the forces of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai. At the beginning of 1942, the Soviets brought 23,000 troops into the Altai area but the critical situation in the war with Germany forced the Soviets to discontinue their campaign and to concentrate on the protection of a few bases in Sinkiang.

175 648 In the meantime Governor Sheng attempted to end his dependence on Soviet Russia and to turn instead to the National Government. When the pressure of the German advance forced the Soviet government to withdraw most of its forces from Sinkiang, it attempted to maintain its position by disorganizing the Turkestan administration. Aside from the negotiations with the Kazakh rebels, the Soviets made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Governor Sheng when they feared he would seek cooperation with the Chinese National Government. This Russian move precipitated a switch of Sheng's administration to the Chinese side. Sheng drove out his Russian advisers and arrested large numbers of his staff who had been cooperating with the Russians as well as with Chinese Communists who had been brought in through Russian support.

175 648 668 The cooperation between the Soviet representatives in Sinkiang and the Chinese Communists during this time seems to have been close. While the Russian representatives conveyed the policy line as determined in Moscow and provided the military and political power behind it, the Chinese Communists infiltrated Sheng's staff and helped to work out many of Sheng's administrative measures. For instance a currency reform instituted in 1938 was claimed to have been the work of the brother of Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-min who had come to Turkestan with the Chinese Communist group under Russian protection. The Communists also established the Fan-ti-hui, or Anti-Imperialist Association which was used for propaganda and intelligence. When Governor Sheng broke with the Soviets and turned to the National Government, he attempted to eradicate this Chinese Communist group. Mao Tse-min and a number of others, including Governor Sheng's secretary, were executed, and many were imprisoned.

175 648 VII. Chinese Nationalist Attempt to Reassert Nationalist Influence

The new active interest which the National Government took in Sinkiang was related to the military situation of the time. The Russian withdrawal was the result of the military defeats brought on Soviet Russia by the Nazi armies which threatened Moscow and forced a concentration of all available Russian troops at the European front. The Chinese National Government could not count on any further Soviet support in its war against Japan, and the further developments in Soviet Russia were uncertain. Even if Soviet Russia could hold out, this seemed an opportune time to eliminate the dangerous Soviet control which was no longer compensated by any military advantage.

The Chinese situation had become still more desperate after Pearl Harbor and the Japanese conquest of the mainland of southeast Asia. Cut off from the supply routes which could bring in

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support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Government searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942 on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as a communication link over which large commercial caravans passed for many years, even after the war. This development brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner-Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

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While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Chaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943, and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

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This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

175 648 completed by March 1943, Soviet Russia not only withdrew its military forces but also retreated from its economic expoitation of Sinkiang. The Soviets capped the main oil well north of Urumchi and shipped back to Russia all the movable machinery from the oil refineries and the gold, copper, and iron mines which they had set up in Ili, Chuguchak, and in the Altai area, and from the factories they had built in Urumchi and other cities.

This Russian retreat was, however, far from complete. The Soviets maintained their consulates in all the larger cities of Sinkiang with a staff of several hundred people. At these consulates the Russians left military guards. At Urumchi a company of Soviet infantry with a strength of at least four hundred men was left behind to guard the consulate. Other consulates were guarded by units of ten to fifty men each. Other units were left behind to guard the gold, copper, and iron mines in the Ili and Chuguchak regions as well as the oil wells at Wusu and at Urumchi where the valuable machinery that could not be removed was protected by these troops. Soviet troops also continued to guard the airfields at Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan. In each Soviet 175 648 consulate the biggest department was the propaganda section. 208 These departments distributed among Turks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Mongols pamphlets printed in Soviet Russia. Agents of the consulates traveled throughout the province giving out these pamphlets and explaining the contents to the illiterate. The pamphlets gave favorable accounts of the Turkic people within the Soviet Union and contained material on methods of agriculture, irrigation, and animal husbandry. Altogether, the Soviet consulates concentrated more than before on the support and protection of the nationality groups who had started to fight the Chinese administration. Although the Soviets did not establish Communist Party cells among these nationality groups, they attempts to infiltrate their leadership. And since Chinese policy aimed at the suppression of this nationality movement, the nationality groups depended on the intervention of the Soviet consulates with the Chinese administration for the protection of the lives of their leaders. In several cases the Soviet representatives prevented execution and in other cases secured the release of imprisoned nationality leaders. As a result the Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs, and Mongols, had to accept the orders of Soviet agents in their dealings with the administration of Governor Sheng.

175 648 VIII. Soviet Efforts to Regain Power in Sinkiang.

By 1944 the defeat of Nazi Germany enabled Soviet Russia to return to an active policy in Sinkiang. The Soviets supported a [669] Kazakh uprising which broke out in the Ili valley on November

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 648 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in November 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [701] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease theRussian-supported Kulja Nationalists

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
(635) in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
[668] ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, "Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

175 the Soviet economic stake in Sinkiang.
648 Over the next years, the strength of the Chinese Communist
668 government increased within the Soviet-Chinese relationship. The treaty of 1950, concluded by Mao Tse-tung in Moscow after lengthy haggling, was replaced in December 1954 by a new treaty concluded at the occasion of a visit of Krushchev and Mikoyan in Peking. Among other concessions, this new treaty provided for the liquidation of the Soviet shares in the former joint stock companies. Nevertheless some element of Soviet control remained since the Soviet shares were to be repaid through deliveries of raw materials and other commodities from Turkestan. The whole industrial and communications development of the province which was to be rapidly expanded under the Chinese Communist Five Year Plans depended also on Soviet economic and technical assistance. Most important, Soviet Russia has reportedly kept possession of the atomic energy center at Mirgrad in the Takla Makan Desert and has through the maintenance of military forces full control over the exploitation of uranium deposits in the Altai region where a large number ofRussians, estimated by one observer to be as large as 80,000, has been reported.

648 On the other hand, a recent British correspondent (New York
668 Times, August 13, 1956, p. 9) has reported that throughout the region "up to the Soviet borders, the direct control of the Central Government on development plans and on political life is everywhere apparent. There are Soviet advisers and experts and plenty of Soviet machinery, but no more than in other parts of China, and the over-riding impression is that China is in complete charge.

"Peking's orders stretch into the remotest villages, where the ever-present cadres and Party members are kept in constant touch with the capital through provincial committees. Nowhere is there any external evidence ofSoviet influence outside the technical sphere."

This observation of a Chinese Communist administration directed from Peking does not necessarily exclude consideration of Russian military and economic decisions for Sinkiang by the Chinese policy-makers in Peking. Nor does it exclude the possibility of conflict in the districtuion of the Turkestan resources between the Soviet and Chinese Communist economies, especially in the case of the uranium exploitation at present obviously in Soviet hands. The railroad from Lanchow to Aktogai in Russian
[496] Turkestan, which in 1956 has been pushed beyond the Yumen oil fields in Kansu, is the most important physical link between the two economies but is also a highway for a vast and growing stream of young Chinese immigrants who are brought in to work on the oil fields, the railroads, and the construction of new towns and factories. This movement, which is aimed at filling up the

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 578 These internal differences have made it impossible for the people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N *175 657 *563 578 The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China, but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his S 175 657 563 578 own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social structures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S 175 669 648 668 In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control. Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

S 175 669 648 668 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan. Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

S 175 669 648 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ung-ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

S 175 669 668 S [646] The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culminated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C. C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

N *668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

N
241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
*668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres them-
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
*668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

S
175 1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
474 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
241 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
668 and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with
[476] roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review. December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S
241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[474] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S
242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

4 Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
471 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
339 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
381 expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[372] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total
[258] of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

439 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In
491 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this high-
494 way, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest
175 highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average
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Description	Value (yüan)	
435 A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp. 88-90.

439 [487] It is understood that there was also considerable trade between Sinkiang, Lanchou and Sian, which, in fact, was the main trade route, but detailed information is not available.

According to a Japanese estimate, the Chinese goods were distributed to the various cities in Sinkiang in the following proportions, which also show the relative commercial importance of the different cities or areas:

Table VI: Distribution of Chinese Goods among Cities in Sinkiang

Place	Percentages of Goods Distributed
Urumchi (Tihua)	25.0
Ili (Huei-yüan)	20.0
South Sinkiang	18.0
Ta-ch'eng (Chuguchak)	15.0
Ku-ch'eng-tzu (Chitai)	12.0
Sharasume (Cheng-hua)	4.0
Hami (Qomul)	3.0
Khobdo (Jirgalantu)	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 534-35.

439 435 175 As to the direct foreign trade, the main country is Soviet Russia. According to official Soviet reports, the value of the Soviet-Sinkiang trade is as follows:

Table VII: Value of Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (unit: 1,000 rubles)

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1931	13,954	10,212	24,166
1932	15,698	12,305	28,003
1933	10,826	18,822	29,648
1934	4,730	5,945	10,675
1935	6,049	4,550	10,599
1936	36,145	25,671	61,816

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 8, p. 514.

439 175 The main exports of Sinkiang to Russia were grain, fruits, wool, fur, meat, paper, cotton, silk, animal intestines and cattle; and the main imports of Sinkiang from Russia were textiles, sugar, metals and metal manufactures, glass and chinaware, oil and matches. The exports of Sinkiang constituted 1.01 per cent of the value of goods that Russia imported from East Asia in 1931, and 1.77 per cent of that in 1932. The imports of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

439 Sinkiang from Russia constituted 1.58 per cent of the value of
175 goods that Russia exported to East Asia in 1931, and 2.78 per cent of that in 1932.

Aside from Russia, Sinkiang has also entered a close trade relation with India and Afghanistan. According to 1927 statistics, the trade between Sinkiang and India amounted to 5,001,413 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

439 Table VIII: The Trade Between Sinkiang and India, 1927
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Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		1,186,648
European cotton goods	276,916	
leather goods	41,448	
dye	326,254	
hide (other than sheep)	61,663	
drugs	29,426	
pearls	71.335	
velvet	115,334	
Indian silk	24,876	
spice	36,562	
Indian black tea	27,386	
other black tea	23,098	
European woolen goods	42,000	
Russian metal goods	41,298	
B. Exports:		2,814,565
horses and ponies	101,235	
cotton cloth	35,698	
cankas	96,434	
iron and copper	742,654	
raw silk	31,294	
woolen goods	358,451	
felt carpet	25,524	
iron goods	66,789	
gold	72,631	
Russian metal goods	189,242	
silver	110,377	
leather goods	16,339	
wool	17,288	
woolen thread	16,037	
donkeys and mules	7,508	
jade	8,272	
Grand Total		5,001,413

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, pp. T.94-95.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
439 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year
435 amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
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Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
*668 II. The Communist Period
43 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
[178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind
As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.

N
*668 The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
496 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which

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*668 links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in December 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

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King,' they always acquiesced, but added, 'Truly the *Holy man, Jesus,* is coming soon, and he will rule the earth in righteousness.'

CHAPTER XXXVII

ASIAN TRIBES

THE town called by the Chinese 'Hami' is known to the Turki as 'Kamul,' while Marco Polo wrote of it as 'Camul.' Its inhabitants are called 'Kumuliks.' 175

The Venetian traveller wrote: 'Camul has customs of the husbands giving up not only their house but their wives also for the entertainment of strangers. The women are, in truth, very handsome, very sensual, and fully disposed to conform in this respect to the injunctions of their husbands. In the middle of the thirteenth century Mangu Khan stopped the practice, but after three years the people petitioned him to allow them to return to it, saying that it was pleasing to the gods, who blessed them in consequence. His answer was: "Since you appear so anxious to persist in your own shame and ignominy, let it be granted as you desire. Go, live to your base customs and manners."' It is impossible but that such an ancestry should have left its impress on the unique population found in this town to-day, and the geographical position of the oasis also plays its part in forming the distinctive character of the Kumulik, in whose blood are strains of every tribe inhabiting the Central Asian plateau.

The first inhabitants and makers of the oasis were the ancient Uigurs who, on being driven by the Mongols from northern Dzungaria, in the Altai region, settled on

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned [647] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

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Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders. 563

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other 175 797 779

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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

•175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'

[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighur Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

[21] Katanov-Menges.

178 The totally new factor of

 machine-powered industrialism is now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and [412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry, [382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of [135] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

174 538 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 177 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs, (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

mice.[21] Another series of proverbs which develop the moral that man often provokes his own downfall takes us back to the Indian story cycle *Jatakam*. One of the *Jatakam* tales tells of the sparrow who, trying to stop two goats from fighting, flies between them and is crushed.[22] We have only to compare this with the Uighur proverb, "Two stallions are fighting and a fly is squashed,"[23] to see the parallel. The Uighur proverb, "When the mouse shall die, it scratches the testes of the cat,"[24] also has its counterpart in the *Jatakam* series, such as the tale about the goat which is about to be saved from slaughter because there is no knife, whereupon the goat digs up a knife accidentally from the ground and is slaughtered with it. This story also occurs in a Greek tale and is echoed in an Arab proverb "Don't be like the sheep which perished by digging with its hoofs." There is some controversy as to the way this story came to Sinkiang and became an Uighur proverb. Fraenkel[25] claims that its origin was Greece, whence it traveled to the Arabs and with Arab merchants to Sinkiang and India. R. Pischel, however,[26] avers that the fact that it occurred in the *Jatakam* proves its Indian origin.

Many of the Uighur tales belong to general Turkic and Iranian Inner Asian story cycles and are the offspring of Inner Asian written folk tales. Such is the story of Hamra,[27] which roughly follows the theme of the popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man.[28] Others again are retold versions of romances of the famous fifteenth-century Uzbek poet, Ali-sher Newai. Such are the tales

[21] Comp. *Panchatantra*, (T. Benfey,) Leipzig, 1859, II, pp. 194–195.

[22] Comp. R. Pischel; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 47, 86–87 (hereafter "ZDMG").

[23] C. Brockelman, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, Heft 1/4, 71, No. 255.

[24] Brockelman, *op. cit.*, No. 225.

[25] *Das Schaf und das Messer*, ZDMG, 47, pp. 737–740.

[26] ZDMG, 47, 88.

[27] V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur d. Turkischen Staemme Suedsibiriens*, VI, pp. 114–130; G. Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki*.

[28] H. Vambery, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 35.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

538 177 of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

773 538 A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social 538
status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long 773
and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which 538
are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for 538
their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, 186
their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence. 538

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian 177
exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

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ture, based not only on the traditional forms of Kazakh oral poetry, but also on such Western literary forms as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The rapid rise in literacy enabled the new literature to become truly the property of the people. The new themes are concerned with modern problems such as the Civil War, the Five Year Plans, the building of a socialist society and the war against Nazi Germany.

Despite the fact that there are available no texts collected from the Sinkiang Kazakhs, it may be assumed that the social and national upheaval of the Kazakhs on the Russian side of the border has influenced the oral art of the Kazakhs in Sinkiang, particularly since the Russo-Chinese border never presented a serious barrier to the movement of nomads.

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The main cultural heritage of the Kirghiz, like that of the Kazakhs, is in their tradition of oral art and in a strongly developed sense of music; but epic poetry is even more strongly developed. Many of the Turkic national tales, legends, and heroic episodes have been amalgamated by the Kirghiz into a huge national epos, which has recently been completely recorded for the first time by Soviet ethnographers and folklorists. This national epos, *Manas*,[47] deals primarily with the Kirghiz struggle against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth and eightheenth centuries, which is depicted as a religious fight of the Mohammedan true believers against the infidels. It gives a detailed picture of the life and customs of the Kirghiz, with descriptions of battles, family life, marriage, death ceremonies, feasts. According to Radlov in the nineteenth century and to recent Soviet ethnologists, this epos is still very much alive among the Kirghiz people, and practically every Kirghiz can recite parts of it. Since the Soviet Revolution, the Soviet Kirghiz have developed a considerable body of new literature, in which they have taken over the Western forms of the novel and the drama, in addition to the use of their old traditional epic and poetic forms.

[47] The most recent and most complete translation into Russian is: U. Dzhekishev *et al.*, eds., *Manas*, Moscow, 1946, 370 pp.

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ferghana to the west, an older land than Semirechia and no less fair. The Islamic culture of Kashgar comes from the ancient cities of Ferghana; its minstrels still sing of Marghilan, the Silver City, its ballads tell of the days when there were Khans in Khokand. The Russians before the War had brought their railway to Andijan, and for years the caravan-route over the Terek Pass from that town was the least arduous of the roads to Kashgar. Thus it is that such little foreign influence as has left its mark upon this place is Russian. But in Central Asia the triumph of politics over nature is short-lived, and the trade between Kashgar and Russian Turkistan is a mere shadow of its former self. To the south of Ferghana lay the secluded mountain lands of Eastern Bokhara, another ancient Khanate. Time was when the Oxus and its affluent the Surkhab saw the caravans passing to and fro between Persia and Cathay; long before the Revolution, the organization by the Russian Government of the Andijan route had diverted traffic from the ancient Silk Road, but the glories of Bokhara and far Samarkand were household words in Kashgar none the less. Now the age-old Chinese policy of seclusion has once more prevailed, and the city of Tamerlane is as remote from Kashgar as Roum—Constantinople—itself. Then, to the south-west beyond the Pamirs, Afghanistan, now emerging from the shelter of her mountain walls into the dusty arena of the twentieth century; then the "Rough Bounds," as they would call them in the Highlands, of Dardistan and Baltistan across which we came; and last Tibet, the true Roof of the World, still remote and mysterious in spite of the long but narrow searchlight-beam of publicity which has lately fallen upon it.

Ignorance in Kashgaria of the outside world is still profound. Strangers, especially "Afghans," under which generic term Indians, Persians and Bokharans as well as genuine Afghans are grouped, are called "travellers" (*musafir*), or "men who have crossed the passes" (*davan-ashti*), for the road to Leh and India is often referred to as the "Seven Passes." What little knowledge there is of India and its English protectors is confined to Kashgar, Yarkand and the oases of the south; along the north-east road, in Maralbashi, Aqsu, Kucha, etc., the vaguest ideas prevail. Nor do their Chinese rulers enlighten the inhabitants; quite the reverse. Some of those we met had very hazy ideas themselves as to what was "beyond the passes." Harding told me that they visualized India, if

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

at all, as a mountainous frontier province of "England," inhabited entirely by turban-heads (Chan-t'ou) over whom ruled a white race only slightly less barbarous than themselves. I remember once being told by an inspecting officer from Urumchi who called on me about the road across the Gobi Desert to China Proper: "It is not so dangerous as it used to be," he said, perfectly seriously. "The route the caravans used to go by between Hami and Tunhwang became infested by stone dragons, which breathed fire and storm and devoured many travellers. They got so bad, that the government sent out a detachment of troops against them. But the stone dragons devoured the troops too. So the route had to be declared closed and now travellers go by a longer one where there are no stone dragons." Another Magistrate with whom I was talking about the elusive "cloudy tiger" of the Tarim River jungles was very contemptuous about this animal, which he admitted he had never seen. "It is like the Turban-head, mild and cowardly," he said. "The real Chinese tiger is a very different animal. It is twice as big as the Maralbashi tiger, and it bears on its forehead the royal symbol, Wang. Wherever it goes, a strong wind follows it. Thus is it recognized."[1]

Every now and again some sight or incident would bring forcibly home to me the Arcadian isolation in which the people of the country lived. One day while walking near the Aqsu Gate I came upon a small crowd lining the bank above one of the few short pieces of level road near the city. Wondering what they were looking at, I joined them and saw—a young man vigorously pedalling a bicycle up and down. The crowd gazed in awed silence. I got into conversation with a man who told me that this "velocipede" was the only one in Kashgar and that its owner occasionally gave exhibitions. He did not think that anyone else in Kashgar knew how to ride a velocipede.

[1] So tall were some of the yarns with which I was solemnly regaled by dear old mandarins, that had it not been for the fact that they obviously believed every word they said I would have taken it for granted that they were trying to pull my leg. One, who evidently thought I had never seen a yak, told me some remarkable facts about that animal. He said that a yak will dig his horn into the mountain-side and thus swing his body across a steep face, using his horn as a pivot. More wonderful still, when a loaded yak comes to a corner in a narrow cliff-path where a rock juts out and prevents his getting his load round in the ordinary way, he turns inward, facing the cliff, and *sidles* round the corner with his hind legs over the edge!

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

144 and southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert is the same as that still found among the valleys of the Italian Alps and the Caucasus—found, too, by Stein in the third-century graves of Loulan at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.

I have already referred in Chapter V to the illustration afforded by Kashgaria of the racial continuity and persistence of a population firmly rooted in the soil, especially when the extreme fertility of that soil depends entirely upon an elaborate system of irrigation. This permanence is in striking contrast with the state of perpetual change and flux which has through the ages characterized the history of Central Asia as a whole. Throughout the vast spaces of Mongolia, Dzungaria and Turkistan the winds of migration and conquest have swept to and fro; from the Gobi Desert to the Euxine, from Châlons to the Yellow Sea, the great nomad peoples, Hun and Turk and Mongol, have ransacked the world in the lust of dominion and the search for new grazings. Over the Tarim Basin, too, they have passed time after time, but they have left little impress upon it. The reason is not far to seek. With a rainfall of but two or three inches per annum, the grass that pastoral peoples need scarcely exists.

> "Nature" (says Stein) "by denying grazing-grounds to the vast basin between Kunlun and Tien Shan, has protected it against ever becoming the scene of great migratory movements and of such upheavals as are bound to accompany them." [1]

It is the aridity of its climate, then, as well as the seclusion afforded by some of the greatest mountain ranges of the planet, that has preserved the population of the Tarim Basin relatively intact since the dawn of its history in the second century before Christ. But it is not this continuity alone that lends such exceptional interest to the history of the 177 region. There are people with as high a lineage in other secluded parts of Asia and Europe. The peculiar feature of the history of the Tarim Basin is the fact that throughout a vast period of historical time it served as the channel through which the ancient civilizations of China on the one side and of Persia and India on the other maintained contact and to an appreciable extent reacted upon each other.

176 From the second century before Christ to the eighth century of our era there flourished in these oases a civilization in which, though it was predominantly Indo-Scythian, cultural

[1] "Geographical Journal," May, 1925, p. 403.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and bolts, the driver falls off the "box" and the carriage upsets. The supposed actors are duly captured and dragged off to the brigands' lair. Here they are made to play and dance for the amusement of the Chief, who is a magnificent sight in his voluminous yellow embroidered robe, huge black and red mask of appalling ferocity and head-dress of immense size and complexity. At the psychological moment the actors throw off their cloaks and draw their weapons; a battle-royal ensues in which the Chief of the Brigands, fighting for his life, lays about him in the most approved style. Eventually the rescue-party defeat the robbers, take their Chief prisoner, and escort the Governor back to his capital in triumph. During the last half-hour of this performance the noise made by the orchestra passed all bounds. The musicians were specially reinforced by men with brass trays and large solid cymbals which they clashed and banged until I, for one, felt as if they were performing directly on my nervous system. D. said afterwards that hers, especially in her feet, was so numbed by cold and the absorption of thirty odd courses of shark's fin, sea-slug, etc., that the noise scarcely affected it. We eventually escaped with difficulty at midnight, having been there since a quarter past six; the theatre was still in full swing and the children were still looking on. Wonderful people, the Chinese.

Zanguya, 30th March.

Two rather interesting persons were in possession of the rest-house when we arrived and courteously turned out to make room for us. They might be called "Sino-Turkis," for they are Muhammadans of Khotan who for the sake of preferment have adopted Chinese manners, speech and dress. I asked them round to tea and made them tell me all about themselves in their native Turki. One of them said that he had been sent to the Chinese school as a child (doubtless by ambitious parents of the Beg class), and at the age of twenty-five or so had been selected by the Amban of his district (Lop) out of twenty-seven candidates to represent it on the Provincial Council at Urumchi; "Doumalik" he called himself, explaining. The Council or "Douma" of Sinkiang is an advisory body summoned by the Governor, the members of which are theoretically representative of the people, one from each administrative district, but are really nominated by the Ambans; they sit for a fixed term of three years. Our friends had been much impressed by their time at Urumchi and spoke with bated breath of the capital and its ruler; the process of Sinization has evidently been complete. The men impressed me favourably; their manners were perfect and their speech cultivated. One of them in particular, Rajab by name, was most intelligent and looked a thorough gentleman with his neat, short black beard and moustache, black velvet cap trimmed with marten-skin and black satin fur-lined Chinese clothes. He said he was on his way to Karghalik where he had been appointed "Suloya" or chief of police; his friend was going to Goma in a similar capacity.

It seems that Chinese dress is essential for all Turkis who are candidates for Ambanships. But I notice that these men's costume is not purely Chinese; like the designs on Khotan embroidery and carpets, it is a mixture of Mussulman and Chinese. They wear the Turki *tumāq* or cap, as well as the *ōtek* and *kafsh-massi* or Russian

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

177 boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch
647 Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

Zawa, 1st April.

487 We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burān*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

Khotan, 7th April.

796 The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

Lop, 8th April.

000 W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 659 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biiks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[233] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally
[594]

S
W A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
[77 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.

563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
62 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] N 563 794 177 184 To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic 668 group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous 177 culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN IV. Dominant Social Motives.

181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious 77 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced [769] it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AF1

S
N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
• 177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

642 668 177 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 631 177 162 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a province - divided into ten special districts and these were subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 131 668 177 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for

S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[142] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[141] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorted a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
[361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
• 177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

104 F. Tables of Transcriptions
114 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kunos	Raquette	API
	ı	ı	ı, ə	ı	ı
		ü			
ü	ü	ü, u	ü	ü	ü
		u			
e	e	e	e	e	e
ä	ä	ä	ä		
ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö
		ö			
a	a	a	a	a	ɑ
ä	ä				
a	a	a	a	a	a
	ı	ı, e, y, i	ı, i	i	i
	i				
—	—		u	u	ü
			o	ö	ɔ
ü	—	—	—	ü	ɯ
ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü
		ö	ö		
ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	o
	ö	o	o	ö	ɔ
		o			
				y	z
	ü	y		ü	ʏ
					ʊ

1:: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AF1

212 Table III. The Russian symbols which are in the process of
177 introduction.

Аа	Зз	Нъвъ	Уу	Щщ
Бб	Ии	Оо	Ўў	Ьь
Вв	Йй	Öö	Фф	Ъъ
Гг	Кк	Пп	Хх	Ыы
Дд	Лл	Рр	Цц	Ээ
Ее	Мм	Сс	Чч	Юю
Жж	Нн	Тт	Шш	Яя

G. Sketch of Eastern Turkish

193 As Eastern Turkish is an agglutinative language, the dialect can be described most simply by presenting the index of suffixes, the only grammatical means of modification. With the use of such an index, the general reader when knowing the meaning of a stem, should be able to figure out the grammatical function of the suffix concerned.

The genitive suffix: -nïŋ, -niŋ
quduq "the fountain," quduqnïŋ "of the fountain"

The dative suffix: -ɣa, -gɛ
ɵj "the house," ɵjgɛ "to the house, in the direction of the house"

The accusative suffix: -nï, -ni
ɯj "ox," ɯjnï "the ox" (direct object)

The locative suffix: -dæ, -dɛ
qïz "the girl," qizdæ "at the girl's, with the girl"

The ablative suffix: -dïn, -din
kûl "the ashes," kûldin "from the ashes"

The plural suffix: -læ-r, -lɛr
jhrɛk "the heart," jhrɛkler "the hearts"

The diminutive suffix: -ǰa, -ǰɛ
baɣ "the garden," baɣǰa "the little garden"

The professional suffix
ɵtmɛk "to pass by," ɵtmɛkǰi "the passer-by"

The suffix of ordinal numbers: -indʒi, -ïndʒï, -ûndʒi, -ɯndʒï
beʃ "five," beʃindʒi "the fifth"

The possessive suffixes:

1. pers. sg. -ïm, -im, -ɵm, -əm, -ûm, -ɯm, -ɯm, -um, -om, -əm
2. pers. sg. -ïŋ, -iŋ, -ɵŋ, -əŋ, -ûŋ, -ɯŋ, -ɯŋ, -oŋ, -əŋ
3. pers. sg. and pl. -si, -sï, -i, -ï
1. pers. pl. -ïmïz, imiz, ɵmiz, -əmiz, -ûmiz, -ɯmïz, -ɯmïz, -omïz, -əmiz
2. pers. pl. -ïŋïz, -iŋiz, -ɵŋiz, -əŋiz, -ûŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -oŋïz, -əŋiz

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [197] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
S
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[197]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N
*563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
621 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
[592] or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N
[622] and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N
*563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
592 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
ooo herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to [177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irrigation practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper [624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office [177] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion. [582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur S [464] kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [641] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 799 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[363] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
322 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
267 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

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The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

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[668]

The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

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"Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

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The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[175]

The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an [197] impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Bud- [177] dhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, nd the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
533 tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
[177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 538 179 668 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

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563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

[177] A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art
[177] were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
209 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 177 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
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873 fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
563 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
668 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
177 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

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[874] In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

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The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
199 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese secular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

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779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

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795 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

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795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[199] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 785 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 796 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 788 778 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

N 795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:

* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike 177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of 795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was * 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a concil- 177 iatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists, 795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their 668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control 177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races. S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan, [635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighurs. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

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ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

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In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

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Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were
795 accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic
668 ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since
795 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders
668 have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the
177 policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

795 A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, fol-
798 lowing the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist
668 the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Mos-
177 lems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese
692 Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

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795 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important
798 function administered by the qadi.
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• 177 Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death
S and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to
[648] have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the
[669] anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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795 B. Lamaism
792 As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also
* 668 tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of
177 the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution
795 differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Gen-
792 erally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the in-
* 563 fluence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mon-
* 668 gols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their
177 princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

000 communities.

795 The Russian Orthodox Church in Sinkiang had quite a differ-
668 ent fate.[1] By 1938 the Vicariate of Urumchi comprised eight
177 parishes and counted fifteen thousand faithful. It was headed by Mgr. Juvenal Kilm, who in the meantime has been promoted to the Archbishopric of Omsk. Archpriest Dimitry Mlodzyanovky is now active in Urumchi, and it is reported that the number of believers is increasing.

1. [In contrast to the Roman Catholic church in Northwest China, see pp. 359-361--Analyst]

N 204 *668 177 12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 *668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia.

S 204 668 177 Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 *668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 *668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet, guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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204 3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
*668 4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
177 (The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
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204 5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by
668 Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang,
177 with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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214 III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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214 After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under
*668 control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses,
177 the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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214 3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000
*668 copies.
177 4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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214 Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House
668 had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies.
• 177 Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

S The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups
N in Red China were given as follows:
214 Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian,
177 Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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Representative Meeting
20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:
Noon:
12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.
12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:
19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law
19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.
20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.
20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

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In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

S 207 668 177 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural district in Sinkiang.

These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

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Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being constantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai, Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

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N 546 * 668 177 VI. Movies and Lantern Slides

In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.

Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.

(Sian, Chi'lin-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

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According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

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The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
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[162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More-
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[871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively
N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.
464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[166] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

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464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
• 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
466 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

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466 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
177 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
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[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
177 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 466 697 499 668 177 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion, i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments, led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took [648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 466 697 668 177 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 466 315 697 668 177 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000

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465 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town
315 Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the
697 Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.
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699 After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast
[648] of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo)
464 of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who
697 are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 874 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this 743 provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

* 563 Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, 262 the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

N 744 *668 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N [759] The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N 743 *668 177 The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S 743 744 668 177 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
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• 177 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
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657 5 million yuan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
177 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innoculation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the
177 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relation-
[439] ships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on con-
179 formity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

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181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
(192) tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
181 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
183 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
668 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
177 and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

179 inflict upon itself.
178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

179 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
921 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
919 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

/Turks of Sinkiang/

815 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted
668 with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect,
177 they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future
668 as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a
177 word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning
[439] industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on ownership of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural
668 that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers
177 and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national
668 minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political
177 consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

/Turks of Sinkiang/

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

S 563 829

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
• 177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
S
563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
S
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
643 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the
177 succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177 S 635 668 177 S [642]

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

N 635 631 *175 S 635 631 175

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

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Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
668 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
179 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
• 177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and nationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

175 177 668 642 [563] [631]

under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's
[666] Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the
new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members
have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the
erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang
Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned
and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The
vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman,
and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the
intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist Hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[794] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and
[575] the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N 681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The
plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have
been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.).
It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods
of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition.
(Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations
*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities
have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's
invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed.
It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists
will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very
near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad
*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a cen-
tralized system of police and military control. All that can be
expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition,
nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant
irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve
as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain
political significance only when military aid from abroad is avail-
able. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when
the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime
and sided with the Germans. At present only two important cen-
ters of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National
Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik
Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a mem-
ber of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the
rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee
N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. *A total of twelve construction* jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

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racial or national equality, clean government, peace, and reconstruction. [185]

Uighurs and Kazakhs were immediately appointed to high posts in their own districts. All non-Chinese nationalities were allowed to promote education in their own languages and schools. The number of students increased from 3000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and in addition 329 non-Chinese students were sent to the Soviet Union to study medicine, veterinary science, engineering, and agriculture. Under the provincial Bureau of Education in Urumchi, five branch bureaus were opened: at Sharasume, Chuguchak, Kulja, Aksu, and Kashgar. 175* 178

The provincial newspaper *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* set up branch offices at the same five places, and another at Chingho. Editions were published in seven languages. "Cultural associations" began to function for Uighurs, Kazakhs, Tungans, Tatars, Russians, and Chinese. Of these the most active was that of the Uighurs, the majority people, with 8 regional and 41 district branches, supporting 1736 primary schools with 124,174 students, and also conducting teacher training and adult education.[43]

For a time, there was even relatively clean government. Under Yang and Chin it had been possible for a magistrate to pocket 80,000 to 100,000 Chinese dollars a year. At the beginning of Sheng's administration, inspectors and auditors were sent out to prevent such speculation. More than any other reform, however, this one depended on the degree to which the system as a whole really functioned in a democratic way. After 1940, when Sheng was officially appointed Chairman of the Provincial Government, he became more and more autocratic and suspicious, and an old provincial saying began to be heard again: "The provincial Chairman may be less fat than the Bureau head, and the Bureau head may be less fat than the Regional Administrator, who in turn may be not so fat as the District Magistrate" — the District Magistrate, as the closest to the people, being the official with primary access to sources of "squeeze."[44]

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–84.
[44] Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84.

Sheng himself is quoted by the man who was the director of his provincial newspaper as saying that he was not a member of the Kuomintang, so that "It is strange that they should have elected me a member of the Kuomintang Central Control Committee!" [47] 175*

After coming to power with Soviet military assistance, Sheng negotiated a Soviet loan of five million gold rubles for reconstruction purposes. This loan, which involved no political or economic conditions, carried an interest of 4 per cent.[48] Sheng also asked for Soviet technical assistance. In 1937 he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction, during the course of which he obtained a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans. In 1938 the Provincial Commercial Bank was reorganized as the Sinkiang Commercial Bank, with partly private and partly Provincial Government capital. It issued new notes, and the currency was to a large extent stabilized. By the end of 1939 the old paper currency was declared invalid. During 1939 credits of $17,872,500 (Chinese) were granted to the bank to promote commercial and agricultural capitalization. Funds from the Soviet loans were used to build more motor roads, and trucks in use increased from only 20 in 1933 to 400 in 1938 and eventually to 3000 in 1941. In the same period, 1350 miles of telephone lines were installed. By 1939, there were some 20 factories in the province, and over 400 tons of Soviet machinery had gone into the construction of a refinery at an oil field northwest of Urumchi. 175* 178 648

The development of aviation involved the National Govern-

Communist advisers from Yenan to come to Sinkiang. He later executed some of these advisers and jailed the rest. Miss Anna Louise Strong has kindly let me see her unpublished notes of interviews with survivors of this group, at Yenan, after the war. These notes suggest that the Communists are inclined to claim credit for all the reforms of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his "progressive" period, even before 1938; but the record as a whole seems to make it clear that the reforms were initiated by National Salvationists and other liberals, before the arrival of the Communist advisers. The currency reform of 1938, however, appears to have been the work of Mao Tze-min, brother of Mao Tze-tung, who was executed by Sheng Shih-ts'ai in 1943.

[47] Sa Kung-liao, *op. cit.*

[48] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

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*175 ment as well as the Provincial Government. Under the Nanking-
● 178 Moscow Nonaggression Agreement of 1937, a through air route
648 had been stipulated. Under the Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreement of June 16, 1939, a Sino-Soviet Aviation Corporation was organized. By the terms of these agreements, Russia obtained priority over other countries in air traffic, jointly with China, over Sinkiang.

*175 In 1941 Sheng decreed a second three-year plan. The economic
648 activities of the Provincial Government were expanded through
185 "Foreign Trade and Local Resources Companies." Reconstruction bonds were issued; and the combined effects of inflation in
436 China and a trade boom in Sinkiang raised the exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar from the low point of 4000 to one Chinese national dollar in 1934 to a rate of six to one national dollar in 1942. At the time Sheng left the province in 1944, the rate was five provincial dollars to one national dollar. The boom was largely promoted by an arbitrary linking of the "official" exchange rate between American dollars and Soviet rubles, which enabled Sinkiang to buy from the Soviet-operated Sinkiang Trading Corporation at artificially favorable rates. During this period many Russians entered the province as technicians, but — according to the British observer already quoted, who visited the province in 1940 — there was nothing to suggest that Soviet administrative control was being forced on Sinkiang.

*175 In retrospect, it is clear that Sheng Shih-ts'ai was guided
648 throughout by opportunity rather than by principle. Even while carrying out reforms, which for some years were encouragingly successful, he did not lose his concern for his own interest. This concern led him into a policy of sudden shifts in his relations with Russia, in contrast with the policy of steady neutrality pursued so long and so successfully by Yang Tseng-hsin. From 1933 to 1940 he leaned toward the Soviet Union and away from the National Government of China. From 1941 to 1942 he cut off his relations with the Russians roughly and suddenly, and threw himself on the support of the National Government in a manner suggesting he had little confidence in his own power in his own

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Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

• 178 The totally new factor of

154 machine-powered industrialism is now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and [412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry, [382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of [133] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

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ollection of the land tax and livestock taxes in kind, refusing for 436
.ne receipt of taxes the money issued by his provincial treasury. 457
He had already set up a Provincial Trading Company, which was 458
is personal agent in business; but up to this time it had com-
eted with private trade. In Kashgar, for instance, it handled only about 28 per cent of the trade, less than the proportion handled by an Uighur firm called "Ittifatsherket." In 1942, however, a monopoly of provincial trade was granted to the Provincial Trading Company, which operated on a capital of 2,500,000 United States dollars. Through this company the Governor purchased wool, livestock, cotton, furs, and other products at compulsory prices lower than the market prices, transported them on his own trucks, and sold them to Sovsintorg in exchange for Soviet manufactures. Until 1943 raw materials, though bought at compulsory prices, were paid for in manufactured goods; but further inflationary pressure was then created by paying for such purchases only partly in goods and partly in paper money. The Khotan branch of the monopoly, for instance, paid only 15 per cent of the price of furs and 20 per cent of the price of silk and cocoons with manufactured goods. The abuses of this monopoly caused so much discontent that General Chang Chih-chung was compelled to liquidate the company in 1946.

A new period began in 1943. Governor Sheng, having miscalculated the strength of the Russians, was cold-shouldered by them and had to come to terms with the National Government. The already badly inflated currency of the National Government began to pour into the province, adding to the existing provincial inflation. In 1943 the Provincial Commercial Bank alone was receiving national currency notes at the rate of a million dollars a day. The price index of wheat flour, taking June 1940 as 100, had already increased to 865 by December 1942. In 1945 it jumped to 75,000 and by September 1947 it was 517,500.

Inflation was compounded with other critical developments, 178
some of which had been long maturing, to form an explosive situ- 458
ation. In the first place, there has been a large increase of popula- 47

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[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

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of things, such as the obligation to render labor services to his landlord. In money values, it was calculated in 1943 that the earnings of an agricultural laborer in Khotan for a full year were equivalent only to the value of one twelfth of an acre of medium-grade land. Share rents, however, dominate the lives of most peasants. If the landlord supplies only the irrigation water, the peasant must deliver to him half of the crop. If the landlord also supplies working animals, seed, and implements, he receives two thirds or more of the crop. As, in addition, taxes and other assessments sometimes amount to as much as one third of the crop; the peasant not infrequently has no legal claim to anything whatever at the end of the year, and is dependent on what the landlord thinks it necessary to leave him to keep him alive. This dependence of the peasant on the landlord takes the form of a debt which gives the landlord full control.

The economic crisis in Sinkiang is, in fact, a crisis of interacting and steadily mounting pressures, with no safety valves to give a margin for adjustment.

The exploitation of mines and of industry based on minerals would not automatically solve the agrarian problem. The experience of China has shown that if there is no agrarian reform the agrarian crisis gets worse, not better, in the near neighborhood of industrial centers like Shanghai; and at the same time urban labor, instead of creating a higher standard of living, finds its standards undermined by the rural unemployed. In Sinkiang, as everywhere else in Asia, a higher standard of living on the farm could improve buying power and give an impetus to industrialization; but industrialization alone cannot put an end to the agrarian crisis.

CHAPTER VI Social Structures: The Living Past

The Feudal Heritage

174 HALF A CENTURY AGO, when Western travelers in Sinkiang were most frequent, stagnation was the aspect which they found most striking in the societies of both the oasis dwellers and the steppe nomads. Here in the heart of Asia, time seemed to be standing still. In human society there seemed to be an unending continuity and repetition, but no evolution.

Yet the archaeologists among these travelers, by their startling discoveries of the past as reflected in wall paintings and manuscripts, revealed that the social history of Sinkiang, like its cultural history, had been complex. Here, for twenty centuries of recorded history, the civilizations of India, Iran, and China had interacted. The cultures of settled peoples and pastoral nomads had never ceased to work upon each other. A number of the religions of Europe and Asia had here lived for long periods side by side. To this day, no other Chinese province is so diversified ethnologically, linguistically, in the political importance of its religions, and in the contrasts between the economic systems enclosed within its administrative framework.

Cycles of Centralization and Decentralization

178 Throughout their long history the societies of Sinkiang have, in fact, been climbing the ladder of evolution; but, like other societies, they have at times slipped back several rungs down the

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ladder. This alternation between evolution and devolution can be most simply described in terms of an alternating centralization and decentralization of social and political structures. 178

The geographical factors favored decentralization. A population separated by deserts and scattered in oases, mainly self-sufficient and similar to each other, tends to develop social microcosms with no strong superstructure to unite them into a larger state. Similarly in the wide steppe the tribal needs of pastoral nomads are satisfied by the formation of small social units. The evolution of larger, more centralized units requires the stimulus of interaction between the pastoral society and urban and agricultural society. In Sinkiang, the most important agency in keeping the pendulum of social change swinging has therefore been the alternation between centralization under powerful empires and decentralization, with reversion to small social units, in periods between great empires. 174 178

This alternation, in turn, was influenced by a recurring phenomenon: the tendency of the ability to conquer to outrun the ability to integrate economically and to administer efficiently. Great empires repeatedly broke up because, instead of becoming more cohesive through the circulation of trade, they found it impossible to organize a profitable interdependence of production in different regions. The mechanism of administration was so crude that too high a proportion of revenue was eaten up by the costs of collecting revenue. The costs and hazards of transport were so high that there was always a tendency for trade to be profitable only if the goods could be virtually confiscated from the original producer.

To a large extent, ancient and even medieval trade was carried on in things which the original maker, grower, miner of metals, or hunter of valuable furs did not produce for profit, but surrendered as tribute under some form of organized compulsion. Empires based on the economics of compulsion fell apart all the more readily, when they lost the power to compel, because in each of their component parts the really essential economic life was relatively self-contained.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so-
178 cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal, both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level, but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal." [1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

service. In 1812, however, an imperial decree allowed the garrison commander at Kulja to divide the Manchu-held land as permanent private property, exempt from tax. Under the terms of grant, such land was not to be leased to others for cultivation, and if farm hands were hired, they must be Manchus.[23] In the course of time, however, these terms became a dead letter and the land was freely leased and even sold to Chinese cultivators, officials and merchants.

In their main lines the structures of both the settled and the nomad societies of Sinkiang, as administratively revised under the Manchu Empire, outlasted the great Moslem rebellions of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. They even proved strong enough to contain the gradual commercialization of economic life during the past hundred years. Only now are they finally breaking down, caught between a securely established socialized state in Soviet territory and a rapidly spreading social revolution in Chinese territory.

As they break apart, these structures reveal a multiple stratification, the layers of which can be classified both socially and historically. Socially, they are graduated from arbitrary powers and privileges at the top to disfranchisement at the bottom. Historically, the stratification is more confused. In the alternating cycles of feudalism centralized under a strong imperial overlordship and feudalism decentralized under local oasis-states and rulers of nomad tribes, the incoming phase never completely swept away and replaced the institutions and administrative practices of the outgoing phase. Some of the characteristics of decentralization always lingered here and there, though unevenly, in the strongest phases of centralization; and conversely, even when oases were most completely independent of each other politically, and nomad tribes rejected the overlordship of other nomad tribes, the larger community of the oasis society as such and the society of the pastoral nomads as such was never entirely obliterated.

[23] *Institutes of the Manchu Dynasty*, edition of 1818, section *"Shih Li"* ("Precedents"), Ch. 842, p. 13 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

178 631 566 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy represents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 566 438 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

monopolists, sometimes locally and sometimes on a provincial scale. In this way the provincial revenue from trade was cut down, but individually the protected merchant got rich, and enriched the individual bureaucrat or the clique of associated bureaucrats to whom he paid a tribute for his protection. 178 566 438

At the bottom level the individual cultivator and herdsman collected tribute from nomads, and paid out — in rents and taxes, in forced labor for special projects and in "customary services" to his immediate rulers — the tribute which those above him divided according to their position in the stratification of privilege. Though no legislation declared them to be serfs, both cultivator and herdsman were in fact survivors of the feudal system of enserfment, having duties but no rights, and being prevented from selling their services in a free market by administrative enforcement of the rights of all those above them to collect tribute in kind, forced labor for the community or the province, and "customary services" to individuals. Even the nominal significance of private property in land or cattle, among the poor, was blurred by debt obligations which prevented them from acting as free agents.

When a society breaks up, it never breaks up at random. Every society has its own kind of cohesion, and usually its cohesiveness is unequally distributed over different parts of the society. Between the units of cohesion are lines of stress; and cleavages, when they take place, usually follow these lines of stress. In considering the influences coming from Russia now at work upon the societies of Sinkiang, and the influences that may be expected to develop rapidly from a China in which Communists are consolidating their power, we must take into account both the influences themselves and the balance between cohesion and cleavage already existing within the societies on which they work.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
E K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

SN
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After
[668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term
563 later was adopted by the Chinese.

144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old
[187] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen-
[175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[777]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings N [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] [582]

The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

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A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178

The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 [671] [779]

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

N
121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
101 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road
487 South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and
563 habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
• 178 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-
563 honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
S our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese
121 Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or East-
*563 ern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N
*563 A. The Han Chinese

*175 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
776 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
778 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[778] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
776 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
[192] tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional asso-
181 ciations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
183 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
668 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
177 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

177 inflict upon itself.

178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el isçisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
779 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S 829 justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[198] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
[554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
829 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
563 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
668 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
177 are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[634] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
[242] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
S N [361] their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

N
[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

S
175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
• 178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955 there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45,62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
668 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
177 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

S N [433]

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

N [433]

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

Uighur
The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181-• 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

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[21] Katanov-Menges.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

131 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese [132] officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved [181] of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi"—the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured 627 Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 ~~A11~~ Sinkiang A11

of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, combining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to the brilliant clearness of the weather my plane-table and cameras kept me very busy. The "rays" and telepanoramas I obtained of Qungur and the Shiwakte from this side proved afterwards of the greatest value to Major Mason in his compilation of my topographical material.[1]

The cold at nights was severe, and the development of my plates and films was carried on under difficulties. Two or three of my best views, including a perfect one of Muz Tagh Ata, reflected in the waters of the Qara Kul, were spoilt by the plates freezing before they were properly dry. Snow fell almost every night, and unless one laced up the door of one's tent tightly before going to bed, there was apt to be a small snow-drift on one's pillow in the morning. Whenever we could, we occupied *aq-ôis*, because of the fire which could be made in the middle if there was enough *burtsa* or *saxaul* brushwood. The latter is not a good fuel for open fires, but makes excellent hot-ashes for the "fire-bucket." If it is to be used for a fire, it is advisable to lay the plants with their stalks outwards and the bushy part towards the middle, as they burn better thus.

487 The Ulugh Rabat Pass (13,650 feet), immediately to the west of Muz Tagh Ata, consists merely of rolling downs with a barely perceptible watershed. When we crossed it on 20th September it had a little snow on it—just enough to make me wish I had my skis with me and could wait for the next snowfall. Between November and April, when the snow lies everywhere, one could ski every yard of the 5 miles from the top of the pass to the Qarasu post, and most of the 12 miles on to Ghujak as well. The run down the north side of the pass would be shorter, but just as good.

Passing the flourishing settlement of Tagharma, chief centre of the Tajiks, we reached Tashqurghan the following day, and after a couple of days' halt went on to Yurghal Gumbaz on 24th September. On the latter march we spent the whole morning visiting Pir Imam Dad and our other Maulai friends of 1922 at Tughlan Shahr. D. was struck by the almost Italian vivacity and warmth of feeling shown by the Tajik women, compared with the more phlegmatic and reserved Kirghiz. In my dealings with the men, too, I found them much more excitable than either the Kirghiz or the Turkis of the plains. At Nadir Beg's house D. was greeted enthusiastically by a vivacious, bright-eyed, alert little woman,

181

[1] "Geographical Journal," June 1925, pp. 406–8

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

who had entertained her for ten minutes at Mintaka Aghzi on the journey up. This lady had then been living with her father, the Beg of Mintaka, but had since married into Nadir's family. She rushed at D., patted her all over and began re-arranging her hair, which had suffered from the gallop across the meadows from Tashqurghan. She also kissed her when leaving. A quite poor Tajik woman at Yurghal Gumbaz told D. that she had had nine children, of whom seven had died. One of her daughters had been very beautiful. "She died when she was still a bride," said the old lady. "She was very lovely, her eyes were full of fire.[1] She was so beautiful that I used to sit making clothes for her all day long."

The Tajiks use the word *chokan* for "bride," i.e. a wife who has not yet borne a child, whereas the Turkis as already mentioned reserve the term for an unmarried girl. Similarly the word *jawan* is used for a woman who has borne children, not as at Kashgar. A Tajik married woman wears big mother-of-pearl buttons over her ears, and at intervals of about two inches down each *chach* or braid of hair. The appetite of the Tajiks for medicine is in no way inferior to that of the Kirghiz. A lad was sent with us all the way to Yurghal Gumbaz to fetch back from our camp doses of castor-oil and anteczema which D. had prescribed for a baby and an elderly widow respectively. D. gave most careful and explicit instructions to the messenger, but it is quite likely that they rubbed the widow with the castor-oil and administered the anteczema internally to the baby.

Three days later we reached Lopgaz at the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, 14,000 feet above the sea. It had been cold even at Paik, the stage before, and I had adjured the Beg who was looking after us, to be sure and provide good *aq-ois* and plenty of firewood. Imagine our disgust, therefore, when we arrived at the bleak and open Lopgaz camping-ground, just as the sun was dipping behind a snowy ridge, to find nothing but two miserable little huts, full of holes and smelling strongly, and not a scrap of firewood. The Beg was a long way behind with our loads, and there was nothing for it but to set to work and collect fuel for ourselves. All that was to be had in the valley was the tiniest growth of *burtsa* imaginable, plants the size of face-sponges and damp at that. After an hour we had collected a heap about two feet high, which

[1] The Turki word for fire (*ut*) is also used for love.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say 668 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic 177 group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN IV. Dominant Social Motives.

181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious 771 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced [769] it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

S 563 181

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid; dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN [668]

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

SN 563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

162 [181] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M.V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P.53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olöts, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists. They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
175 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mon-
563 golia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
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*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

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*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
797 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

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S N 563 101 B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [197] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
• 181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

N *563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N [776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 787 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

000 The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

• 181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
177 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on conformity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 183 (192) is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic conception of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic 181 183 668 177 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkestan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 178 565 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar' , verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

177 inflict upon itself.

178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, [illegible]icraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using [illegible]gricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
719 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

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Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

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S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

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SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society [182] in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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105 nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan
175 and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and
648 pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations
182 were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

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*175 1. Chou Dynasty

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[101] In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
[585] couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] [582] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

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563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

[671] [799]

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security
586 in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 ### A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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S N [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

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N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation
N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit
N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity
N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who become indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N [798]

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on con-
177 formity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 [565] One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did; in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition
S underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of
[184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:
563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. [586] [587] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
586 then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

184 562 583 [586] Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading
[771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their
[642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different
[622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais-
[241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters
[184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of
[354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash
[353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool.
[251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs
[231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats,
[353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is
342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by
352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are
353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is
[415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its
252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The New Uighurs/

563 [533] songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.

The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local [776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region [778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called ōy, or [184] sometimes hānā, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windo[illegible]ames are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at ni[illegible]ht dur- [354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor [352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on [352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard [351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar- [184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a 262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk [272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse [273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are 262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats 252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron. [264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-häyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The
[785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each
[574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all
[262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-häyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two
[184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a
[782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who,
[775] they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus-
[735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
533 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening par-
535 ties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. [782] The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 794 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day, in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/The Chinese/

N *563 751 [772] knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The S 563 751 [772] yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N *563 753 772 826 S 563 753 772 826 In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from S N [278] yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N *563 751 753 772 S 563 751 753 772 Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of S N [184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. S N [212] Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S N 114 163 165 Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sanitation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
181 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
668 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on con-
179 formity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during S [177] the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to S N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. [671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol [674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that 681 184 674 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before S N the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a [565] nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: 681 184 674 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

*175 province — who, though considered formidable fighters, had been badly treated and irregularly paid. Their mutiny broke Chin Shu-jen's nerve, and he fled to Russian territory, whence he returned to China. The remaining officials in Urumchi then elected the head of the Education Bureau, Lin Wen-lung, as acting provincial Chairman, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai as acting commander of the military forces.

[701] Ever since the regime of China's first modern war lord, Yuan Shih-k'ai, a provincial governor who does not control his own troops has usually been overshadowed by the commander of the provincial military forces. It was not surprising, therefore, that Sheng Shih-ts'ai soon dominated his nominal civil superior. Sheng was born in Liaoning Province, in the south of Manchuria, and educated partly in Shanghai and Nanking. He went to Japan in 1915 and again in 1925 to study political economy and military science. During his second stay in Japan he was already under the patronage of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1926–1927 he served on the staff of Ho Ying-ch'in, Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek on the "Northern Expedition" which resulted in the capture of Nanking and Shanghai and Chiang's rise to power. At this time it was not sure whether or how the Kuomintang would be able to take over the Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria), and it was advisable to have in reserve a promising young Northeastern officer. Eventually, however, the Northeastern Provinces came over to the Kuomintang under their own war lord, the "Young Marshal" Chang Hsüeh-liang, which left no room for Northeasterners who did not belong to his personal following. The hopes of Sheng Shih-ts'ai went into eclipse, and for lack of other prospects he went to Sinkiang in 1929 on the personal staff of a bureaucrat who had been appointed General Secretary of the Provincial Government. By 1930 he had worked up to the position of Chief of the General Staff Office of the Frontier Army.

*175 As soon as he took over the real power in 1933, Sheng an-
185 nounced an "Eight-point Policy" for Sinkiang, which was to become famous: equality between nationalities; religious freedom; immediate rural relief; financial reform; administrative reform;

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extension of education; encouragement of self-government; judiciary reform.[40] [185]

Before he could do much in the way of reform, however, Sheng had still to cope with the Moslem rebellion led by Ma Ch'ung-ying. While Sheng was taking the first steps toward power in the north, Ma was threatening to secure control in the south, most of which he now held from Komul in the east to Kashgar in the west. By June 1933 Ma's forces had also entered Kuchengtze, in Jungaria, and begun to push toward Urumchi. By this time, however, Ma's ruthlessness and his plundering of the countryside were weakening him by arousing the hatred even of his fellow Moslems. At Komul the shops were closed and the villages nearby had become heaps of rubble. At Ch'ichiaoching, on the main trade route, the streets were littered with the bodies of dead horses. Trade through Turfan had been suspended. 175*

As Sheng Shih-ts'ai at the head of his Manchurian troops went out to meet him, Ma cut south across the mountains and took Turfan, main valve of the trade routes both eastward to China and westward to Kashgar. At the beginning of 1934, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai had to detach some of his forces to face a fresh revolt in Ili, Ma advanced once more from Turfan against Urumchi — only to meet, this time, his decisive defeat. Sheng had been able to obtain war materials from the Soviet Union, including even planes. He threw back Ma's attack and harassed his retreat by bombing the road between Toksun and Kharashahr. Ma himself barely escaped to Kucha, and fled on to Kashgar. There he remained from April to June, 1934; but when Sheng's troops approached, he fled once more — this time to Soviet territory. He was reported to have been seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936.[41] For some years, Soviet policy was to hold an exceptionally advantageous position. Sinkiang was now to be governed by a non-Moslem Chinese who depended on Russia not only for arms but for economic co-operation. Yet the chief alternative 175* 648

[40] Tu Chung-yuan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang*, Hankow, 1938, pp. 67–72 (in Chinese).
[41] Hedin, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

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*175 648 claimant to power, the Moslem leader Ma Ch'ung-ying, was living in Soviet territory.

There can be no doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in addition to being dependent on good relations with Russia, was genuinely opposed to Japanese imperialism — which, like many Chinese who had studied in Japan, he thoroughly understood. There is also no doubt that Ma Ch'ung-ying had Japanese agents at his headquarters — agents who can be described as adventurous forerunners rather than acknowledged representatives of Japanese policy. Had Ma won, Japanese policy could have followed up these agents; when Ma lost, Japan had nothing to say in public.

The operations of Japanese agents, however, did not end immediately with the flight of Ma to Russia. As late as 1937, from February to October there was a revolt in Kashgar in which the Japanese were accused of having a hand. In October 1937 Sheng told Tu Chung-yuan, a former fellow student in Japan who was then working with him in Urumchi, that he knew of Japanese intelligence agents in the Moslem strongholds of Ninghsia and Ch'inghai (Kokonor) — Chinese frontier provinces adjoining Inner Mongolia and Tibet — and that Japanese remittances to Sinkiang through the coastal Treaty Port of Tientsin in recent months had amounted to more than three million yen. He believed that another ten million yen or more would be sent into Sinkiang. Tu Chung-yuan describes how four important government officials and some merchants with traitorous connections were then arrested.[42]

*175 185 In the meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had embarked on a period of real reform. His "Eight Points," announced in 1933, have already been listed. In the following year he declared that Sinkiang was to be considered "the New Sinkiang," and that his "Eight Points" were to be implemented through "Six Great Policies." The first of these was anti-imperialism (subsequently to be interpreted in a strongly anti-British as well as anti-Japanese sense); this was followed by rapprochement with the Soviets,

[42] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 62–63, 97.

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racial or national equality, clean government, peace, and reconstruction. [185]

Uighurs and Kazakhs were immediately appointed to high posts in their own districts. All non-Chinese nationalities were allowed to promote education in their own languages and schools. The number of students increased from 3000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and in addition 329 non-Chinese students were sent to the Soviet Union to study medicine, veterinary science, engineering, and agriculture. Under the provincial Bureau of Education in Urumchi, five branch bureaus were opened: at Sharasume, Chuguchak, Kulja, Aksu, and Kashgar. 175* 178

The provincial newspaper *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* set up branch offices at the same five places, and another at Chingho. Editions were published in seven languages. "Cultural associations" began to function for Uighurs, Kazakhs, Tungans, Tatars, Russians, and Chinese. Of these the most active was that of the Uighurs, the majority people, with 8 regional and 41 district branches, supporting 1736 primary schools with 124,174 students, and also conducting teacher training and adult education.[43]

For a time, there was even relatively clean government. Under Yang and Chin it had been possible for a magistrate to pocket 80,000 to 100,000 Chinese dollars a year. At the beginning of Sheng's administration, inspectors and auditors were sent out to prevent such speculation. More than any other reform, however, this one depended on the degree to which the system as a whole really functioned in a democratic way. After 1940, when Sheng was officially appointed Chairman of the Provincial Government, he became more and more autocratic and suspicious, and an old provincial saying began to be heard again: "The provincial Chairman may be less fat than the Bureau head, and the Bureau head may be less fat than the Regional Administrator, who in turn may be not so fat as the District Magistrate" — the District Magistrate, as the closest to the people, being the official with primary access to sources of "squeeze."[44]

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–84.
[44] Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84.

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*175 178 648 ment as well as the Provincial Government. Under the Nanking-Moscow Nonaggression Agreement of 1937, a through air route had been stipulated. Under the Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreement of June 16, 1939, a Sino-Soviet Aviation Corporation was organized. By the terms of these agreements, Russia obtained priority over other countries in air traffic, jointly with China, over Sinkiang.

*175 648 185 436 In 1941 Sheng decreed a second three-year plan. The economic activities of the Provincial Government were expanded through "Foreign Trade and Local Resources Companies." Reconstruction bonds were issued; and the combined effects of inflation in China and a trade boom in Sinkiang raised the exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar from the low point of 4000 to one Chinese national dollar in 1934 to a rate of six to one national dollar in 1942. At the time Sheng left the province in 1944, the rate was five provincial dollars to one national dollar. The boom was largely promoted by an arbitrary linking of the "official" exchange rate between American dollars and Soviet rubles, which enabled Sinkiang to buy from the Soviet-operated Sinkiang Trading Corporation at artificially favorable rates. During this period many Russians entered the province as technicians, but — according to the British observer already quoted, who visited the province in 1940 — there was nothing to suggest that Soviet administrative control was being forced on Sinkiang.

*175 648 In retrospect, it is clear that Sheng Shih-ts'ai was guided throughout by opportunity rather than by principle. Even while carrying out reforms, which for some years were encouragingly successful, he did not lose his concern for his own interest. This concern led him into a policy of sudden shifts in his relations with Russia, in contrast with the policy of steady neutrality pursued so long and so successfully by Yang Tseng-hsin. From 1933 to 1940 he leaned toward the Soviet Union and away from the National Government of China. From 1941 to 1942 he cut off his relations with the Russians roughly and suddenly, and threw himself on the support of the National Government in a manner suggesting he had little confidence in his own power in his own

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

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The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province."[11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

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territory and sovereignty of the nation suffer no impairment thereby. The Central Government will not tolerate anything possibly detrimental to the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the State — even at the cost of a war.[12]

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In opposition to the foregoing Chinese policies stands the "Pan-Turkic nationalism" of a group of native leaders who deal with the population of Sinkiang within the framework of a policy designed to strengthen their control over all the people living within the boundaries of the province. Foremost among these leaders is the recent Kuomintang governor of the province, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landowner and merchant from the Kulja area. Likewise prominent is Mohammed Emin, an Uighur who studied for several years in Turkey and is counted as one of the intellectual leaders of Sinkiang.[13]

In the view of Masud and Emin, China does not consist of a single "nation" or "nationality" and Sinkiang does not contain fourteen groups of people, whether designated as nationalities or by any other term. They use nationality, however, as the basis for their own classification of the peoples of the province, and define the term with great precision by listing the criteria which in their opinion determine nationality. These criteria are: (1) uniform language; (2) common territory; (3) similar habits and customs; (4) common will; (5) common religion; (6) common race; (7) common clothing, adornments, and other elements like blood relationship. On the basis of these criteria they conclude that the seven groups designated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Tatars, and Tajiks are all of one nationality. In their opinion these groups together comprise the "Turkic nation," despite the fact that the Tajiks do not speak a Turkic language, but an Iranian one.

As Turkic nationalists, Masud and Emin oppose the use of terms like Uighur and Kazakh to represent different nationalities. Actually, they say, the old subgroupings should be redesignated

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[13] For the views of these men see *Altai*, Vol. I, No. 2, Chungking, April 1945.

III

SHENG SHIH-TS'AI AND THE "NEW NEW DOMINION"

185 WHEN SHENG SHIH-TS'AI was offered direction of Sinkiang destinies, history began to record a courageous new chapter—for long a secret and maligned one—in the annals of human emancipation. For Sheng urged that the province discard the old-style dependency tradition and, by adopting a great new six-point charter, cast in her lot with progress. By his Six Great Policies he aimed at reviving long-submerged cultural aspirations of Sinkiang native races and at bringing about revolutionary Sinkiang reconstruction. This he tried to do within the limits of nominal control of the Chinese Republic, at the price of favoring "radical" Soviet ideas, and at the cost of offending other less far-sighted Chinese, as well as many assertedly "foreign imperialist" interests. He has, in brief, made the province into a New Sinkiang *(Hsin Hsin-chiang)*, a remarkable "New New Dominion."

175 Sheng, a moderate-sized, handsome man, with an exceptionally full crop of dark hair and a thick, descending mustache, started out for the region late in the 1920's. Yang Tseng-hsin, warlord master of the province since abdication of the Manchu Dynasty, had been assassinated in July, 1928, and his place taken by the weak, avaricious Chin Shu-jen. Provincial General Secretary Lu Hsüeh-tsu had gone from Sinkiang to Nanking on business, and had been requested by Chin to look around while there for a man of military background possibly suited to build up the army of the frontier province. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was the man Lu selected.

643 Born in K'ai-yüan county of Liaoning, Manchuria, in 1893, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been reared "in a small family" and amid conditions of "poverty" and "cold." How he managed an education with such meager resources is not clear, but he attended primary and middle schools, and even had some university training in Nanking. There he studied European history under Chang Chi-luan, the late editor of China's most famous newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*. Sheng never seems to have forgot-

large amounts of war materials—trucks, armored cars, machine-guns, ammunition, and even airplanes. With these and the help of Russian troops from the Altai area, the government forces captured Hsi-hu, on the Altai road, and compelled General Chang to flee ultimately toward an ignominious suicide. Then Sheng turned once more to press home his attack on Ma Chung-ying. Had the Russian matériel not been obtained, Ma might have won the battle of Tihwa. As it was, the Tung-kans were forced to flee back all the way to Toqsun; and Sheng's armies began to block their enemies off, both outside Turfan and in the vicinity of Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). Ma's position quickly became so desperate that he began a long retreat to the southwest in the direction of Kashgar. Sheng's airplanes harried the retiring forces with bombs at Turfan and again at Korla, and it was only by the narrowest margin that the Tung-kan leader squeezed past those towns to Kucha. From there he fled to the comparative security of Kashgar in April, 1934. Yet he was forced to leave even that refuge, for troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army marched in within four months. Ma is said to have been escorted over the Chinese frontier into Russia, and his whereabouts have since then seemingly been swallowed up in mystery. 175 669

Sinkiang was not, however, sorry to see him depart, after the four years of warfare. The desperate people were instead only too ready to heed proclamations which were dropped from Sheng Shih-ts'ai's airplanes urging the populace to make "genuine submission" in return for "rehabilitation" and "safety." An army of Kirgizes, Turkis, Torguts, Taranchis, and White Russians, according to words ascribed to one of the tribesmen himself, had at last been formed "to drive Ma and the Tungans out of Sinkiang." All who followed Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been promised, too, that "a new era" had begun for the province; that General Sheng was going to reorganize Sinkiang administration and bring "order, peace, and security."

On first coming to power in 1933, Sheng Shih-ts'ai concerned himself principally with the handling of dissident factions; soon, however, he issued declarations of radical administrative policy, and then introduced a first, and in due course a second, three-year plan of provincial reconstruction. His program was not at first so effective in South Sin- 185

185 kiang as in North Sinkiang, and his accomplishments have been less noticeable there. But at that, under his administration Sinkiang Province boasts of its modern innovations, such as electric light, telephone, and wireless improvements, of airplane and widespread automobile transportation, of motion pictures, daily newspapers, and of rapidly spreading literacy. These are all the more remarkable in view of the relatively remote terrain to which they have been brought.

This is the way in which Tu Chung-yüan summarizes the great changes in Sinkiang:

> From the time of the "Four-Twelve" Affair Sinkiang has changed politically, militarily, and socially. This change has been the result of a great upheaval, and it is only due to his acquaintance with international affairs, politics, and his personal experience in Sinkiang that Sheng Tu-pan has been able to cope with it. [illegible] long mistakenly felt that they deserve to gov[illegible] great people over lesser peoples. Has not this mistaken idea, which existed not only during the administrations of Yang Tseng-hsin and Chin Shu-jen but which was derived from the code of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Mien-t'ang, has not this mistaken idea really aimed at the military subjugation of Sinkiang? Such might have passed muster formerly but not today. With the boundaries of Sinkiang and Soviet Russia touching for several thousand Chinese miles and with the Soviet kind of socialism and liberty already having been made available to the lesser peoples of Soviet Russia, how is it possible for a ten per cent Han minority to subjugate successfully in Sinkiang an over eighty per cent Moslem majority? . . .

Shortly after his election as Provisional Border Defense Commander of the province, Sheng issued an Eight Point Proclamation which set the early keynote for his conduct of government. Establishment of Racial Equality and a Guarantee of Religious Freedom were primary and secondary in the proclamation. Its other six points were: Equitable Distribution of Agricultural and Rural Relief; Reform of Government Finance; The Cleaning Up of Government Administration; The Expansion of Education; The Promotion of Self-Government; and The Improvement of the Judiciary.

It is more than coincidental that the Eight Point Proclamation made no mention of ties to Sovietism and that its first two guarantees were

those of Equality and Religious Freedom. It is just the kind of a proclamation which might have been issued in an early, purely Chinese, attempt to conciliate the rebellious Moslems. Nor does it seem by chance that next emphasis was placed on aid to agriculture and the rural areas, for that has been a leading part of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's accomplishments. Reforms in government finance and administration also were particularly applicable in a period following the avaricious rule of Chin Shu-jen. The remaining three points, dealing with education, self-government, and the judiciary, are more abstract; but they too were practicable planks for a Sinkiang political platform.

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But the Eight Point Proclamation does not seem to have received the continued stress that has been placed upon another, a complementary, set of principles of the New Sinkiang:

Once, as Tu Chung-yüan puts it, Sheng Shih-ts'ai ". . . had eliminated internal rebellion, unified Sinkiang, and firmly established government authority," he ". . . invoked his Six Great Policies . . ."

The Six Great Policies of the New Sinkiang are: (1) Anti-imperialism; (2) Kinship to Sovietism; (3) Racial Equality; (4) Clean Government; (5) Peace; and (6) Reconstruction. In them the unique character of the New Sinkiang is to be found. As a unit these principles constitute a magnificent charter, a message which may even match that of the Magna Charta of Britain, the Bill of Rights of the United States, and the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter for the effect it has already had and can have in Asia in the battle for Chinese emancipation. For here, in the heart of Central Asia, a colony had cast off her fetters, risen and shouted forth the dogma upon which she was to stand or to fall. Upon it she built a new civilization for herself, and her message is one to which the world well may listen.

ments came at the cost of bristling armor and ruthless suppression. 579
The Manchus in their turn dominated the Western Regions by force; for they were compelled first to drive the Ölöts back from Tibet and Eastern Sinkiang and then to lay waste the North. When Sinkiang Moslems of the nineteenth century revolted, the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang suppressed the uprising by some of the bloodiest campaigns in history.

If not the military struggles of these earlier days, then at least the desperate civil wars of the 1930's, described earlier in this volume, have been enough to make the slogan of "Peace" welcome to the Sinkiang masses. "Peace," Tu Chung-yüan says, has been Sinkiang what Lenin's "Bread and Peace" was to Soviet Russia. was maintenance of "Peace," probably as much as anything else that enabled a new and promising day to dawn for Sinkiang.

IX

RECONSTRUCTION

PERHAPS ONE of the most convincing actual proofs that "Peace" was 185
brought at last to Sinkiang is revealed in what her new administration has accomplished. Sheng Shih-ts'ai's record of "Reconstruction" may not be one of unlimited attainment, but it is certainly one of creditable progress.

Chinese say that Sheng did not succeed in establishing a "unified" Sinkiang government for three years. Numerous taxation and currency stabilization problems remained unsolved, and there was still not complete political cohesion. In 1937, however, he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction under Soviet Russian guidance, and by 1941 the second such plan was well under way. Two institutions, a Foreign Trade Company and a Local Resources Company, have transacted most of the Sinkiang business, and, on a profit-for-the

185 province basis, have dealt with and for a network of local cooperatives. All provincial banking is said to have been monopolized by a Sinkiang Commercial Bank. Together with a Reconstruction Commission, these organizations have been at the core of the new provincial economy. What the administration of the New Sinkiang has been able to do on the basis of this arrangement—in terms of admittedly incomplete and in many cases generalized or proximate data—is indicated below.

Education

871 Tu Chung-yüan, himself one-time Chancellor of Education in the New Sinkiang, suggests that, second to political equality, the border has long wanted educational equality as the means to gain true autonomy for the racial groups of Sinkiang. The New Sinkiang accordingly made expansion of education fundamental to her reconstruction program. That is the basis upon which the number of students in the province reportedly leaped from less than 3,000 before 1933 to well over 150,000 by 1936. By August of that year around 2,300 educational institutions are said to have been established in Sinkiang. These included one college of law and political science, several middle schools, probably over two hundred primary schools, around one hundred so-called people's schools, and from one to two thousand private schools. There is good reason to believe that by 1943 there was an even greater number of educated persons and educational institutions.

873 There has also been, apparently distinct from the above-named institutions, a new and special kind of emphasis on education of cultural minorities and majorities. This has largely been effected through what are called Cultural Progress Societies. In 1936 these existed for the Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, Hui, Meng-ku, T'a-t'a-erh, Kuei-hua, and Han. Figures on the next page suggest the extent to which the work of the first three mentioned societies has been carried.

871 Students, no matter whether in attendance at the University, at a middle school, or at a primary school, are aided by the provincial government. In the case of the University, the Normal School, and the "First Middle School," students have even been given "pocket money."

October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak 206
on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India 205
had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

The wartime fight against inflation and against serious jarring of 435
living conditions has met with considerable success. It is claimed that Price Control Commissions set up "everywhere" have made the Sinkiang price level the lowest in China. Yet wages, correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung has found, are high. Ch'en, walking by a 1942 Sinkiang road construction project about six miles outside of Tihwa, came across laborers who were receiving $12 Chinese a day. He indicates that skilled workers of the province were currently receiving even more.

Serious wage lags in the case of subordinate government salaried 465
employees have been one of China's serious problems in the inflationary years of her Resistance and Reconstruction. This may have been proving difficult for Sinkiang also since many of her government workers, for instance, still receive little more than $200 Chinese a month. But Sinkiang authorities have been meeting the situation for such workers with reductions of social and public expenses, with compensation in the way of reduced prices on commodities, and with small monthly subsidies in such staples as rice, flour, salt, sugar, matches, and oil.

Reports in October, 1943, of Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, 185
have been coupled with increasingly illuminating accounts of new Chinese migration to the province. This can promise a whole new vista of reconstruction developments in the province, and such developments deserve to be watched with keen interest. One of the most immediately noticeable effects has been the announcement on November 10, 1943, of an "ambitious plan" for the modernization of the Sinkiang capital. "During the past three months," the report states, "thousands

185 of soldiers and workers have been working day and night on part of the public works scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. This includes the building of four asphalt roads of over 1000 meters, several macadamized roads of 1500 meters and the modernization of buildings. . . . Over 1,000 old and dilapidated houses are to be torn down and rebuilt, and some 1,800 new houses put up in the new civic center."

735 The Sinkiang representative on China's National Political Council, Sheng Shih-chi, pointed out during the fall of 1942 that there are no beggars in Sinkiang; I heard the same thing from Chinese Moslems when I was in Kansu Province in 1940. At that time one Moslem, a Lan-chou vendor of Sinkiang raisins and Soviet lump sugar, made pointed examples of one of the city's numerous ragged and grimy child indigents and of a nearby beggar cripple, both whining with hands outstretched. "*Tsai Hsin-chiang mei-yu-liao*" ("That doesn't happen in Sinkiang"), he commented with a shake of the head. Tales that filtered through to Lan-chou in 1939 and 1940 painted Sinkiang in a favorable [464] light indeed. The shortage of labor, the abundance of land and resources, the crying reconstruction needs, and the progressive point of view of the administration in Sinkiang all tend to corroborate Sheng Shih-chi's assertion.

175 Sinkiang's transformation in the past decade may not appear miraculous in terms of superficial material measurements. The task of domestic reconstruction is not nearly complete; and at least partial credit for what has been accomplished is due to outside aid. Yet, with all this, unswerving and successful application of her Six Great Policies has put the New Sinkiang and the interfusion of frontier races inhabiting the region among the major phenomena of this age. In the years between 1937 and 1943 the province cast aside five centuries of decadence and began to play a unique and vigorous part in modern living. Now, in the midst of a magnificently intermingled old and new—the Sinkiang newspaper hawked in a native bazaar, the phone call to Chungking from a picturesque yamen, an airplane flight over the old Silk Road —the Sinkiang people have shown their eagerness to join in the fashioning of a better world life.

SN
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN
563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN
563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[829] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN
563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 159 635 669 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppression of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Moslems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 175 635 575 668 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 635 175 648 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 635 175 185 631 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms. By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft, and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation. Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen.[1] Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

S
433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.
N
311 Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
312 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
185 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the on[illegible] real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

planted in these tracts.

We have cited some of the achievements that have taken place and the general direction of agricultural development. We must be careful about accepting all figures and recognize that many targets are not met but often revised midway through the year until they can be met. When one looks at the entire scheme of development taking place it is important to remember that each group in this scheme has certain commitments to meet as set by the plan for that year. Survey teams are supposed to provide definite information about the amount of land to be reclaimed each year. If their information is not accurate, (and there have been complaints to this effect) then those units which reclaim the land are put off schedule, the proper cultivation and sowing cannot be done, and the intended output is not realized. Such intricate planning can lead to grievous bottlenecks in the attainment of planned goals.

Further defects that have been reported are as follows: there has been inadequate hydrographic and meteorological data for farming and animal husbandry. There has not been the correct coordinated activity between State and commercial enterprises to supply the necessary producer and consumer goods for the agricultural and pastoral co-ops. The People's Bank has been unable to give the needed credit and credit cooperatives and credit groups still have to absorb idle capital and halt usurious practices among the peasants, which still seem to prevail six years after "liberation." The Communists report that rich peasants, and so-called counter-revolutionary elements are still causing trouble by "sabotage" and the spreading of rumors which obstruct Communist policy.

According to observations made by some agricultural stations in Sha-ya County the peasants in many districts placed emphasis only on the summer harvest, and neglected the cotton, mazie and rice crops that are reaped in autumn. This meant that the peasants were devoting more of their attention to harvesting a wheat crop, a food item, and neglecting other farm crops that the state was so urgently emphasizing. In Kuerhlei County there were complaints that the peasants were not picking the cotton at the appropriate time and their delay in doing so had allowed much of the ripe cotton to fall to the ground and rot. This occurred in many of the villages throughout the county. Again the Communists complained of the peasants' lack of care for their farming tools and that damage frequently resulted from mechanical troubles and carelessness.

The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

that Sinkiang was placed under a form of administration comparable to that of other Chinese provinces. In 1884 it ceased to be a possession, and became a Chinese province. 175

Under the Chinese Republic, since 1911, Sinkiang has continued to be nominally a province like any other province; but in actuality the tendency of governors of the province has always been to rule as independent war lords. Sometimes this independence has been carried so far that governors have conducted their own foreign relations with Russia and India and have even treated the National Government of China almost as if it were a foreign power. China's present problem in Sinkiang is how to deal with the relations between the Chinese provincial authorities and the national government, the relations of both the provincial authorities and the national government with Russia and India, especially Russia, and the effort of both provincial and national Chinese authorities to maintain themselves in the face of the nationalist demands of the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. 175 186 668

Nationalism in Sinkiang is a modern outgrowth of traditional Mohammedan and tribal rebellions against Chinese rule. It began to take newer forms in the 1930's, when Sinkiang fell under the rule of a Chinese military adventurer named Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Since Sheng could not call on China for military reinforcements for fear of being supplanted, he followed a new policy of seeking support from each subject nationality separately, while at the same time preventing any coalition of nationalities. He also increased trade with the Soviet Union, obtained Soviet loans, and sent Uighur and other students to the Soviet Union for technical training. In 1943 he broke with the Russians and came to terms with the National Government of China. A policy of "firmness" toward the non-Chinese peoples was then reasserted; but in the meantime political nationalism had taken root. 186 668

There are now two major nationalist movements in Sinkiang. One follows a policy of "Sinkiang for the Uighurs." It seeks to win autonomy from the Chinese and at the same time to assert

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186 Uighur domination over the other peoples of Sinkiang. The sec-
668 ond movement is the "coalition nationalism," whose stronghold is at Kulja. It seeks to unite all nationalities in Sinkiang; it is as friendly to the Soviet Union as was the Azerbaijan nationalist movement in Iran, and some of its leaders were born or educated in Soviet territory.

Forces Converging on the Center of Gravity

000 China's colonial problems in inner Asia are enclosed in a framework of great power politics. The political interests of America and Britain are sensitive to changes in the area in which the territorial frontiers of China and Russia meet in Inner Asia.

Until the Age of Columbus the movement of man within the land mass between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Polar Sea, was more important than his enterprises on salt water. Coastal voyages were made, and early navigators crossed the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, and perhaps even the Pacific; certainly the Pacific Islands were reached from Asia; but the major interaction of cultures and the building of the great civilizations took place within the Eurasian land mass and in North Africa.

With the great voyages of navigation and circumnavigation at the end of the fifteenth century, a new mode of history began. The peopling of North America, the colonizing of Central and South America, and the conquest of India and Southeast Asia were the work of Western European man, moving across the oceans. Inner Asia, once a crossroads of the world, became a stagnant area of secondary commercial and strategic importance.

Then there came a period of fifty years, from 1580 to 1630, in which the histories of different parts of the world began to flow together as components of a true world history. In 1580 Yermak began the Russian drive into Siberia, sponsored by merchants interested in the expansion of the fur trade. After 1595, when Boris Godunov founded a gun-making industry at Tula, the eastward

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writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese, accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

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*175 from reason and less like a hopeful, though cautious, approach toward reason. First deadlock and then crisis developed in the early months of 1947.

*175 186 In February of that year Akhmedjan declared that "the expression 'Eastern Turkistan' does not mean that we advocate an independent Eastern Turkistan. It means solely that the people have finished with the former policy of oppression and do not want it to continue. . . . The problem of our day is the confirmation of national unity [i.e. the unity of the "nationalities" of Sinkiang] and the putting into action of the democratic policy." He put forward his program under three headings: unification of all the peoples of the province; executive power to rest with the Uighurs and other non-Chinese nationalities, except for defense; and a Kurultai, or assembly of the nationalities of the province, to be the supreme judiciary body. He declared that in Sinkiang the supremacy of any one nationality was not needed. "The condition for peace and unity is unity of the nationalities and a democratic policy. This is written in the Kulja Declaration." [84]

Akhmedjan made the accusation, supporting it with considerable detail, that in many oases of the Tarim Basin elections had been interfered with by the police and the Chinese troops. People were beaten, students and teachers imprisoned, meetings forbidden or broken up, and once the military even boasted that they had the atom bomb with which to destroy Sinkiang.[85] While making a stand against Chinese claims to arbitrary authority, however, and by clear implication against the C.C. Clique influence in Sinkiang policy, Akhmedjan held out the possibility of reconciliation between the Chinese people as a whole and the non-

[84] The full text of this speech was published in *Sinkiang Gezeti*, Uighur language edition, Urumchi, February 19, 1947. Owing presumably to Chinese Government pressure, it does not appear to have been published in Chinese.

[85] The attitude of some of the Chinese military at this time was typified by the warning of Sung Hsi-lien, then the top military commander in Sinkiang: "If our first enemy is the Kulja party, our second is the nationalist group. The nationalists had better forget their slogan 'Turkistan first' or there will be trouble." See dispatch from Frank Robertson, *New York Times*, February 1, 1948.

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Chinese of Sinkiang. "In this province," he declared, "it is impossible to maintain peace by means of persecution, corruption, trickery, and fraud"; but on the other hand "the enemies of our people are not the Chinese nation, but those individuals who advocate oppressive government, who want imperialist policies, who are against rights for the people." [86] 175* 186

In April 1947 Chang Chih-chung made a tour of the most important oases of the Tarim Basin. In May, fortified presumably by the firsthand knowledge he had acquired, he made an important speech at Urumchi in which he put forward a Chinese policy countering the policy of Akhmedjan. There should, he pleaded, be no resort to revolution. Theoretically, Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic system of rule; but autonomy and democracy should be based on a choice between the Sun Yat-sen pattern and the Soviet pattern. The Kulja group, he asserted, because of its opposition to the Chinese Government, must be regarded as opposing the San Min Chu I or Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, and must therefore be pro-Communist. 175*

General Chang also dealt with a number of the substantive issues standing between the Chinese Government and the Kulja group. Akhmedjan, as the spokesman of the Kulja group, was willing to recognize the right of the Chinese Government to control the national defense of Sinkiang. General Chang, however, contended that reorganization of the six regiments in the three frontier regions of Kulja, Chuguchak, and the Altai district should be preceded by the complete surrender of those regiments to the Chinese forces. His demand in this respect was parallel to that of the Chinese Government in its 1945–1946 negotiations with the Chinese Communists, through the Marshall Mission: the Communists offered to reduce their forces and to place them under a united high command, but demanded that their identity as units be preserved and that the units continue to be stationed in Communist districts; the National Government insisted on its right not only to take over such forces but to disperse or reassign them. 175* 701.

[86] Akhmedjan, in the speech cited above.

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the frequently loose and unscientific use of terms by foreign travelers and, much more important, by political motives on the part of Chinese administrators and Turkic nationalist leaders. 144 114

It is paradoxical that the sorting out of the peoples of Sinkiang is made more difficult by the fact that there is a rich Russian and Western literature about Sinkiang. For nearly a century there has been incessant publication of books about Inner Asia by explorers, archaeologists, geographers and casual travelers. Unfortunately, in the greater part of the foreign literature the descriptions of racial type, national grouping and political affiliation are excessively loose. For example, an American writer refers to the "distinctly Aryan" features of a regional group, to a "Kirghiz race," and to evidence of "Turkish and Mongol blood" in Kashgar.[5] "Aryan" can only be used properly in the description of languages, not of races, and even as a linguistic term it has now largely been abandoned, while peoples who speak the Turkish, Kirghiz, or Mongol languages may be of the most various and mixed origin.

Loose terminology in the foreign literature leads merely to misunderstanding or irritation, but it is politically dangerous when it is used to clothe the theories of administrators who are in a position to act. Contemporary Chinese political theories applied to concepts of race and nationality are of critical importance where Chinese administrative policy is confronted at every turn by growing nationalist movements which compete both with each other and with the projects of Chinese politicians. It is therefore essential to sort out the terms used both by Chinese administrators and by nationalist leaders, before attempting an accurate and rational classification of the many peoples who make up the population of Sinkiang.

In China, attempts to classify the peoples of Sinkiang in ways which reinforce political theories have led to four main trends. 829

The first trend is called *Ta Han Chu-i*, the "Greater Chinese Theory," by the Chinese who do not support it, and by Mongol, Uighur, and other nationalists who fear it. According to this defi- 563* 186

[5] William James Morden, *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts*, New York, London, 1927.

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nition, all non-Chinese groups within the political frontiers of China are mere subvarieties of an ancient "greater Chinese" race, and should be absorbed into a standardized Chinese race. This trend was pushed by right-wing groups, during the period of Kuomintang ascendancy, who aimed at building up an uncompromising, militant, and expansionist ideology.

The second trend rejects the idea of forced assimilation and stresses instead a program of cultural diversity. It may therefore be labeled as "cultural autonomy." Its main exponents were Sheng Shih-ts'ai, former Governor of Sinkiang, and Chang Chih-chung, the chief Kuomintang emissary to the province after Sheng's withdrawal.

The third trend, which may be called "Pan-Turkish nationalism," emphasizes the fact that the majority of the population in Sinkiang speaks Turkic languages and belongs to the Moslem faith. It is most actively promoted by an Uighur group which has some Kazakh allies.

The fourth trend incorporates the idea of territorial as well as cultural autonomy and hence may be described simply as "federalism." It derives its ideas from Soviet nationality policy and is actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists, but has a considerable appeal to non-Communist, non-Chinese national minorities which would like to maintain their national identities but to live in harmony with the Chinese in a common state. It also has an appeal to moderate and liberal groups in and out of the Kuomintang, and would have been more widespread if it had not been for fear of the consequences of consenting to any part of the Communist program.

The foremost exponent of the "Greater Chinese Theory" has been Chiang Kai-shek. In his *China's Destiny*, as officially translated, all the people in China are mentioned as belonging to a single "Chunghua (Chinese) nation."[6] This "nation" is said to be made up of a number of groups which are described in the authorized translation as "stocks." In Chiang's opinion the differ-

[6] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, New York, 1947, p. 3. Parentheses in original text of translation.

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ences among these "stocks" are limited to habits, customs, religious beliefs, and geographical environment, and do not include race or blood. "In short," he says, "the various stocks in China constitute not only one nation but also one race."[7] 829* 563* 186

The generalized statements about race and nation made in *China's Destiny* have been applied to the nationality problems of Sinkiang by a writer belonging to the Kuomintang C.C. Clique, a tightly organized political machine whose political creed was to give extreme authoritarian interpretations of every opinion or theory uttered by Chiang Kai-shek. Following his terminology, the C.C. theorist divides the peoples of Sinkiang into fourteen "stocks." He then concludes that since they are not separate nationalities but merely "stocks" of a single "nation," therefore they are not entitled to separate political recognition, a thesis which other writers have extended into the cultural field as well. He proposes that "self-government" in Sinkiang should be based on small geographical units, the counties, regardless of differences between the peoples inhabiting these administrative units. In order to make impossible any other interpretation of the term for "self-government," he rejects, in so many words, the identification of "self-government" with "freedom" or "independence."[8] 829* 563* 665

In contrast to the rigidly assimilative approach of the C.C. extremists is the policy adopted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai when he was military dictator of Sinkiang. After the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 Sheng took into his administration a National Salvationist who appears to have been instrumental in elaborating for him a policy intended to effect a compromise between the Chinese monopoly of the provincial administration and the stirrings of nationalism among the non-Chinese peoples.

The National Salvationists in China at that time represented a point of view rather than a political organization. In face of the emergency created by the Japanese danger they believed in effecting the widest possible political coalitions and in taking the

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13. The Chinese term for "nation" or "nationality" is *min-tsu*, and for "stock," *tsung-tsu*, also often translated as "clan."

[8] *Cf.* articles by Li Tung-fang in *Altai*, I, No. 2, Chungking, April 25, 1945, pp. 8–9 and pp. 15–18.

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territory and sovereignty of the nation suffer no impairment thereby. The Central Government will not tolerate anything possibly detrimental to the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the State — even at the cost of a war.[12]

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In opposition to the foregoing Chinese policies stands the "Pan-Turkic nationalism" of a group of native leaders who deal with the population of Sinkiang within the framework of a policy designed to strengthen their control over all the people living within the boundaries of the province. Foremost among these leaders is the recent Kuomintang governor of the province, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landowner and merchant from the Kulja area. Likewise prominent is Mohammed Emin, an Uighur who studied for several years in Turkey and is counted as one of the intellectual leaders of Sinkiang.[13]

In the view of Masud and Emin, China does not consist of a single "nation" or "nationality" and Sinkiang does not contain fourteen groups of people, whether designated as nationalities or by any other term. They use nationality, however, as the basis for their own classification of the peoples of the province, and define the term with great precision by listing the criteria which in their opinion determine nationality. These criteria are: (1) uniform language; (2) common territory; (3) similar habits and customs; (4) common will; (5) common religion; (6) common race; (7) common clothing, adornments, and other elements like blood relationship. On the basis of these criteria they conclude that the seven groups designated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Tatars, and Tajiks are all of one nationality. In their opinion these groups together comprise the "Turkic nation," despite the fact that the Tajiks do not speak a Turkic language, but an Iranian one.

As Turkic nationalists, Masud and Emin oppose the use of terms like Uighur and Kazakh to represent different nationalities. Actually, they say, the old subgroupings should be redesignated

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[13] For the views of these men see *Altai*, Vol. I, No. 2, Chungking, April 1945.

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as "tribes," for all their members are descended, like the ancient Hsiungnu and Yüeh-chih, from a single Turkic nation.

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The Turkic nation as defined by Masud and Emin would include about nine tenths of the population of Sinkiang. They divide the remaining one tenth into three nationalities: the Chinese, the Manchus, and the Mongols. In the category of "Chinese" they include the two groups designated by Sheng as "Chinese" and "Moslems": Moslem in this context being a synonym for the Dungans, who are Moslem by religion and Chinese in language. In the category of "Manchus" they include the three groups designated by Sheng as "Manchu," "Sibo," and "Solon." They also suggest that the last group in Sheng's list, the Russians, may perhaps form a fifth nationality in Sinkiang, though they are somewhat dubious of this since, they say, the Russians in Sinkiang are citizens of the Soviet Union and not of the Republic of China.

The significance of the thesis of a single Turkic nation is revealed by the anticipated relationship of the "Turkis" toward the Chinese state on the one hand and toward the other nationalities in Sinkiang on the other. This relationship in turn is revealed by the terminology employed by the Turkic nationalists in their demands for elevation to nationhood. In the course of a discussion with Li Tung-fang, Mohammed Emin denies that the "Turkis" might want to become "independent." Indeed, he does not even demand the right to "self-determination" which, as he himself mentions, was conceded to the minorities in China in Sun Yat-sen's Manifesto to the First Kuomintang Congress in 1924. He and other Turkic nationalists ask for no more than the right to "self-government."

While demanding self-government for themselves, the exponents of Turkic nationalism do not seem to concede this right to the other nationalities in Sinkiang. The Turkis, they say, live in every part of Sinkiang. The name of the province should be changed to one which would reflect their dominant position. Disregarding the interests of other groups, they demand that all Sinkiang be officially designated as "Turkistan."

Thus Turkic nationalism displays a dual aspect. It is willing to

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accept a position of subservience to the Chinese majority in the Republic of China, but it seeks to attain a position of dominance over the whole population of Sinkiang. In this latter objective, Turkic nationalists are in competition with authoritarian Chinese; but the degree of political opposition between Chinese assimilationists like Li Tung-fang and Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri and Mohammed Emin should not be exaggerated. That there exists an area of agreement between the two groups is evidenced by the fact that Masud Sabri was himself a member of the C.C. Clique and was sponsored for the governorship of Sinkiang by that extreme right-wing faction in the Kuomintang.

There exists also, opposing the theories of these Chinese and Turkic schools, the federal idea of devising territorial and cultural arrangements so as to minimize antagonisms springing from racial, ethnic, or cultural differences. Although many people in China and among national minorities would like to live without such antagonisms, only the Chinese Communists have attempted to work out a theory and program of federalism, and even their discussion of the subject is marked by important gaps.

In their discussions of theory, the Chinese Communists have borrowed heavily from Soviet ideas. They start with Stalin's definition that: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a community of culture." Following out this definition they conclude that the Republic of China is made up of a number of different nationalities. The Chinese are the preponderant nationality; other nationalities are referred to as "national minorities." Among those specifically listed in the Communist literature are the Mongols, Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Yao, and Hui (Moslems). The use of the term "Hui" here covers all Moslems, without making a distinction between Chinese-speaking and Turkish-speaking Moslems.

Although the Communists are quite specific in defining nationality, they have done little in the way of applying their ideas to specific groups of people. There does not seem to exist any

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complete Communist demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang. Nor does there seem to be, in the Chinese Communist literature, any discussion of the administrative units under which a federative nationality policy could operate. However, a general policy for the multinational Republic of China was proposed by the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1930 in the following resolution:[14]

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> ". . . In such regions as Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang, Yunnan and Kweichow, in which a majority of the population belongs to another, non-Chinese nationality, the toiling masses of these nationalities have the right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic.[15]

The Chinese Communists have since abandoned their Soviet regime in favor of what they call "the New Democracy," but their policy toward national minorities does not appear to have undergone basic modification. Speaking before the 1945 Congress of the Communist Party, Mao Tze-tung said that the Chinese "demand better treatment for the national minorities of China, according them the right of self-determination and of forming a union with the Hans [Chinese] on a voluntary basis." Mao's failure to repeat the earlier offer of the right of secession may indicate that he has foremost in mind a union of national states under the formula of a "Union of Democratic Republics."[16]

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[14] *The Soviets in China*, Moscow, 1933, p. 440 (in Russian).

[15] In this resolution the Chinese Communists declared for the principle of the right of secession. In his speech of August 24, 1945, recognizing the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic, Chiang Kai-shek also recognized the right of secession, not only for the Mongols but also for other non-Chinese minorities — a striking modification of his views expressed in *China's Destiny* and elsewhere. Thus on the right of secession President Chiang and the Chinese Communists were within reach of at least verbal agreement. Other Chinese assimilationists, and the "Pan-Turkic" nationalists, have not conceded the right of secession.

[16] Mao Tze-tung, *The Fight For a New China*, New York, 1945, pp. 35 and 44.

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The necessity for some sort of federal arrangement is evidenced by the constant armed rebellions resulting from the suppression of local nationalism. The Kulja movement referred to in Chapter III was a rebellion of this kind. It had special significance in the fact that it split the Uighur nationalist movement into two main sections. One section, led by Governor Masud Sabri, and by Burkhan, Mohammed Emin, and Isa Beg, all well-to-do leaders in the Uighur community, took the Chinese side against the Kulja movement. Another group, in which Akhmedjan played a prominent part, supported the Kulja program against the Chinese and their followers. The split between the two groups occurred in August 1947.

That section of the Uighur leadership which most closely identified itself with the Chinese went farthest in the direction of the Turkic nationalism described earlier in this chapter. The Uighur supporters of the Kulja movement found this Turkic nationalism to be an obstacle to their co-operation with other groups. On one occasion Akhmedjan went to some pains to convince the Kazakh supporters of the Kulja coalition that, far from being slighted by the Uighurs, they were receiving more than a proportional share in the coalition.

Although the leaders of the Kulja movement made plain their opposition to the policies of Uighur nationalists like Masud Sabri they did not present an equally clear picture of their own nationalist ideas and objectives. A particularly important point about which full information is lacking is the extent to which their opposition to earlier Chinese rule in Sinkiang led them to accept the federal proposals advanced by the Chinese Communists. It appears that in the early phase of the Kulja revolt the insurrectionists may have had the objective of full independence, as indicated by their use of the term "East Turkistan Republic." After the signing of the Kulja Agreement the word "Republic" was dropped, and as late as October 16, 1947 the representatives of the Kulja group assured the Chinese that they "have never employed direct or indirect, secret or open methods to

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raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that: 563 665 186

> The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.[17]

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb,"[18] and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.[19] Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student. 563 186 [666] [692] [197]

These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

[17] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).
[18] *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).
[19] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

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*563 tural heritage, and make plain their desire to defend it against
• 186 Chinese encroachment by preserving their own language, literature, and traditions.

Religious freedom is likewise demanded by Uighurs of all political factions. The Islamic flag, depicting a crescent and star on a red background, flies over the schools in Kulja and Chuguchak. After the break between Kulja and Urumchi, the Kulja group was requested by Chang Chih-chung to clarify its intentions by flying the "national colors" over the schools and military establishments.

*563 It is apparent that the nationalist movement among the
186 Uighurs has never gone as far as the militant revolutionary stage
669 reached by the Viet Minh and other radical groups in the Far East. The Uighurs seek primarily a modicum of liberties such as will permit them to continue to survive as one people under a government of their own choosing. Important sections of the Uighurs have shown that they are willing to join with other peoples, even including some Chinese, in fighting for these demands.

The past history of Sinkiang, considered together with the latest uprising in the province, suggests that the demands of the various peoples are not likely to be fully satisfied without at least some measure of territorial as well as cultural autonomy. Just how this can be arranged is something that has to be worked out — jointly, if it is to be done harmoniously — by the minority border peoples and the majority Chinese in the country as a whole. Hitherto, however, the range of disagreement is such that it appears to be impossible even to obtain accord on the demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang!

*563 The problem is not much easier for the scholar concerned
197 solely with describing the peoples of the province. Any classification into nationalities is impeded at the outset by the dearth of information on the national sentiments of any more than a mere handful of nationalist thinkers. Nevertheless, such concrete data as lie at hand do provide some means for objective analysis of the population. In this connection it is particularly striking

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Uighur

fied by the fact that the Uighur language is used by the people who now once more call themselves Uighur, is primarily political in motivation. During the Ming Dynasty, when the Chinese had little contact with the area, they maintained in their translation bureau, the Szu I Kuan, one section dealing with "Moslem" people in general and another with the "Kao-Ch'ang" people of Turfan, who were clearly considered by the Ming Chinese to be identical with the Uighurs. During the Manchu period the population of the Tarim Basin was generally referred to in documents as *Ch'an Hui*, or Turbaned Moslems, and in the Chinese spoken langauge as *Ch'an-t'ou*, or Turbaned Heads. When foreigners first began to penetrate the area in numbers in the nineteenth century, they referred to the population either as "Turkis" or as "Sarts" and to the region as Turkistan. The word "Sart," widely used in Inner Asia, was adopted by the Russians as a general designation for settled people speaking a Turkic language. The word "Turkistan," a Persian expression meaning "land of the Turks," was first applied by Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the area northeast of the Syr Darya, was later adopted by the Russians to designate most of their holdings in Central Asia, and was also used as an administrative term for part of Afghanistan. The British applied it to Chinese Central Asia, though the term has never had any administrative significance there, and also designated the population as Turkis.

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At a meeting held in Tashkent in 1921 a small number of emigrants from the Tarim Basin living in Soviet Central Asia demanded that the name Uighur be revived. In 1934 the Provincial Government of Sinkiang accepted a resolution from the Association for the Promotion of Uighur Education for a formal change to this name. A resolution adopting the new name was promulgated in that year under the signature of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Khoja Niaz, a nationalist leader who had been instrumental in setting up the abortive East Turkistan Republic in the Turfan area in the early thirties. The growing use of the name Uighur is a measure of increasing national consciousness among people

563* 186

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Uighur

*563 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as
• 186 Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the
361 major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan.
168 North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differ-
197 ences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which
212 is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as
000 the standard.

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

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Mongol
Tadjik

of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (Sarikolis, Tajiks). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
● 186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

religionists of other nationalities. During the great uprising of the third quarter of the last century the Moslem Chinese sided for a time with their Uighur and Kirghiz coreligionists against the Chinese-Manchu regime, subsequently came to blows with their Uighur comrades in arms, and with the collapse of the revolt were virtually exterminated by the Imperial forces. The revolts of the early 1930's displayed the same feature of initial alliance, followed by final break, between Moslems of Uighur and Chinese origin. 563* 578 186

If these examples indicate the instability of the religious tie between the Chinese Moslems and others of the same religion in Sinkiang, the harmonious relations which developed later in the 1930's between the Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese demonstrates that under certain conditions the two groups are able to relegate the differences between them to a subordinate importance. It appears then that the Chinese population in Sinkiang is confronted by two possible lines of development. One is to focus around the religious issue all other differences of interest until the process of cleavage results in the formation of two definitely separate nationalities. The other is to subordinate their differences, to the point where religion is no more a barrier to common nationality than it is among Americans, English, and other peoples.

In the past, the precipitant of hostility between Chinese Moslems and non-Moslems within Sinkiang has often been the arrival of reinforcements from outside the province. In every period of insurrection, when war bands of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, Ninghsia, or Ch'inghai (Kokonor) have invaded Sinkiang, the Chinese Moslems of Sinkiang have risen to join them. They considered each other not only coreligionists but kinsmen. Together they not only fought non-Moslem Chinese, but massacred whole communities. When, on the other hand, the non-Moslem Chinese received reinforcements, they were equally savage in their repression of the Dungans. The record in bloodiness was set by the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang. When they took Uighur towns, surrender was usually accepted without massacre because the 563* 578 669

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social 538
status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long 773
and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which 538
are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for 538
their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, 186
their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence. 538

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian 177
exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186 ●

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society [182] in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks 563 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in 795 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been 797 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only 668 true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern 563 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized 795 Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it 563 can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

000 N *175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

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S N 635 186 [563] The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

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101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After
[668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

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144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old
[167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen-
[175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes
563 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

563 3. History and economic activities

The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

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In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

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d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

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Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

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Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

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a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

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This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

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b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a [S N 798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

I. The Turks of Sinkiang

186 795 A. The Concept of the Unity of the Moslem World

The Moslems of Sinkiang (Turkic: Türk-e-stan 'Land of the Turks') identify themselves strongly with the rest of the Moslem World. In spite of the many divergencies in national cultures of the various elements which constitute the Moslem world, there is a supernational religious civilization which unifies them all. The feeling and firm conviction of unity of all believers finds expression in the Koran as well as in the traditions and the extensive Islamic literature, and in propaganda slogans which became current since the turning of the century, such as: ittihad ve terakki 'u 'unity and progress', or Muslimlerin hakki birles "Moslim people unite'. The rest of the world is looked at as being apart from the Moslem World - being the domain of war, whereas the area under Moslem jurisdiction is considered the domain of peace.

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186 208 795 This feeling may have its roots in the history of the propagation of Islam where political institutions and allegiance went hand in hand with religious institutions and allegiance. The acceptance of the religion of Islam, Din-al-Islam, meant also the acceptance of the Moslem political state. The allegiance with a definite political tinge of many Moslems who do not live today under Moslem control remains with the leaders of the Moslem World. They may feel an even stronger attachment to the Moslem leaders than they do to their own non-Moslem political rulers, as has been the case in Sinkiang under Chinese domination. The allegiance and recognition of the Turks of Sinkiang went to the Ottoman Turkish Empire and later to the leaders of Western Turkestan rather than to their Chinese rulers. It is reasonable to assume that the Moslems of Sinkiang today identify themselves much more strongly with the world of Islam than they do with the Communist block. They think of themselves in terms of being Moslems and not in terms of being Communists. No matter how much indoctrination has gone into uprooting this allegiance to the Islamic world, it will take a whole new thoroughly indoctrinated generation to forget the strong sentiments and attachments to the rest of the Moslem world.

668 B. Turkic Nationalism

Besides having supernational allegiance and sentiments of attachment to the Moslem world, there is also a strong nationalistic movement among the Turks of Sinkiang (called milli tahrik). They consider themselves as being a part of Turkestan as a whole and not as belonging to China. They view themselves as Turks, and not as Chinese nationals. They do not regard their position as a national minority in China as the answer to their national

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 578 669 186 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese

The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the traditional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebellions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 779 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies

Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

• 19 pertinent and unusual as far as mutual understanding is concerned. The Common Turkic initial consonant q- is generally preserved in all five dialects mentioned above. The word for "black," qara, is pronounced the same in Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek, Salar (where it alternates with xara) and Sarigh-Uighur. In a few cases the Common Turkic q- developes into g- in Salar, e.g. New Uighur: qol, "arm," appears as gol, id. The Common Turkic final -q is generally preserved as such but in Uzbek and in Salar it frequently becomes a -x, e.g. Osmanli: yanaq "cheek", Kirghiz: dʒāq; Uzbeg: yanaq "cheek bone", Salar: yanax. Another possible phonetic development of the final Common Turkic -q is that to -ɣ in Uzbek and to -g in Salar, e.g. Tatar: baliq "fish", Salar: paliɣ. The intermediate Common Turkic -q- is preserved as such but occurs in Salar as --x-. e.g. Uzbek: oqu "to read", Salar: uxu-. The Common Turkic initial consonant k- is preserved as such in all five dialects. Only rarely does it become g- in Salar, e.g. Uzbek: kümüš "silver", Kirghis: kümüš, Tatar: kümüš, Salar: kümiš; but the Uzbek: Kömür becomes gümir in Salar. The final Common Turkic consonant -k is preserved as such in all five dialects. However, in Salar it can become a -x, e.g. Uzbek and Kirghiz: ek- "to sow", Salar: ɛx- "to plow". The Common Turkic voiced stops, -ɣ- and -g; in intermediate and final position undergo very characteristic phonetic developments.

1) The Common Turkic group -aɣ occurs in Kazakh and in Tatar as -au, in Kirghiz as ō and in Salar as -ag or -aɣ, e.g. Taranchi: taɣ "mountain, Kazakh and Tatar: tau, Kirghiz: tō and Salar: tag or taɣ.

2) The Common Turkic group -aɣa is preserved in all five dialects. However, in Kirghiz it often becomes contracted, e.g. Kirghiz and Tatar: aɣač "tree", Kazakh: aɣaš, Uzbek: åɣåč, Salar: agaš; but Taranchi: taɣar "bag, sack", is pronounced in Kirghiz as tār.

3) The Common Turkic group -aɣī occurs in Kirghiz as ō, in Kazakh and Tatar as au and is preserved as such in Salar and Uzbek, e.g. Uzbek: aɣīz "mouth", Kirghiz: ōz or ōs or ūz, Salar: agsī "his mouth" (only the form with the posessive suffix of the third person singular is recorded).

4) The Common Turkic group -aɣu is preserved in Uzbek and in Salar when it constitutes the first and second syllable of a stem, but it is not preserved as such when it constitutes the second and third syllable of a word, In Kirghiz and in Kazakh it became contracted to a long ɑ and in Tatar it developed to avē or ewē, e.g. Middle Turkic: yaɣuq "next, close, near", Chagatai: yavuq, Kirghiz: ɣūq, Kazakh: žūq, Uzbek, yauq.

5) TheCommon Turkic group -oɣ occurs in Kirghiz, and Kazakh and Tatar as long ū; in Uzbek as oɣ or uɣ; and in Salar as ug, e.g.

19 New Uighur and Uzbek: toɣ- or tuɣ- "to be born or to give birth to a child", Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar: tū. Salar has only one word recorded which contains the Common Turkic -oɣ namely ugrï "thief", which is pronounced in Uzbek as oɣrï.
6) The Common Turkic group -oɣa was preserved as such in Uzbek, became a long ō in Kirghiz, and in Kazakh and in Tatar it has been transformed to uɣa, u'a or ua, e.g. Uighur: boɣaz "goiter" or "pregnant", Uzbek: boɣaz, Kirghiz: bōz "pregnant" Kazakh: buɣaz, Tatar: buaz.
7) The Common Turkic group -oɣu occurs in Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar as a long ū (in the latter also as uvê and êwê); in Uzbek it has been preserved or was transformed to avu; in Salar it has been preserved as ogu, e.g. Uzbek: oɣul "son", Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar: ūl, Salar: oɣul.
8) The Common Turkic group -uɣ became a long ū in Kirghiz, uv in Uzbek, ə in Tatar and simply u in Salar (or ï when constituting non-first syllables) e.g. Uzbek: yuv- "to wash", Salar: yu-.
9) The Common Turkic group +uɣu has been preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, Kirghiz and Kazakh, e.g. buɣu "male deer."
10) The Common Turkic group *-ïɣ became -eɣ in Uzbek (or has been preserved as -ïɣ); it remained in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ij and was transformed to -êj in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: yïɣ- or yeɣ- "to stock up, to collect", Kirghiz: ɣïj-, Tatar: ɣêj-.
11) The Common Turkic group +ïɣï remained as such or became eɣi or igi in Uzbek, -ij or a long -ī in Kazakh and occurs in Tatar as êyê or long ī, e.g. Uzbek: yeɣin "heap, pile, hoard", Kirghiz: ɣïyïn, Kazakh: ɣïjn or ɣīn.
12) The Common Turkic group +äg is represented in Uzbek by -eg, in Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar by a long -ī or by -ij, e.g. New Uighur: beg " a native official ", Tatar: bêj, Salar: peɣ.
13) The Common Turkic group +ägä is preserved in Uzbek as -ege-, in Kirghiz as long ē and in Kazakh as -iyä- e.g. Uzbek: yegen "nephew", Kirghiz: ɣēn, Kazakh: ɣiyän.
14) The Common Turkic group +-ägü is represented in Chagatai as -ägi-, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ügü-, e.g. Chagatai: tägil "not", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tügül.
15) The Common Turkic group +ägi is represented in Uzbek by -igi- or -egi-, in Kazakh by a long ī, in Tatar by -êgê-, in Kirghiz by -egi- and in Salar by e, e.g. Chagatai: tägirman "mill", New Uighur: tögürman, Kirghiz: tärban or tegirman, Kazakh: tīrman, Salar: termen (recorded in this form which obviously does not show the long ē).
16) The Common Turkic group +-ög is represented in Uzbek by -ök, -öj, or ō, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -üj, -öj, or -ü, in Tatar by ö̈j and in Salar by -ug, e.g. Taranchi: bördk "kidney", Kirghiz: böjrök, Kazakh: büjrök or bürök, Tatar: böyör, Uzbek:

bŭjrăk, New Uighur: bŏrăk, Salar: bŭgŭrix.

17) The Common Turkic group +-ŏgă- is preserved as such in Uzbek, but occurs as -ŏgŏ- in Kirghiz and as -ŏgĕ- in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: ŏgăj "step-", Kirghiz: ŏgŏj, Tatar: ŭgĕj.

18) The Common Turkic group +-ŏgŭ appears in Uighur as such, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ŭyŭ- and in Tatar as -ĕyĕ; e.g. Uighur: ŏgŭr "herd", Kirghiz and Kazakh: ŭyŭr, Tatar: ĕyĕr.

19) The Common Turkic group +ŭg is preserved as such in Uzbek or alternates with -ug; in Kirghiz and Kazakh it became -ŭj and in Tatar -ĕj; e.g. New Uighur and Uzbek: tŭg- "to tie a knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tŭj-, Tatar: tĕj-.

20) The Common Turkic group +-ŭgă is preserved as such in New Uighur, but became in Kirghiz and Kazakh -ŭgŏ-, e.g. New Uighur: yŭgăn "holder", Kirghiz and Kazakh: ǯŭgŏn.

21) The Common Turkic group +-ŭgŭ- is represented in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ŭyŭ-, e.g. Chagatai: tŭgŭn or tŭyŭn "knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tŭyŭn, Tatar: tĕyĕn.

22) The Common Turkic group +-ig develops into -ij or long ī; e.g. Chagatai: čig "raw", Tatar: čī.

23) The Common Turkic group +-igi is preserved as such in Taranchi, Uzbek, Kirghiz and Kazakh, but occurs as -êgê- in Tatar; e.g. Chagatai and Taranchi: yigit "young fellow", Uzbek: yigit, Kirghiz and Kazakh: ǯigit, Tatar: yêgêt, Salar: igit.

24) The Common Turkic group +-igŭ- is preserved as such in New Uighur but became -iyi- in Kirghiz; e.g. Chagatai and New Uighur: kigŭr- "to lead in", Kirghiz: kiyir-.

2. Phonetic development of the consonants.

1) The Common Turkic consonant +y- is represented in Uzbek, Chagatai and Salar by y- but in Kirghiz and Kazakh by ǯ-; e.b. Uzbek: yaɣmur "rain", Salar: yaɣmĭr, Kazak and Kirghiz: ǯamɣĭr.

2) The Common Turkic prelingual voiceless stop +t- is preserved in all dialects. A peculiarity of Salar is the development of +t- before +i, +ï and +ŭ to ǯ- (dž-) in intervocalic position and to č- otherwise.

3) The Common Turkic intermediate +-d- (+-ð-) is represented by -y- in all five dialects. Only in Sarigh Uighur it became -ž-; e.g. Salar: ayax "foot", Chagatai, Kazakh and Uzbek: ayaq, New Uighur: ayaɣ, Sarigh Uighur: ažaq. Again Salar develops +-d- before +i and +ï to -ǯ- (-dž-) or -č-; e.g. New Uighur: ăyïq "bear", Uzbek: ayiq, Salar: ačĭx.

5) The Common Turkic affricate +-č- (in intervocalic position) is preserved as such in New Uighur, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar but became š- in Kazakh; e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur and Uzbek: očaq "stove", Kirghiz: očoq, Tatar: učaq, Salar: očag, Kazakh: ošaq.

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• 19 6) The Common Turkic spirant *s- is preserved as such in all five dialects; e.g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč < säč, Kazakh: šaš < saš.

7) The Common Trukic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *-z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e.g. Uzbek: qīz "girl", Salar: kīs, Tatar: kēz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e.g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bär- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e.g. Uighur: tobīq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar: e.g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolot (ø is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e.g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *ī resulted in a reduced vowel ə̂ : e.g. kīz "girl", Tatar: qə̂z.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e.g. Uzbek: köl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in ø in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: køn.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

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II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöün gar "right
[131] wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

• 19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egů, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaǰaɣar "bridle	qaǰaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣə
*čïɣïraɣ < *tïɣïraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tširəG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarï- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bůrū
miqan "meat"	maχn̥
sira "yellow"	šarə
milaɣa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dǰidə < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegün "cold"	zekůn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkē

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19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitčig (or bitčig)
čimůgen "hammer"	tčimgn
čiraj "face"	tčirē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn
ebůddg "knee"	öwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtčn
elgů- "to hang"	ölgö-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaγai "large and flat"	dalwaγā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moγai "snake"	moγā
alγui "name of a plant"	alγū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B.. The Monguor Language

N *563 [197] One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also because it is under the influence of initial forms which are characteristic of Tibetan. M [197] Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them M [101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor) [361] live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M 19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

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*668 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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*668 D. Minority Languages
*563 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom
[642] to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over
•19 fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

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So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Manchu

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
[197] of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

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*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

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B. History of Islam in Kansu

*563 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a
• [191] second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

N 19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-
b) Contrast between v- and u-
c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i
d) Contrast between -ẽ and -əŋ

S N 197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the S [563] U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, [167] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N +175 197 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. S 175 197 These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different develepment in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V. Concluding Remarks

S N 191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۶ while Uighur writes ۶ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
199 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on conformity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
[192] tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The [illegible]th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
181 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
183 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
668 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
177 and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

LANGUAGES

I. Turki

A. Dialects

197 The main language spoken in Sinkiang is Turkish. The Turks themselves, however, call their language Turki. Sometimes, when denoting their local dialect, they use terms such as Kashgarlik (i.e. "a man from Kashgar"), or Kashgar türkisi (i.e. the Turkish language of Kashgar"), or Turfanlik ("a man of Turfan"), or Turfan türkisi ("the Turkish language of Turfan"), etc. Among Western linguists, the term "Eastern Turkish" is widely in use, and we shall use this term only; since the Communist revolution of 1917, however, the term "New Uighur" also has been introduced. The Soviets apply this designation to the 100,000 Turks who inhabit the area of Jarkent and Alma-Ata in Kazakstan at the headwaters of the Ili river, some parts of Kirghizistan, and the area of Andijan and Ferghana in Uzbekistan. They are of the same linguistic family as those who live in Sinkiang. Prior to the Soviet Russian revolution, the New Uighurs were called Taranchi, "inhabitants of the country."

East Turkish represents one of the dialects of the widely diffused Turkic language family. Closely related to Eastern Turkish are the Turkic languages spoken in Turkey, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, and the Soviet and Persian Azerbaijanian regions. The Turkish inhabitants of all these areas have no difficulty in communicating with each other.

1. Phonetic bases for subdivision of Turkic languages

194 The Turkic languages are subdivided according to certain characteristic phonetic features. For example, in the word dokuz~tokuz, "nine," the last sound is represented by -z in all Turkic languages except in Chuvash. There it is represented by -r, i.e. tăχχăr, "nine" (this might also refer to the extinct languages of the Old Bolghar and Old Khazar). The Common Turkic intervocalic *-d- or *-ð- (a phoneme which resembles the English -th- in "that" or "those"), in the Common Turkic word aðaq, "foot," becomes ataχ in Yakut; adaq in Soyot (or Tuva, for which the name Uryankhai was also used) and Karagas; azaq in Sagai, Kacha, Koibal, Kizil, Küarük, Cholim, Beltir, Kamas, Sarigh-Uighur, and Shor; and ayaq or ayaγ respectively in Turkey Turkish, Chagatai, Eastern Turkish and all the remaining Turkic dialects.

193 194 Another phonetic criterion, commonly used in subdividing the ayaq group, is the suffix of the present participle -an or -γan (γ indicates the voiced counterpart of -ch in the German "ach"), e.g. qal-an or qal-γan, "remaining." In this respect

193 subgroup, again, is divided into the so-called taγ-ïiq and
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197 2. Position of Eastern Turkish

To summarize the facts concerning the classification of Eastern Turkish and its position within the family of the Turkic dialects, the following scheme should be applied: Eastern Turkish belongs to the dokuz languages, ayaq division, qal-γan subdivision, taγ-ïiq section.

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Without doubt, the Turkic languages are related to the Mongolian, Manju-, and Tungusic languages, and together with them form the so-called Altaic language family. The oldest substratum of Korean is undoubtedly of Altaic origin. Many linguists believe that the Altaic languages and Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) languages constitute one large linguistic family.

With the exception of the Chuvash, and to a lesser degree the Yakut languages, the Turkic dialects demonstrate a striking resemblance and uniformity. Even the oldest known Turkish dialect, the so-called Old Turkish, or Uighur, as represented by the inscriptions on stone slabs erected in honor of the Khans of the empire founded by the Northern Turks in 682, differs amazingly little from modern Eastern Turkish, its closest descendant.

193 B. General Characteristics of the Turkish Dialects.
194 1. Vocalic harmony

Vocalic harmony is one of the most remarkable features of the Turkish dialects. This means that in one and the same word, including the suffixes, only front vowels (e, i, ö, ü) or back vowels (a, ï, o, u) are permitted to appear; e.g. front vocalic stems: köpek, "the dog"; yüzük, "the ring"; bilezik, "the bracelet"; back vocalic stems: topuk, "the ankle"; yatak, "the bed"; yastik, "the pillow". The rules of vocalic harmony must also be followed in adding suffixes to the stems: examples of back vocalic stems with back vocalic suffixes are: quduq, "the fountain"; quduqning, "of the fountain"; pičaq, "the knife"; pičaqči, "the knifemaker"; bala, "the child"; balalari, "their children"; examples of front vocalic stems with front vocalic suffixes are beš "five"; bešindži, "the fifth;" inek, "the cow", inekim, "my cow"; tüš "the dream", tüšüm "my dream";

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3. Grammar

193 Since the Turkic dialects belong to the Altaic language family, grammar is a matter of suffixes. This means that declension, conjugation, and comparison, in the broadest sense of the word, are expressed by suffixes and not by prefixes, infixes or ablaut as in the Indoeuropean or Semitic languages. These suffixes are attached to invariable stems, e.g.:

qiz "the girl," qizlar "the girls"
öj "the house," öjdä "in the house"
qil "do, make," qila "doing, making," qilyaj "I shall do"
kašyar "Kashgar," kašyarliq "inhabitant of Kashgar"
kel "come," keldim, kelding, "I came, you came"
beg "duke," begim "my duke"

4. Distinctions between Turkic and Indo-European

193 The following are the principal syntactic and grammatical
197 differences between the Turkic and Indo-European dialects. The Turkic dialects:

1) have no grammatical gender
2) have no definite articles
3) have a special posessive declension, e.g. bay "the garden," bayim "my garden," bayin "your garden," bayimiz "our garden," bayiniz "your garden (plural)"
4) have a large number of verbal derivations, e.g. qilmaq "to make," qildurmaq "to cause to make;" ačmaq "to open," ačilmaq "to become opened;" bermek "to give," berišmek "to give to each other," berinmek "to give oneself"
5) have postpositions instead of prepositions, e.g. pičaq birlä "with a knife," öj üčün "for the house"
6) place the attributive modifier in a position preceding the noun, i.e. the modifying word precedes the modified, e.g. čoŋ öj "the big house" but öj čoŋ "the house is big"
7) do not use the plural forms of nouns if these are preceded by numerals, e.g. iki öj "two houses" and not iki öjlär
8) replace the verb "to have" by the verb "to be," e.g. gul "the rose," gulum "my rose," gulum bar "I have a rose" (verbatim: my rose is existant)

193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilmaq
197 "to do, to make," qilmamaq "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu and do not change the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. baγqa yol bardur "there is a road to the garden," but baγqa yol bar mudur? "Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confunctions by participial or gerundial constructions, e.g. bolmoq' "to be or to become," bolsæm "if I were," the suffix -sæm could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashar, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
[193] dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
[194] the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
[167] valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ö, e, ö, ɛ,

193 ə, and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ä		ä, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			ř		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		r	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ʑ	ɕ		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	č							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						ɣ			
Back velars		q							γ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

104 3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish
114 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is the so-called " Association Phonetique Internationale, " according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script
The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

212 Table III. The Russian symbols which are in the process of
177 introduction.

Аа	Зз	Нҥҥ	Уу	Щщ
Бб	Ии	Оо	Ӯӯ	Ьь
Вв	Йй	Öö	Фф	Ъъ
Гг	Кк	Пп	Хх	Ыы
Дд	Лл	Рр	Цц	Ӭэ
Ее	Мм	Сс	Чч	Юю
Жж	Нн	Тт	Шш	Яя

G. Sketch of Eastern Turkish

193 As Eastern Turkish is an agglutinative language, the dialect can be described most simply by presenting the index of suffixes, the only grammatical means of modification. With the use of such an index, the general reader when knowing the meaning of a stem, should be able to figure out the grammatical function of the suffix concerned.

The genitive suffix: -nïŋ, -niŋ
quduq "the fountain," quduqnïŋ "of the fountain"

The dative suffix: -ɣa, -gɛ
öj "the house," öjgɛ "to the house, in the direction of the house"

The accusative suffix: -nï, -ni
uɯj "ox," uɯjnï "the ox" (direct object)

The locative suffix: -dæ, -dɛ
qïz "the girl," qizdæ "at the girl's, with the girl"

The ablative suffix: - dïn, - din
kül "the ashes," küldin "from the ashes"

The plural suffix: -læ-r, -lɛr
jürɛk "the heart," jürɛkler "the hearts"

The diminutive suffix: -ča, -čɛ
baɣ "the garden," baɣča "the little garden"

The professional suffix
ötmɛk "to pass by," ötmɛkči "the passer-by"

The suffix of ordinal numbers: -indʒi, -ïndʒï, -ündʒi, -ɯndʒï
beš "five," bešindʒi "the fifth"

The possessive suffixes:

1. pers. sg. -ïm, -im, -öm, -əm, -üm, -üm, -ɯm, -um, -om, -əm
2. pers. sg. -ïŋ, -iŋ, -öŋ, -əŋ, -üŋ, -üŋ, -ɯŋ, -oŋ, -əŋ
3. pers. sg. and pl. -si, -sï, -i, -ï
1. pers. pl. -ïmïz, imiz, ömiz, -əmiz, -ümiz, -ümiz, -ɯmïz, -omïz, -əmiz
2. pers. pl. -ïŋïz, -iŋiz, -öŋiz, -əŋiz, -üŋiz, -üŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -oŋïz, -əŋïz

193 e.g. baɣïm "my garden" baɣïmïz "our garden"
baɣïŋ "your garden" baɣïnïz "your garden" (pl.)
baɣï "his, her, its garden" baɣlæri "their garden"

The suffix forming the present participle: -æ , -ɛ
qïl "do, make," qïlæ "making, doing"

The suffix forming the conditional: -sæ , -sɛ
bolmɛq "to be, to become," bolsæm "if I were"

The suffix expressing impossibility: -al-, -ɛl-
ber "give", berɛlmɛdi "he was not able to give"

The suffix forming verbs out of nominal stems: -la, -lɛ, -læ
tišlɛmɛk "to bite"

The suffix forming the negative participle in the present tense:
-mas, -mɛs, -mæs
kördmɛs "not seeing"

The suffix forming the past tense:
1. pers. sg. -dïm, -dim, -duum, -düm, -dəm, -dödm
2. pers. sg. -dïŋ, -diŋ, -duŋ, -düŋ, -dəŋ, -dödŋ
3. pers. sg. -dï, -di (refers also to the plural)
1. pers. pl. -doq, -dɔq, -dük
2. pers. pl. -dïŋïz, -diniz, -duŋïz, -düniz, -dəniz, -dödniz

e.g. qïldïm, qïldïn, qïldï, "I did, you did, he (she, it) did," etc.

The suffix forming the past participle (converb): -ïp, -ip, -up, -üp, -op, -əp, -öp
čir "enter, come in," čirip "after having entered"

The suffix forming the past participle (converbum terminalis):
-ɣač, -gɛč
qïl "do, make," qïlɣač "when you do"

The suffix of the participle expressing habitual activity:
-ɣaq, -qaq, -gɛk, -kɛk ; ur- "to push, to beat, to strike, to hit," urɣaq "beating something habitually"

The gerundial suffix expressing "in order to": -ɣali, -ɣæli, -gɛli ; kör- "see," körgɛli "in order to see"

The suffix which forms a gerund: -ïɣ, -ïq, -uɣ, -uq, -ig, -ik, -ug, -uk
qïl "do, make," qïlïɣ "the doing, the making"
bil "know, understand, comprehend," bilik "the knowledge, learning, erudition, comprehension"

The suffix forming the future participle: -ɣo, - u, -qu, -gü
kel "come," kelgü "one who wants to come, will come, wishes to come"

539 H. Specimen of Eastern Turkish Literature
Turkish text (transcription)

1 [illegible]
[illegible]

2 [illegible]
[illegible]

3 [illegible]

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The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern parts of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashær, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
[193] dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
[194] the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
[167] valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ö, e, ö, ɛ,

193 ə, and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ä		ä, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			ř		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		ṙ	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ž	š		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	č							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						ɣ			
Back velars		q							ɣ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

104 3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish
114 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is the so-called " Association Phonetique Internationale, " according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script
The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

S
N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
779
784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[576] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
563
183
779
431

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pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197

634

tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 197 162

197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
162 of speakers of each, is as follows:[3]

		I Altaic		
A. *Turkic*[4]				
1. Uighur	2,941,000			
2. Kazakh	319,000			
3. Kirghiz	65,000			
4. Uzbek	8,000			
5. Tatar	5,000			
		3,338,000		
B. *Mongolian*				
6. Mongolian		63,000		
C. *Tungusic*				
7. Manchu		12,000		
			TOTAL	3,413,000
		II Indo-Chinese		
8. Chinese		294,000		
			TOTAL	294,000
		III Indo-European		
9. Iranian		9,000		
10. Russian		13,000		
			TOTAL	22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

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raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that: 563* 665 186

> The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.[17]

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb,"[18] and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.[19] Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student. 563* 186 [666] [692] [197]

These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

[17] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).
[18] *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).
[19] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

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*563 186 tural heritage, and make plain their desire to defend it against Chinese encroachment by preserving their own language, literature, and traditions.

Religious freedom is likewise demanded by Uighurs of all political factions. The Islamic flag, depicting a crescent and star on a red background, flies over the schools in Kulja and Chuguchak. After the break between Kulja and Urumchi, the Kulja group was requested by Chang Chih-chung to clarify its intentions by flying the "national colors" over the schools and military establishments.

*563 186 669 It is apparent that the nationalist movement among the Uighurs has never gone as far as the militant revolutionary stage reached by the Viet Minh and other radical groups in the Far East. The Uighurs seek primarily a modicum of liberties such as will permit them to continue to survive as one people under a government of their own choosing. Important sections of the Uighurs have shown that they are willing to join with other peoples, even including some Chinese, in fighting for these demands.

The past history of Sinkiang, considered together with the latest uprising in the province, suggests that the demands of the various peoples are not likely to be fully satisfied without at least some measure of territorial as well as cultural autonomy. Just how this can be arranged is something that has to be worked out — jointly, if it is to be done harmoniously — by the minority border peoples and the majority Chinese in the country as a whole. Hitherto, however, the range of disagreement is such that it appears to be impossible even to obtain accord on the demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang!

*563 197 The problem is not much easier for the scholar concerned solely with describing the peoples of the province. Any classification into nationalities is impeded at the outset by the dearth of information on the national sentiments of any more than a mere handful of nationalist thinkers. Nevertheless, such concrete data as lie at hand do provide some means for objective analysis of the population. In this connection it is particularly striking

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563* 197

that, with hardly an exception, language appears to be an index to an aggregate of characteristics which set off one people from another. For the most part the speakers of the ten languages noted earlier — the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, Iranians, Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars — are homogeneous within themselves.

Thus the Uighurs — that is, the people who speak one of the many mutually intelligible dialects of the Uighur language — are all Moslems, all share the same literary and artistic heritage, live chiefly by agriculture, have a common history, form 95 per cent of the population in the Tarim Basin (where 90 per cent of them are concentrated), and in other respects display a high degree of uniformity. At the other extreme are the Chinese of Sinkiang, one third of whom are Moslem while two thirds live within that vague association of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist ethical maxims and ceremonial observances which satisfies the need for religion in the lives of most Chinese. They do not form the majority of the population in any area, and are sharply divided by conflicting group loyalties. Whether these factors outweigh the bonds which tend to unite Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese into a common nationality is a subject of some dispute.[20] There is less ambiguity about the rest of the population. Assuming, as seems most likely, that in the case of Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese the unifying force of common language is greater than the divisive force of different religions, then there seems little question that with language as an index of other common characteristics the population as a whole is to be demarcated into ten nationalities.

Of the ten language-grouped nationalities in Sinkiang, the Uighurs comprise 80 per cent of the population of the whole

[20] In times of political crisis, Moslem Chinese in Sinkiang are invariably caught on one or the other horn of a dilemma. If they stand with their fellow Moslems, sooner or later an attempt is made to reduce them to a secondary position and to treat them as "untrustworthy" because, in spite of their Moslem religion, they are after all Chinese. If they stand with their fellow Chinese, there is a similar tendency to suspect them of subversion and disloyalty, because, it is feared, their religion may prove politically more compelling than their patriotism.

I: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563
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province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

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The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

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Uighur

*563 186 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 361 168 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan. North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 • 197 212 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard. 000

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

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Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197 ●
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

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Kazak
Kirghiz

*563 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this re-
● 197 spect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939,
212 76.3 per cent were literate.

The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Moham-
*563 medanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they re-
771 mained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither
562 veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of
101 the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
● 197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

[p. 138]

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Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

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Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
•197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197] •

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

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Sinkiang AI1

S
N I. Introduction
121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S
N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S
162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

S
[114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Öröts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[142] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[141] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorted a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[171] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[203] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.
The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[171] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.

1. Physical characteristics

[177] Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[556] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga
region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have
lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian
merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from
[167] Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small
group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols,
but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their
new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken
in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[233] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[342] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.
[614]

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20.

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
B. History of Islam in Kansu

*563 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[197] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a
[197] second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

LANGUAGES

I. Turki

A. Dialects

197 The main language spoken in Sinkiang is Turkish. The Turks themselves, however, call their language Turki. Sometimes, when denoting their local dialect, they use terms such as Kashgarlik (i.e. "a man from Kashgar"), or Kashgar türkisi (i.e. the Turkish language of Kashgar"), or Turfanlik ("a man of Turfan"), or Turfan türkisi ("the Turkish language of Turfan"), etc. Among Western linguists, the term "Eastern Turkish" is widely in use, and we shall use this term only; since the Communist revolution of 1917, however, the term "New Uighur" also has been introduced. The Soviets apply this designation to the 100,000 Turks who inhabit the area of Jarkent and Alma-Ata in Kazakstan at the headwaters of the Ili river, some parts of Kirghizistan, and the area of Andijan and Ferghana in Uzbekistan. They are of the same linguistic family as those who live in Sinkiang. Prior to the Soviet Russian revolution, the New Uighurs were called Taranchi, "inhabitants of the country."

East Turkish represents one of the dialects of the widely diffused Turkic language family. Closely related to Eastern Turkish are the Turkic languages spoken in Turkey, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, and the Soviet and Persian Azerbaijanian regions. The Turkish inhabitants of all these areas have no difficulty in communicating with each other.

1. Phonetic bases for subdivision of Turkic languages

194 The Turkic languages are subdivided according to certain characteristic phonetic features. For example, in the word dokuz~tokuz, "nine," the last sound is represented by -z in all Turkic languages except in Chuvash. There it is represented by -r, i.e. tăxăr, "nine" (this might also refer to the extinct languages of the Old Bolghar and Old Khazar). The Common Turkic intervocalic *-d- or *-ð- (a phoneme which resembles the English -th- in "that" or "those"), in the Common Turkic word aðaq, "foot," becomes ataχ in Yakut; adaq in Soyot (or Tuva, for which the name Uryankhai was also used) and Karagas; azaq in Sagai, Kacha, Koibal, Kizil, Küarük, Cholim, Beltir, Kamas, Sarigh-Uighur, and Shor; and ayaq or ayaγ respectively in Turkey Turkish, Chagatai, Eastern Turkish and all the remaining Turkic dialects.

193 Another phonetic criterion, commonly used in subdividing
194 the ayaq group, is the suffix of the present participle -an or -γan (γ indicates the voiced counterpart of -ch in the German "ach"), e.g. qal-an or qal-γan, "remaining." In this respect

193 subgroup, again, is divided into the so-called taγ-lïq and
194 tau-lï, "inhabitant of a mountain range" sections. This refers to the transformations which take place as far as the noun-forming suffix -lïq is concerned. It also refers to the changes of the final consonant -γ in the word taγ, "mountain" in the various dialects, i.e. daγ in Osmanli, taγ in Soyot and Karagas, tū in Oirot, tō in Kirghiz, and tau in Kazakh and Karakalpak. In this respect, Eastern Turkish belongs to the taγ-lïq ("mountain inhabitant") section.

2. Position of Eastern Turkish

• 197 To summarize the facts concerning the classification of Eastern Turkish and its position within the family of the Turkic dialects, the following scheme should be applied: Eastern Turkish belongs to the dokuz languages, ayaq division, qal-γan subdivision, taγ-liq section.

3. Derivations

Without doubt, the Turkic languages are related to the Mongolian, Manju-, and Tungusic languages, and together with them form the so-called Altaic language family. The oldest substratum of Korean is undoubtedly of Altaic origin. Many linguists believe that the Altaic languages and Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) languages constitute one large linguistic family.

With the exception of the Chuvash, and to a lesser degree the Yakut languages, the Turkic dialects demonstrate a striking resemblance and uniformity. Even the oldest known Turkish dialect, the so-called Old Turkish, or Uighur, as represented by the inscriptions on stone slabs erected in honor of the Khans of the empire founded by the Northern Turks in 682, differs amazingly little from modern Eastern Turkish, its closest descendant.

B. General Characteristics of the Turkish Dialects.

193 1. Vocalic harmony
194 Vocalic harmony is one of the most remarkable features of the Turkish dialects. This means that in one and the same word, including the suffixes, only front vowels (e, i, ö, ü) or back vowels (a, ï, o, u) are permitted to appear; e.g. front vocalic stems: köpek, "the dog"; yüzük, "the ring"; bilezik, "the bracelet"; back vocalic stems: topuk, "the ankle"; yatak, "the bed"; yastïk, "the pillow". The rules of vocalic harmony must also be followed in adding suffixes to the stems: examples of back vocalic stems with back vocalic suffixes are: quduq, "the fountain"; quduqning, "of the fountain"; pičaq, "the knife"; pičaqči, "the knifemaker"; bala, "the child"; balalarï, "their children"; examples of front vocalic stems with front vocalic suffixes are beš "five"; bešindzi, "the fifth;" inek, "the cow", inekim, "my cow"; tüš "the dream", tüšüm "my dream";

193 köz "the eye", közüm "my eye."
194

2. Consonantal harmony

Another phonetic feature of the Turkic dialects is a certain type of consonantal harmony. This means that certain consonants appear in connection with front vowels or back vowels only; e.g. there are two k-sounds in Turkic dialects, a front one (somewhat like the front k in "came") and one produced further back in the mouth (somewhat like the back k in the German "kann"). The symbol "q" is used to designate this second k-sound. The first k-sound appears with front vowels only, e.g. keldim "I came," the second one with back vowels only, e.g. qildim "I made."

3. Grammar

193 Since the Turkic dialects belong to the Altaic language family, grammar is a matter of suffixes. This means that declension, conjugation, and comparison, in the broadest sense of the word, are expressed by suffixes and not by prefixes, infixes or ablaut as in the Indoeuropean or Semitic languages. These suffixes are attached to invariable stems, e.g.:

qiz "the girl," qizlar "the girls"
üj "the house," üjdä "in the house"
qil "do, make," qila "doing, making," qilγaï "I shall do"
kašγar "Kashgar," kašγarliq "inhabitant of Kashgar"
kel "come," keldim, kelding, "I came, you came"
beg "duke," begim "my duke"

4. Distinctions between Turkic and Indo-European

193 The following are the principal syntactic and grammatical
• 197 differences between the Turkic and Indo-European dialects.
The Turkic dialects:

1) have no grammatical gender
2) have no definite articles
3) have a special posessive declension, e.g. baγ "the garden," baγim "my garden," baγin "your garden," baγimiz "our garden," baγiniz "your garden (plural)"
4) have a large number of verbal derivations, e.g. qilmaq "to make," qilduurmuq "to cause to make;" ačmaq "to open," ačilmaq "to become opened;" bermek "to give," berišmek "to give to each other," berinmek "to give oneself"
5) have postpositions instead of prepositions, e.g. pičaq birlä "with a knife," üj üčün "for the house"
6) place the attributive modifier in a position preceding the noun, i.e. the modifying word precedes the modified, e.g. čoŋ üj "the big house" but üj čoŋ "the house is big"
7) do not use the plural forms of nouns if these are preceded by numerals, e.g. iki üj "two houses" and not iki üjlär
8) replace the verb "to have" by the verb "to be," e.g. gul "the rose," gulum "my rose," gulum bar "I have a rose" (verbatim: my rose is existant)

193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilmaq
197 "to do, to make," qilmamaq "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu and do not change the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. baγqa yol bardur "there is a road to the garden," but baγqa yol bar muduur? "Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confunctions by participial or gerundial constructions, e.g. bolmaq' "to be or to become," bolsæm "if I were," the suffix -sæm could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashär, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
[193] dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
[194] the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
[167] valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ö, e, ö, ɛ,

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tṣ-, tṣh-, ṣ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

S
N c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

d) Contrast between -ẽ and -ɔŋ

• 197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
S U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers,
[563] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e.
[167] Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek), The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
+175 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
197 texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
S These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
175 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The
197 striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V. Concluding Remarks

S
N Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak
191 Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۶ while Uighur writes ۶ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Öläts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

N /Mongols of the Northwest/

829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and the supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

conditions of life in a new country, and though living 563
in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their [143]
features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems [779]
in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the [241]
agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a 197
language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern 563
road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the [221]
nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

no difficulty or hardship about any of these journeys among the oases of the plains, for, apart from being looked after very well by our own people, we were not only assisted and escorted everywhere we went by the local authorities, but actually treated as guests, having frequently the utmost difficulty in getting payment accepted for the loads of flour, vegetables, rice, fruit, fodder for horses, etc., which met us at every town. Either the Chinese official rest-house or a private residence was placed at our disposal at most stages, though in the larger centres the Aqsaqal or some other influential British subject usually insisted on putting us up. Escorts were provided everywhere, whether we wanted them or not; the troops, at any rate down the Khotan road, were invariably turned out in our honour. Last but not least, at every town we visited except two or three in the remoter northern districts, the officials not only came out to meet us and to see us off with the peculiar roadside tea-drinkings which are *de rigueur* on these occasions, but also gave special dinner-parties in our honour. As will be seen later, these attentions were sometimes rather embarrassing than otherwise, but one could not help appreciating the goodwill that prompted them. Altogether, the friendliness and courtesy with which we were received practically everywhere by the Chinese authorities were most cheering, and testified eloquently to the popularity and respect gained for the British Consulate-General by its founder, Sir George Macartney, as a result of twenty-eight years of able and single-minded service.

Life at Kashgar itself was physically less strenuous than on tour, when work and long marches had to be combined, but I was always kept very busy, especially after I was deprived in July, 1923, of the valuable assistance of the Vice-Consul, Mr. Harding, whose post was afterwards left vacant. The number of different languages in which we carried on our work indicates the variety and interest of our daily routine, On any one of our files there might be, and often were, papers in six different languages: English, Chinese, Turki, Persian, Urdu and Russian. As for the "spoken word," Turki, Urdu and Persian were all in regular use with visitors, litigants and witnesses during office hours. Some of the more cosmopolitan of my friends, indeed, used all these three languages in the same conversation, switching from one to the other in a most disconcerting manner. The Consulate staff, whom I must now introduce, were as follows: the Mir Munshi (Head

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accompanied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses of the Chinese population is distinctly different from that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accomplished in Shansi. The policy of this strong autocratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this end he allows no newspaper to be published in his territory, and the postal, telegraph and wireless offices are under the control of his appointed censors. News from the outside world filters through but slowly, and all restaurants are posted with the announcement: '*No political discussions allowed.*' It is certainly to Governor Yang's credit that the roads of Turkestan are notably free from brigandage, and during the past decade of civil war in China, Turkestan has remained peaceful. At the time of our visit the whole Yamen was busy with preparations for the journey to be shortly taken by the Governor's son and suite to the town of Zaisan in Russian territory, where the young man had been appointed Chinese Consul.

We were the first British women who had ever visited Urumchi, and our application for passports to cross the Russian frontier at Kuswun created a precedent. Three years previously some of our boxes were stolen from a Kansu inn, and our British passports were lost with them. The papers with which we now travelled were passports written in the Chinese language, and issued by the Chinese Foreign Office and British Consul in Hankow. These documents refer to us by our Chinese names only. We had early made application for permits to travel across Russia, which request had been forwarded to Moscow by the Soviet Consul in Urumchi, and on the day after our arrival word came that this permission was granted, when we immediately presented ourselves to make personal application for a visa. This was duly affixed to the Chinese passport, and all possible help and information with a view to making the journey easy was given to us by the Consular Staff.

The weeks of our stay were very happy and interesting and the time passed only too quickly ere arrangements

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Clerk), Khan Sahib Muhammad Nasir Khan; the Accountant, Treasury Officer and Second Clerk all in one, M. Firoz ud Din; the Chinese "Writer," i.e. Secretary and Intrepreter, Mr. George Chu of Peking, late Intrepreter with the Chinese Labour Corps in France; and the Doctor, Khan Sahib Fazl-i-Ilahi. In spite of the conditions of exile under which they worked, two months' journey or more from their homes—for with the exception of the Doctor none of them had been able to bring their wives or families to Kashgar—they laboured uncomplainingly and loyally, and made things very easy for their chief.

For some years before our arrival there had been a platoon of Kashmir Imperial Service infantry under a native officer as Consular Escort, but this was "axed" in 1922 and replaced by eight mounted orderlies under a *jemadar*, recruited locally and armed with swords and revolvers. The pay and conditions of service being very good according to local ideas, we had the pick of the British subjects and some good Turki candidates to choose from, so that a really excellent set of men were got together. The best of them were Hafiz and Sangi Khan, who have already been introduced, and the Jemadar, a steady, nice, wise old Ladakhi called Ghulam Muhammad. These men, together with the *dakchis* or postal couriers and other Government employees and our private servants, all had quarters within the Consulate enclosure. Altogether our population was generally between seventy and eighty, including women and children; some of the men had other wives in the town, but nobody was allowed more than one within the precincts of the Consulate-General. In fact, we had a regular village on the premises, with its own gate and water-supply, each house enclosing a courtyard and some of them a tiny garden as well.

Government officials who live at the end of telegraph and (worse) telephone wires, as nearly all do nowadays even in the remotest parts of the Empire, will envy the Consul-General at Kashgar when they hear that practically all his official telegrams take between 11 and 19 days to reach him. There certainly is a Chinese telegraph line between Peking and Kashgar *viâ* Urumchi, but messages usually arrive in such a mangled state after a week or more *en route* and several retransmissions, that it is seldom used for official correspondence, which comes through the nearest Indian telegraph station, Misgar. The Government of India maintains a service of couriers who bring the mails from Gilgit in 15-17 days and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the telegrams from Misgar in 11–13 days. Hunza men carry the bags on foot or horseback as far as Tashqurghan, Consulate couriers the rest of the distance. Except in early spring, when the mails are sometimes held up for a week or two by snow on the passes and the telegraph line over the Burzil is broken by the same agency, the service is remarkably regular. Accidents do happen, but are fortunately rare; in 1921 a Hunza courier with his mail-bag fell off the path near Ata'abad and was dashed to pieces, and another was lost in the snow on the Mintaka Pass in the spring of 1923. Needless to say, these men are well paid, and the Kashgaris on the Tashqurghan section, who do the double journey by the Gez route once a month all the year round, have in addition comfortable married quarters in the Consulate "village," a coveted privilege.

Legation correspondence and other mails from China Proper, on the other hand, came by the Chinese post, which was regular and remarkably speedy, considering the vast distances involved. Letters took two months to reach Kashgar from Peking, and parcels (which came by cart) five to six months. Except for two private couriers whom we maintained for our heavy correspondence with Yarkand, we depended entirely on the Chinese post within the borders of Sinkiang. Our letters reached Keriya, for example, in ten days, though the distance is well over 400 miles, including 150 miles of sandy desert. The service between railhead at Pingtang and Keriya, viâ Kansu, Hami, Maralbashi and Yarkand, some 3,000 miles, is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world. Its efficiency is all the more creditable in view of the enormous difficulties with which the Department has to contend. The head of the Postal Department in Sinkiang during our time was an Italian and is always a European official of the Chinese Board of Communications; and the Chinese Postmasters whom we met at Kashgar were all men of up-to-date Western education with a good knowledge of English.

"Society" at Kashgar consisted of the Chinese official world, the Swedish Mission, the Russian colony and the British Consulate-General. The Chinese officials of whom we saw most were the Taoyin, usually known by the honorific title of Tao Tai; his Foreign Affairs Secretary, who spoke English; the Magistrates of the Old and New Cities, which are the headquarters of separate districts though only six miles apart; the Commandant of the Old City garrison; the Postmaster (another English-speaker), the Master of the Mint,

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

S N 563 779 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 792 785 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 S N [788] Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 797 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

S N 795 785 796 203

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 769 177

N 795 788 778

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
*668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

N 204 *668 177 12. Chinghai jih--pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih--pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, ((Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 *668 177 S 204 668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia. Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 *668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 *668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet, guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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N 204 668 199

3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)

S 204 668 199

5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

N 214

III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

N 214 668 199

After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, Septemoer 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

The wartime fight against inflation and against serious jarring of living conditions has met with considerable success. It is claimed that Price Control Commissions set up "everywhere" have made the Sinkiang price level the lowest in China. Yet wages, correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung has found, are high. Ch'en, walking by a 1942 Sinkiang road construction project about six miles outside of Tihwa, came across laborers who were receiving $12 Chinese a day. He indicates that skilled workers of the province were currently receiving even more.

Serious wage lags in the case of subordinate government salaried employees have been one of China's serious problems in the inflationary years of her Resistance and Reconstruction. This may have been proving difficult for Sinkiang also since many of her government workers, for instance, still receive little more than $200 Chinese a month. But Sinkiang authorities have been meeting the situation for such workers with reductions of social and public expenses, with compensation in the way of reduced prices on commodities, and with small monthly subsidies in such staples as rice, flour, salt, sugar, matches, and oil.

Reports in October, 1943, of Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, have been coupled with increasingly illuminating accounts of new Chinese migration to the province. This can promise a whole new vista of reconstruction developments in the province, and such developments deserve to be watched with keen interest. One of the most immediately noticeable effects has been the announcement on November 10, 1943, of an "ambitious plan" for the modernization of the Sinkiang capital. "During the past three months," the report states, "thousands

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

202 the telegrams from Misgar in 11–13 days. Hunza men carry the bags on foot or horseback as far as Tashqurghan, Consulate couriers the rest of the distance. Except in early spring, when the mails are sometimes held up for a week or two by snow on the passes and the telegraph line over the Burzil is broken by the same agency, the service is remarkably regular. Accidents do happen, but are fortunately rare; in 1921 a Hunza courier with his mail-bag fell off the path near Ata'abad and was dashed to pieces, and another was lost in the snow on the Mintaka Pass in the spring of 1923. Needless to say, these men are well paid, and the Kashgaris on the Tashqurghan section, who do the double journey by the Gez route once a month all the year round, have in addition comfortable married quarters in the Consulate "village," a coveted privilege.

205 Legation correspondence and other mails from China Proper, on the other hand, came by the Chinese post, which was regular and remarkably speedy, considering the vast distances involved. Letters took two months to reach Kashgar from Peking, and parcels (which came by cart) five to six months. Except for two private couriers whom we maintained for our heavy correspondence with Yarkand, we depended entirely on the Chinese post within the borders of Sinkiang. Our letters reached Keriya, for example, in ten days, though the distance is well over 400 miles, including 150 miles of sandy desert. The service between railhead at Pingtang and Keriya, viâ Kansu, Hami, Maralbashi and Yarkand, some 3,000 miles, is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world. Its efficiency is all the more creditable in view of the enormous difficulties with which the Department has to contend. The head of the Postal Department in Sinkiang during our time was an Italian and is always a European official of the Chinese Board of Communications; and the Chinese Postmasters whom we met at Kashgar were all men of up-to-date Western education with a good knowledge of English.

"Society" at Kashgar consisted of the Chinese official
647 world, the Swedish Mission, the Russian colony and the
648 British Consulate-General. The Chinese officials of whom we saw most were the Taoyin, usually known by the honorific title of Tao Tai; his Foreign Affairs Secretary, who spoke English; the Magistrates of the Old and New Cities, which are the headquarters of separate districts though only six miles apart; the Commandant of the Old City garrison; the
648 Postmaster (another English-speaker), the Master of the Mint,

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles required for temple worship. This shop was also the [405] post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which com- 485 [136] posed the village were built at the foot of a high, overhanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

3:Gable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which [206] lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. [132] We were warned that at this season people were dying [342] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected themselves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better 3'12 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, form-
344 less, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.

• 205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters
206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the
471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished
648 refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

3; Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to
361 Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called
136 Behya—' The Town of Seagulls '—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow
[487] the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia
361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that ' the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. ' Certainly,' we said, ' show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before ! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, ' Here they come again ! ' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To ' save face ' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

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494 Repairs and reconstruction were in addition undertaken over more than 1,875 miles of what is called "dry line" between Tihwa and Khotan (running via Karashahr, Kucha, Aqsu, and Kashgar). A transport control office of the provincial government, which had over 400 trucks of its own in 1938, has maintained control and repair stations on every line and by that date well over the equivalent of $500,000 U.S. currency had been expended on such work. By 1941 it was reported that there were altogether 3,000 trucks engaged in Sinkiang transport work.

Truck transport that has connected Tihwa with Soviet Russia and with other parts of China ran principally from T'a Ch'eng (on the Russian border) through Tihwa to Hsing-hsing Hsia (on the border of Chinese Kansu Province). There has also been important South Sinkiang contact with Soviet Russia from Kashgar to Andizhan via the Terek Pass. On the Chinese side the Sinkiang road system mainly links up with routes that have been under the direction of the Chinese Northwest Highway Administration via the 800-mile Kansu-Sinkiang motor road, which runs from Hsing-hsing Hsia (Baboon Pass) to Lan-chou. The Northwest Highway Administration has had a force—of 1,500 trucks as well as 5,000 drivers and supplementary workers—which maintains lines ultimately connecting up with Chungking. The main Kansu line, a modernization of the old Imperial Caravan Road which used to bear traffic in camels and carts from Sinkiang to Pei-p'ing, represents plans and work extending over the years from 1935 to the present.

Traditionally less well developed and less practicable for truck transport are the caravan trails which lead from Sinkiang (in the south) to Ch'inghai and (in the north) to Mongolia. These have been regularly used for limited local commerce—particularly the stretch from Keriya via Cherchen to Wu-erh-t'eng in Western Ch'inghai—and have great truckage and rail possibilities for the future.

Some Recent Developments

206 A milestone in Sinkiang modernization was the opening of through telephone connections between Tihwa and Chungking. *Ta Kung Pao* correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung used the line when he was in Tihwa on

October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no ' pull ' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. ' It's temper is up ! ' they said, ' and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its ' face,' and went to work again ! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi.

We had been without the guiding telegraph wire ever since we parted from it at Tsikioking, but at Kucheng we met with it once more, and we were glad of its indication over the rolling steppes which we now so frequently crossed. A new feature of the road was the little Ili Valley cart, of a build unfamiliar to us. The fact that it had four wheels gave it a Western look, for all Chinese carts, large or small, are built on two wheels, and this new structure was unknown to most of our party, who were as delighted as children to see this departure from the agelong, traditional vehicle.

Leaving Santai, an hour's drive brought us to the site of the original town of that name, now a mass of crumbling ruins, one more reminder of the havoc and desolation wrought by the Moslem rebellion in 1862–1877. Ruined villages, hamlets and farmsteads, mark

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

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361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that ' the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. ' Certainly,' we said, ' show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, ' Here they come again! ' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To ' save face ' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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Representative Meeting
20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:
Noon:
12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.
12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:
19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law
19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.
20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.
20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

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In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

S
207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
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These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
[674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes
(Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
*[668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Chü'an-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land 311
into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe— 631
receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for
promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted
on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's
Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious
Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way 651
and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer.
For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and
half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not 871
exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached
to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but
reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censor- 268
ship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing
with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and
Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news
or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually
prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from 178
the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if
the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I 439
liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though
the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly
limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route,
the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently
or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is
surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100
and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one
or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur.
Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

I. The Turks of Sinkiang

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A. The Concept of the Unity of the Moslem World

The Moslems of Sinkiang (Turkic: Türk-e-stan 'Land of the Turks') identify themselves strongly with the rest of the Moslem World. In spite of the many divergencies in national cultures of the various elements which constitute the Moslem world, there is a supernational religious civilization which unifies them all. The feeling and firm conviction of unity of all believers finds expression in the Koran as well as in the traditions and the extensive Islamic literature, and in propaganda slogans which became current since the turning of the century, such as: ittihad ve terakki 'u 'unity and progress', or Muslimlerin hakki birles "Moslim people unite'. The rest of the world is looked at as being apart from the Moslem World - being the domain of war, whereas the area under Moslem jurisdiction is considered the domain of peace.

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This feeling may have its roots in the history of the propagation of Islam where political institutions and allegiance went hand in hand with religious institutions and allegiance. The acceptance of the religion of Islam, Din-al-Islam, meant also the acceptance of the Moslem political state. The allegiance with a definite political tinge of many Moslems who do not live today under Moslem control remains with the leaders of the Moslem World. They may feel an even stronger attachment to the Moslem leaders than they do to their own non-Moslem political rulers, as has been the case in Sinkiang under Chinese domination. The allegiance and recognition of the Turks of Sinkiang went to the Ottoman Turkish Empire and later to the leaders of Western Turkestan rather than to their Chinese rulers. It is reasonable to assume that the Moslems of Sinkiang today identify themselves much more strongly with the world of Islam than they do with the Communist block. They think of themselves in terms of being Moslems and not in terms of being Communists. No matter how much indoctrination has gone into uprooting this allegiance to the Islamic world, it will take a whole new thoroughly indoctrinated generation to forget the strong sentiments and attachments to the rest of the Moslem world.

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B. Turkic Nationalism

Besides having supernational allegiance and sentiments of attachment to the Moslem world, there is also a strong nationalistic movement among the Turks of Sinkiang (called milli tahrik). They consider themselves as being a part of Turkestan as a whole and not as belonging to China. They view themselves as Turks, and not as Chinese nationals. They do not regard their position as a national minority in China as the answer to their national

175 completed by March 1943. Soviet Russia not only withdrew its
648 military forces but also retreated from its economic expoitation of Sinkiang. The Soviets capped the main oil well north of Urumchi and shipped back to Russia all the movable machinery from the oil refineries and the gold, copper, and iron mines which they had set up in Ili, Chuguchak, and in the Altai area, and from the factories they had built in Urumchi and other cities.

This Russian retreat was, however, far from complete. The Soviets maintained their consulates in all the larger cities of Sinkiang with a staff of several hundred people. At these consulates the Russians left military guards. At Urumchi a company of Soviet infantry with a strength of at least four hundred men was left behind to guard the consulate. Other consulates were guarded by units of ten to fifty men each. Other units were left behind to guard the gold, copper, and iron mines in the Ili and Chuguchak regions as well as the oil wells at Wusu and at Urumchi where the valuable machinery that could not be removed was protected by these troops. Soviet troops also continued to guard the airfields at Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan. In each Soviet
175 consulate the biggest department was the propaganda section.
648 These departments distributed among Turks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz,
208 and Mongols pamphlets printed in Soviet Russia. Agents of the consulates traveled throughout the province giving out these pamphlets and explaining the contents to the illiterate. The pamphlets gave favorable accounts of the Turkic people within the Soviet Union and contained material on methods of agriculture, irrigation, and animal husbandry. Altogether, the Soviet consulates concentrated more than before on the support and protection of the nationality groups who had started to fight the Chinese administration. Although the Soviets did not establish Communist Party cells among these nationality groups, they attempts to infiltrate their leadership. And since Chinese policy aimed at the suppression of this nationality movement, the nationality groups depended on the intervention of the Soviet consulates with the Chinese administration for the protection of the lives of their leaders. In several cases the Soviet representatives prevented execution and in other cases secured the release of imprisoned nationality leaders. As a result the Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs, and Mongols, had to accept the orders of Soviet agents in their dealings with the administration of Governor Sheng.

175 VIII. Soviet Efforts to Regain Power in Sinkiang.
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By 1944 the defeat of Nazi Germany enabled Soviet Russia to return to an active policy in Sinkiang. The Soviets supported a
[669] Kazakh uprising which broke out in the Ili valley on November

S 668 708 208 545

4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

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N *668 796 *[563] [791] [651]

A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opp;rtunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563 186 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 361 168 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan. North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 197 212 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard.

000 The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

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cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this respect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939, 76.3 per cent were literate.

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The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Mohammedanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they remained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

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Kirghiz. There has been considerable confusion in the use of the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

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The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are admini-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
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[p. 138]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan [illegible] onquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the [illegible]rs have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks. 174 538 779

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3] 174 779 212

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6] 174 779

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

[6] F. W. K. Mueller, "*Uigurica*," *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

for hand-washing) are "turban-head" utensils in which the Chinese took no interest. 326

The calligraphic art seems never to have flourished in Chinese Turkistan, and no Turki or Persian manuscripts of any merit appear to have been produced locally. Among the masses of "junk" brought to me at Kashgar, however, I was fortunate enough to come upon a genuine fifteenth-century Persian MS., in almost perfect condition. Noticing that the writing was exquisite and that a very early date appeared on the last page, I pointed out disparagingly that the book contained no pictures (this was not surprising) and few illuminated headings, and offered five taels for it. Eventually, after months of desultory bargaining, I acquired it for sixteen. It proved on examination by Dr. Edwardes of the British Museum and Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge to be a MS. of considerable importance, dated A.H. 150 or A.D. 1446, and containing four different Persian works, namely: 212

(1) The *Kulliyat* of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (twelfth-thirteenth century).
(2) The *Fihi Mafihi* of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi.
(3) A mystical work called *Tarab ul Majalis*.
(4) In the margin, the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

The *Kulliyat* and the two Rumi works are early enough recensions to be of some importance textually, while the *Tarab ul Majalis* is almost unique, only one other copy of the work being known, that in the India Office Library.

As might be expected from the isolated position of the Tarim Basin and the mediæval conditions prevailing, the country is a happy hunting-ground for the folklorist. Quaint customs and superstitions, most of them dating far back beyond Islam and even Buddhism, survive in remarkable profusion. Legends, too, are numerous and widespread; but these are more difficult to disentangle from the mythological web with which Islam has interwoven the mass of Buddhistic and Manichæan tradition. The legends and mediæval history of Chinese Turkistan have been treated very fully by M. Grenard in his work "La Haute Asie," embodying the researches of the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission to Tibet and Chinese Turkistan (1890–95), and I found afterwards that some of the material I collected had already been recorded by that Mission. The subject is of such interest, however, and the work done on it so little known, that I make no apology for recording some of 538

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
563 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
175 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mon-
563 golia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[175] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
[361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.

[177] 1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

193 ə, and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ä		ä, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			ř		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		ṙ	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ʑ	ʃ		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	č							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						ɣ			
Back velars		q							ɣ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

104 3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish
114 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is the so-called " Association Phonetique Internationale, " according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script
The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory *established* a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

F. Tables of Transcriptions

104 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern
114 Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff[18]	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kunos	Raquette	API
i	*i*	*i* [illegible]	*i, e*	*i*	*i*
ü	*ü*	*ü* [illegible]	*ü*	*ü*	*ü*
e	*e* [illegible]	*e* [illegible]	*e* [illegible]	*e*	*e*
a	*a*	[illegible]	*a*	*a*	*a*
a [illegible]	*a* [illegible]	*a*	*a*	*ä*	*æ*
a	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
	[illegible]	*i, ö, ü, u*	*i, ö*	*ö*	*œ*
—	—		*ü*	*ü*	*ü*
	—	—	*o*	*o*	*ɔ*
u	—	—	—	*u*	*ɯ*
u	*u*	*u*	*u*	*u*	*u*
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*o*	*o*
o	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*o*	*ɔ*
		[illegible]			
				ɣ	*ɣ*
	a	*ä*		*a*	*ɒ*
					a

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

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114

Table I (continued)

Radloff[1]	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kúnos	Raquette	API
h	h	h	h	h	h
p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t, t	t	t	t	t
ǰ, j	ä, ǰ	ǰ, ǧ	ǰ	j	dʒ
č	č	č	č	č	č
h	h [ḫ]	h	h	h	h
χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ
d	d	d	d	d	d
			—	ð	[z]
r	r	r	r	r	r
z	z	z	z	z	z
		—	—	ž	[z]
	ž	ž, j	ž	—	ʒ
s	s	s	s	s	s
š	s	s	s	s	s
		—	—	s	[s]
	—	—	—	z	[z]
	—	—	—	t	[t]
		—	—	ð	[z]
		—	—		—
γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
f	f	f	f	f	f
q	q	k, q	k	q	q
k	k	k	k	k	k
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ń	ńq, ŋ	ŋ, ñ	ŋ	ñ	ŋ
v	v	v	v	v	v
	w	w	—	w	β, w
h	h	h	h	h	h
j	y	j	j	y	j

212

Table II. The Arabic symbols which are still in use.

ب b	ر r	غ γ	آ, ا	a, ɒ, ɛ, æ, e, i, ï, ü, u, o.
پ p	ز z	ف f	ع	a, ɛ, æ, i, ï, ü, u, ö.
ت t	ژ ž	ق q		
ث s	س s	ك k	و	a, ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü̈, ö, ɵ.
ج dʒ	ش ʃ	گ g	ه	a, ɛ, æ, e, i.
چ č	ص s	ل l	ى	a, æ, ɛ, e, i, ï, ei.
ح h	ض z	م m	او	ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü̈, ö, a
خ χ	ط t	ن n		
د d	ظ z	و v, w	اى	ɛ, e, i, ï.
ذ z		ه h		
		ى j		

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

212 Table III. The Russian symbols which are in the process of
177 introduction.

Аа	Зз	Нҥҥ	Уу	Щщ
Бб	Ии	Оо	Ӯӯ	Ьь
Вв	Йй	Ӧӧ	Фф	Ъъ
Гг	Кк	Пп	Хх	Ыы
Дд	Лл	Рр	Цц	Ӭӭ
Ее	Мм	Сс	Чч	Юю
Жж	Нн	Тт	Шш	Яя

G. Sketch of Eastern Turkish

193 As Eastern Turkish is an agglutinative language, the dialect can be described most simply by presenting the index of suffixes, the only grammatical means of modification. With the use of such an index, the general reader when knowing the meaning of a stem, should be able to figure out the grammatical function of the suffix concerned.

The genitive suffix: -nïŋ, -niŋ
quduq "the fountain," quduqnïŋ "of the fountain"

The dative suffix: -ɣa, -gɛ
ӧj "the house," ӧjgɛ "to the house, in the direction of the house"

The accusative suffix: -nï, -ni
ɯj "ox," ɯjnï "the ox" (direct object)

The locative suffix: -dæ, -dɛ
qïz "the girl," qizdæ "at the girl's, with the girl"

The ablative suffix: - dïn, - din
kül "the ashes," küldin "from the ashes"

The plural suffix: -lær, -lɛr
jürɛk "the heart," jürɛkler "the hearts"

The diminutive suffix: -čæ, -čɛ
baɣ "the garden," baɣča "the little garden"

The professional suffix
ӧtmɛk "to pass by," ӧtmɛkči "the passer-by"

The suffix of ordinal numbers: -indʒi, -ïndʒï, -ündʒi, -ɯndʒï
beš "five," bešindʒi "the fifth"

The possessive suffixes:

1. pers. sg. -ïm, -im, -ӧm, -ɵm, -ünm, -üm, -ɯm, -um, -om, -ɵm
2. pers. sg. -ïŋ, -iŋ, -ӧŋ, -ɵŋ, -ünŋ, -üŋ, -ɯŋ, -oŋ, -ɵŋ
3. pers. sg. and pl. -si, -sï, -i, -ï
1. pers. pl. -ïmïz, imiz, ӧmiz, -ɵmiz, -ünmiz, -ümiz, -ɯmïz, -omïz, -ɵmiz
2. pers. pl. -ïŋïz, -iŋiz, -ӧŋiz, -ɵŋiz, -ünŋiz, -üŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -oŋïz, -ɵŋiz

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۶ while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
779 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[797] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
779 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
• 212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
779 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably comple-
[213] mented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
563
751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
164
364

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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S
668 languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation
563 of the new written languages.
19

So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest
S is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou
19 in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before,
• 212 but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for
the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter
alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

N As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other
S than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu,
19 Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.
212

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
779 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
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000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

563 538 177 668 produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh [214] and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first [648] and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

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The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Bock Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 (656)

Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

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V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

N
873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
• 217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
177 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231
342 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
221 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
[436] country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[262] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221
[618] Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
361 ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious); these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun,* at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

• [221] That night (14th July) we camped in wild and grand, but
[164] less green and flowery, country at Toilebulung, the winter headquarters of the Yambulak Kirghiz who grow their crops there and bury their dead in curious little domed mausolea. The elevation was only 9,650 feet, the first time we had been down to four figures since Gircha in the Hunza valley, sixteen days before. We mopped our brows and complained of the stuffiness of these low-lying valleys, until some one pointed out that we were still far higher up than the most elevated Indian hill-station.

432 Next day we bid adieu to the Yambulak Kirghiz with many
[431] invitations and promises to visit them again one day. I had already given old Ibrahim Beg with much ceremony an official present in the shape of a watch. Just before leaving I discovered that he had already disposed of it to Hafiz for five taels (about 15s.). As it was only worth about four taels, and as I wanted to impress upon the Kirghiz the enormity of the insult to the British Empire, I publicly reproved Ibrahim, took back the watch, made him repay the 5 taels to Hafiz, and then gave him a cash present of 4 taels instead of the watch. I then, supposing that Hafiz really wanted a watch to tell the time by, sold him the Government watch for 4 taels. The following day one of the other orderlies told me that Ibrahim had bought back the watch from Hafiz for 4½ taels, evidently thinking that as there was such a to-do about the article, it must be a good investment. It was not till after we reached Kashgar, however, that I heard the sequel from Harding, who passed Yambulak two days after us. This was that Ibrahim Beg changed his mind once more about the watch and sold it to Harding's orderly for 3½ taels! Turkis and Kirghiz alike are born traders and would sell the noses off their faces if they could get good money for them.

487 On each of the next two days we crossed passes, the Ter

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity. 563

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their [143] features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems [779] in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the [241] agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a 197 language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern 563 road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the [221] nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, which is the most important stream in this part of Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor*. Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 not favourably impressed. For Asiatics—I do not judge them by our lower Western standards—most of the Tungans we saw were remarkably bad-mannered. Whenever either of us tried to buy anything in the bazaars, either at Bai or at the New City of Aqsu, great louts of Tungans would stand round and exchange what were obviously comments on our appearance and behaviour, bursting every now and again into loud guffaws. We were not very sorry to leave Bai, though we greatly regretted that time did not permit of a visit to the far more interesting and important town of Kucha.

487 The 107 miles *viâ* Abad to Aqsu Old City occupied five days. Our first halt was at the flourishing village of Yaka Ariq on the right bank of the Muzart River. The main road for the next 50 miles lies almost entirely over barren and uninteresting country, so we left it and made due westwards for the curious red hills of Abad, among which I had hopes of another chance at the wild sheep. Camping for the night at Ilkache, the last oasis of the Muzart Valley cultivation, I rose before dawn and spent a long morning scouring the hills, but saw only several herds of antelope. Meanwhile D. and the caravan struck camp at a more reasonable hour and marched to a low pass among the hills appropriately named the Topa Dawan or
622 "Dusty Pass," where I met them at midday. It was here
224 that we made a new and most picturesque acquaintance, the Kirghiz headman of Qara Bulaq, Hushur Beg. As I approached the "Dusty Pass" I saw the solitary figure of a man on a horse standing on the crest of a ridge. This proved on closer inspection to be a youngish Kirghiz with a high-cheek-boned, weather-beaten face, mounted on a shaggy little Kalmuck pony. On his right wrist, which was protected by a large white fleece gauntlet and supported on the saddle by a wooden prop, he carried a magnificent hooded *qara qush* or black hunting-eagle. This bird, I afterwards found, measured three feet from beak to tail and over seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip; it was a dull black in colour, with a ruff of rust-coloured feathers, yellow claws, black beak with yellow base and fine red-brown eyes. From the near side of Hushur Beg's saddle dangled an object which puzzled me at first; it proved to be the lure with which he attracted the bird back from wandering, and consisted of a large ball made of skin from the heads of antelopes. The Beg turned out to be a thoroughly good type of man and a real sportsman, very different from the lazy and untrustworthy "Taghliks" of Pakalik and Tarlak.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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He was passionately fond of hawking and "eagling," if one may coin the word; he used hawks for hares and other small game, eagles for antelopes and sometimes wolves. He told me he would not part with his favourite *qara qush* for a hundred taels, though it was very fierce and had more than once clawed him when hungry and rashly unhooded. I noticed that he held the string attached to its hood in his teeth, and that after unhooding it for a moment so that I could take a photograph of the two of them, he put the hood on again at once with his bridle hand. He pointed out to me the precipitous red sandstone cliffs above Abad where it had been netted as a fledgeling.

He also told me about his hawks, among which he prized most a white one from the Altai. All over Central Asia these white hawks,[1] which are exceedingly difficult to get, are highly prized, though their performances are not, I believe, in any way superior to those of ordinary falcons. They are occasionally brought from Ili to the Aqsu market, where they fetch from fifty to a hundred taels or more. Almost every year the Mehtar (Chief) of Chitral, the Mir of Nagar or some such potentate from the Indian frontier sends men up to Kashgar to try and buy a white hawk; as often as not the messenger returns empty-handed.

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Three days later we marched through the narrow and dirty but picturesque wood-and-mud-brick bazaars of Old Aqsu to the charming house and garden outside the western gate which had been placed at our disposal. We were pleased to find that our host was the same Haji whose ranch at Yetim Döbe had been such a haven of refuge to us in the Tien Shan. Buried in trees, just far enough from the town to escape its noise and dust, the country house of Abdus Sattar Haji was a pleasant place indeed. A couple of hundred yards to the north ran the long line of perpendicular loess cliffs, forty or fifty feet high, which bound the city of Aqsu on the north and east and evidently mark an ancient channel of the Qum Ariq River. Under the level rays of the setting sun the place gave the impression of a marvellous piece of theatrical scene-painting; the tall white stems of the poplars and the rainbow-tinted autumn foliage blended perfectly with the warm grey-brown tones of the "drop-scene" of cliff in the background, and with the entirely mediæval walls and massive gates and bastions of the town.

[1] *Hierofalco altaiensis*, Turki *toighun*.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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only incident worthy of mention was a most exciting wild-pig shoot which we had at Ordeklik among the thick tamarisk jungles. Half the village came out on foot or horseback, accompanied by dogs, and carrying bludgeons made of tamarisk shoots with heads the size of cricket-balls carved out of the root of the bush. I made them drive a long stretch of jungle and was lucky enough to secure with my rifle an enormous pig, on the succulent hams of which we and the entire Russian colony at Kashgar afterwards feasted. The pigs do a great deal of damage to the crops of the Ordeklik people, who hunt them with their dogs and clubs most pluckily.

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During the " Indian summer " of mid-November in Central Asia the clearness of the air is extraordinary. From Lungkor, half-way to Kashgar, we saw plainly the snows of the Qungur range, more than 120 miles away, rising above the south-western horizon like icebergs from the desert sea. Though we reached Kashgar as late as 16th November, it was still pleasantly warm, nor was there any sign of ice on the marsh-lakes; yet a fortnight later the land was in the grip of winter and the ice on the lakes was a foot thick.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the Tümen Su. D. never bought it in the bazaar, but arranged with a particular fisherman to bring along his morning catch now and again. She paid him 4*d.* a pound for it, straight from the river. In winter the Chinese get frozen fish by post from Ili in the north, and this is regarded as a great delicacy; it is a kind of sturgeon, which if thawed gradually is quite eatable. But we much preferred fresh "heaven-fish." There is a theory among the Europeans of Kashgar that the local fish is dangerous to eat, on account of a poisonous gland or something of the kind; this seemed to us to be a myth, for neither we nor our guests ever felt the slightest ill-effects from it. We went out one morning with our friend the fisherman and his mate to study their methods. At 7 a.m. they called for us at the Consulate with their paraphernalia, which consisted of a large bag-shaped net on a triangular frame attached to a pole carried by one man, and a long stick carried by the other. Arrived at the canal (the Qizil Su in which they usually fished was rather a long walk from the Consulate, so the men said they would try the mill-canals of the Tümen Su) the man with the net entered the water and submerged the net, facing upstream; his mate waded in about fifty yards above and began beating the water with his pole, gradually working down, in order to drive any fish there were into the net. When he had finished the beat the other man lifted the net out of the water to see if there were any fish in it. We watched them do this at several different points, but we evidently brought them no luck, for not one did they catch. In the Kizil Su they used to get quite big fish, eight or ten pounds.

The king of Kashgar fruits is undoubtedly the melon known as the Beshak Shirin. It is indeed a super-melon. We used to think in Baluchistan that the melons were good, and at Kerman too I used to get fine ones by the donkey-load as presents from Persian friends. But the best of Persia and Baluchistan were only as the inferior kinds grown at Kashgar. The Beshak Shirin is shaped like the Cantelupe, and is yellow with green markings; it is on an average twice as big as any Cantelupe one sees in London shops, and when ripe its skin is so thin that its juice oozes out on to the dish. Its flesh, white or pale yellow, you can eat right down to the skin and its flavour is ambrosial. We weighed and measured a fairly good specimen from our own garden—by no means the biggest I have seen; its circumference was 33 inches and its weight

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KASHGARI FISHERMEN AT WORK IN A CANAL

493

ON TOUR IN THE PLAINS; OUR CARTS STARTING OUT FROM A CHINESE REST-HOUSE

[Face p. 246]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 Otherwise it would be difficult to avoid internal conflicts and to ward off aggression from without.[17]

He was also fully aware of the underlying weakness of Chinese rule in this distant frontier province. In the same memorial he wrote:

> It is a pity that what is called five races in one family [Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans] has been only nominal and has not become a reality. Chinese officials, without a sense of moral obligation but full of ideas for selfish gain, are rarely talented in administration. There are too many bad officials and too few good ones. This is why there have been more days of trouble and fewer of tranquillity. This is true of all provinces, but it is worse on the frontier. It will be impossible for the Chinese officials to control the Moslems permanently unless administration is greatly improved.[18]

*175 In keeping with the ideas expressed in his own memorial, Yang
● 231 Tseng-hsin made certain attempts to improve the economic situa-
441 tion in Sinkiang. As early as 1915 he put an end to the monopoli-
zation of the trade in silkworm eggs. In Yarkand, Khargalik, Guma Bazar, Khotan, Lob, and Keriya especially Chinese magistrates had been accustomed to import silkworm eggs from Russia and India. These they sold to the peasants, charging over three taels and sometimes as much as five taels for a case of eggs that cost one tael at most.[19]

*175 In 1916, Yang made an attempt to end the special form of
651 *corvée,* known by the Manchu term *wula,* widely prevailing in such frontier provinces as Sikang, Szechuan, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, under which officials and travelers with official authority can requisition food, lodging, and transport. The requisitioning is done through local officials, and is a source of abuse because of the extra requisitioning which the officials exact on their own be-

[17] Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.,* p. 599.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 595–596.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun,* at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

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Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

243 the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. On the average, the
242 amount of labor expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China proper, but the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It is
248 known to have been grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618–907). By 1750, it was used to pay taxes in Yarkand.[15] In 1776 it was described as ranking next to the wheat crop in importance,[16] and it has been one of the leading exports to Russia since 1890. The cotton belt lies south of the Tien Shan. Turfan and Merket (on the northern edge of the Yarkand oasis) lead in production, followed by Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, and Aksu.

Two varieties are grown, native and American. After failure in experimenting with Sea Island cotton in Tashkent in the 1870's, two Russian merchants named Belyakov and Lakhtin experimented very successfully with the Upland variety in 1883. After 1885 American species began to supplant the native type in Ferghana and Samarkand. A few years later Russian dealers set out to improve the quality grown in Sinkiang by distributing American seed.[17] Up to 1942 large quantities of seed were imported yearly from the Soviet Union, especially two varieties of American origin called "Shredder" and "Novrozkii." From American long-staple varieties of 25 to 29 mm., 32-count yarns can be spun, while the short-staple Inner Asian variety can be used only for 24-count yarns. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, 73 per cent with native cotton and 23 per cent with seed of the American varieties.

231 Silk is a second ancient crop of commercial importance. The
439 most noted silk oases have always been Khotan and Yarkand. Part of the raw silk they produce is manufactured on the spot
288 into fabrics which have greatly declined in value and beauty in recent years, and the rest is exported to the Soviet Union and

[15] Kuropatkin, p. 126.

[16] Chuan Yuan, *Geography of the Western Regions*, written 1776, published 1818, chuan 1, p. 1 (in Chinese).

[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

recognizable so far as quality and taste are concerned." Turfan grapes 241
are exported in dried raisin form to other parts of China; I tried them repeatedly in Kansu Province, and can testify to their delightful taste. The Sinkiang rice, too, is notable for the size and meatiness of its kernel. Chinese from Hunan are said to have first brought rice cultivation to Sinkiang, toward the end of the nineteenth century when they began cultivating the crop along the banks of the Urumchi River. Aqsu, Manas, Wu-su, Sui-ting, and San-tao Pa at present are all rice-growing localities.

South Sinkiang is the principal cotton-growing region, and the crop 248
of Turfan, with an annual yield recently estimated optimistically at [illegible]4,000,000 *chin* (catties), is the best. Flourishing cotton fields [illegible] also at So-ch'e, Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u), Shan-shan, Su-lo, and Korla. In the past Sinkiang cotton was practically all of local origin, but in recent years American cotton seed, imported from Soviet Russia, has begun to predominate. The estimate of one Moslem merchant (as reported in late 1942) put the annual provincial crop of Sinkiang-type cotton between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 catties.

Around a million catties of raw silk reportedly is produced each year 231
from Khotan, Yarkand (So-ch'e), and Su-lo acreage, and a considerable increase is expected; for the provincial Reconstruction Commission has been importing improved silkworm eggs and extending sericulture plots.

Animal Husbandry

When Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Shen Hung-lieh, visited Sinkiang in 1942, he and Ch'en Chi-jung, a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent, inspected a number of cattle ranches near the Urumchi River. Ch'en on that occasion was told that the technique developed on the Sinkiang ranches in the past five years of cattle breeding could be compared favorably with that of any nation in the world. This achievement, in combination with some of the world's best pasture land, has made animal husbandry vie with agriculture as one of the foremost occupations of the New Sinkiang. Samuel Chao estimates that it is engaged in by one-fourth of the Sinkiang people, and elsewhere it is pointed out that in this field Sinkiang leads all other

231 provinces of China. "The ox of I-li, the sheep of the Altai Mountains, and the horse of the Pa-li-k'un region, all have widespread fame," states the *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*. Mr. Chao judges the number of domesticated animals in Sinkiang to be as follows:

AN ESTIMATE OF AVAILABLE LIVESTOCK IN SINKIANG

Livestock	*Amount*
Sheep	12,000,000
Horses	2,000,000
Goats	1,300,000
Cattle	1,000,000
Camels	500,000

"Animal husbandry," writes Mr. Chao, "is concentrated in the northern part of the province where the steppes along the I-li River and the Altai Range provide feeding ground. The Altai prairie is Sinkiang's leading sheep raising district, Suiting [I-li] is famous for cattle, and, with Chenhsi [Chen-hsi or Barkol] and Yenchi [Yen-ch'i or Karashahr], also well known for its horses."

237 He estimates Sinkiang's annual output of animal products, skins, and furs to be:

AN ESTIMATE OF SINKIANG'S ANNUAL OUTPUT OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS INCLUDING SKINS AND FURS

Product	*Amount*
Wool	30,000,000 Catties
Camel's hair	2,500,000 "
Horse hair	1,200,000 "
Sheep skins	1,500,000 Pieces
Ermine skins (exports)	100,000 "
Ox hides	60,000 "
Fox skins (exports)	48,600 "
Horse hides	40,000 "
Wolf skins (exports)	11,000 "
Sable skins (exports)	5,000 "

487 milking the sheep and goats by the water's edge while the men and children looked on.

[231] Next morning we awoke to find a brilliant sun shining on a cheerful scene composed of yaks, yak-calves, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, curly-headed children, rainbow-clothed white-turbaned women and one to two shaggy men (the rest were still in bed), against a background of fat mushroom-like *aq-ois*, foaming river and steep green hill-side. I had decided to halt a day at this pleasant spot, partly to give the caravan a rest, partly in order to reconnoitre on foot a pass called the Merki Davan by which I hoped to cross into the upper Qaratash valley and thus gain access to one of the blank patches on the map which Sir Aurel Stein had advised me to explore. To cut a long story short,[1] Gerard Price and I, assisted by Juma Beg with his men and yaks, reached a height of 16,500 feet on a snowy spur, from which point we could see that the "pass" was quite out of the question for our caravan. It was nothing but a lofty ridge of rock at least 17,000 feet high, deep in snow even on the south side and defended also by steep ice-slopes.

[758] Meanwhile D. passed a strenuous but amusing day with the Kirghiz ladies, all of whom clamoured (mostly quite unnecessarily) for medical treatment and seemed to appreciate presents of quinine tabloids and castor oil even more than the beads and other small gifts which D. had brought for them. At any rate, she made herself very popular, for next morning when we marched down the valley their farewells were most affectionate and they walked at her stirrup quite a long way down the valley. One of the younger ones was perfectly lovely; the coloured sketch of her which was done by D. on this occasion and is reproduced as a frontispiece to this book does not flatter her unduly. As a rule, however, the faces of the Kirghiz women, though broad-browed and pleasing, are too flat for beauty.

[37] As we filed down the Yambulak valley it became ever narrower and its sides higher and steeper. The profusion of wild flowers was a revelation; anemones, primulas, kingcups, columbines, antirrhinums, campanulas, asphodel and many others of which we did not know the names grew in masses, especially in places where the sheep and goats could not get at them. Cascades of wild roses grew out of every

[1] For an account of this climb, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925, p. 388.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals, and the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of semi-stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 toddling down to the ice-covered stream with blackened copper water-jugs to fill, a pretty sight. Later, when our camp was pitched, came three cheerful vast-turbaned, apple-cheeked ladies, with their sewing and their babies, and made themselves comfortable on the grass in front of D.'s tent, chatting with us and among themselves until D. should be ready to receive them inside. Then they crowded into her tent and hung excitedly over her unpacking. Though accustomed to friendliness and naturalness on the part of the Kirghiz, D. was at first a little puzzled at the remarkable lack of shyness of these women, on our very first appearance among them; but the mystery was soon solved. As she was setting out her toilet-table one of them suddenly pounced on a box of *trèfle incarnat* with cries of "Ufpah! Ufpah!" which means "powder-puff." D. was astonished, until they explained. One of them, it appeared, was the daughter of old Ibrahim Beg of Yambulak, and had recently been on a visit to her parents, who had told her all about our stay in their valley last July on our way to Kashgar. Consequently, the Suget ladies knew all that D. had then said and done, how she had given those of Yambulak cold cream for their hands and had initiated them in the mysteries of powder and puff, how she had promised them gloves and had painted a picture of the Beg's pretty daughter-in-law, and many other items of breathless interest. So D. knew what was expected of her, and ere long the camp resounded with their delighted gigglings as they powdered their noses and preened themselves in front of D.'s camp mirror.

Soon after leaving Suget Ayaghi we passed through a remarkable cleft in the high rocky wall and found ourselves in a wide sunny valley with snow-clad peaks at its head. Here, at a height of about 9,000 feet, were the summer pastures of the Suget Kirghiz and two of their cottages. There were no trees, but high up on the flanks of the central peaks we could see patches of fir-forest. This, we were told, was the valley to which the missionaries from Yarkand had come more than once for their summer camp. Leaving the Suget Jilgha by a pass just over 10,000 feet high we descended into a pleasant little valley called the Tam Jilgha, so called from the number of stone houses (*tām*) it contained. Poplars grew in it, remarkable at a height of over 9,000 feet, and there was quite a respectable area of cultivation, chiefly barley. Here we saw three different kinds of animal being used in the plough

[137] [241] • 231 487

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

within a few hundred yards; in one field a pair of horses and another of bullocks, on another plot a fine pair of yaks was harnessed to the plough. Crossing another quite easy pass we dropped down into the Sarai Jilgha, a much less fertile valley, with only two very poor families of Kirghiz in it. [231] 487

On 8th April we crossed our third and highest pass in the Qizil Tagh, the Sarai Davan, 11,500 feet. It was steep and had a regular knife-edge top, but was not difficult and our carrier's ponies which were accustomed to the Karakoram road made light of it. Descending from the pass by a steep and narrow nullah we debouched on the Kinkol Valley at Kichik Qaraul, where we were on the Tashqurghan-Kashgar road up which we had come the previous July. We had thus left the "Red Mountains" behind us.

An attractive feature of the Qizil Tagh is the partridge shooting. We were there at the wrong time of year for it, but we shot a few birds for the pot now and then, and from the number of coveys we saw it was evident that in autumn a party of two or three guns would get a very good bag indeed in any one of the three valleys we visited. The only country in which I have seen as many red-legged partridge (*chikor*) as in the Qizil Tagh is the valleys of the Sulaiman Mountains in the north of British Baluchistan. The pursuit of the chikor or *keklik* (so called in Turki from the noise they make, kik-alik-alik-alik) is one of the most strenuous forms of sport I know. The birds are usually found near a steep, often precipitous, hillside; at the slightest alarm they run for it and climb, and you have to pound up after them as hard as you can. Without beaters, the difficulty usually is to put them up. Shooting for the pot, as I always did on these tours, I usually took a long shot at a runner, in which case the covey would often get up and in their agitation break back over my head, in which case I got a shot with my left barrel. This performance I could hardly describe as a "right and left," so I called it a "ground and air." [136]

Marching up the Kinkol valley we struck westwards up the Chumbuz Jilgha, a promising glen, of which I had made a note for future exploration the previous July. It led up into another small blank patch in Sir. A. Stein's map, and my object was to survey it roughly and cross by a pass called the Kizmak which I knew led over from its head into the upper Qaratash Valley. Lest the Kizmak should prove really bad—it had never been crossed by European—I decided to send most

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

231

A KIRGHIZ BEG OF THE TIEN SHAN, WITH HIS HUNTING EAGLE

[Face p. 232]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

175
242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us

361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression

794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous, dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little

563 boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 294 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While 563 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the ●231 tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

491 We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming 000 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

232 The administration of the New Sinkiang has taken significant steps to assist the peasants in the solving of their agricultural and animal husbandry problems. Field stations have been set up in every county with, among other services, eight veterinary hospitals and one veterinary school. There are province-wide facilities by which farmers may rent farm machinery otherwise unavailable. Experimental irrigation stations, forestry offices, and weather bureaus have all been established under Sheng's administration. These are epoch-making innovations for this once relatively isolated "desert" area.

Mineral Resources

135 Chinese reports have long testified to the rich mineral potential of Sinkiang Province, but the Occident has only recently attempted systematic study of that testimony. Now it is learned that numerous oil fields have been put into operation in Sinkiang. "Prosperous," though primitive, iron foundries have existed since the time of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), and now the Sinkiang iron veins are being rapidly opened. Excellent coal is found near Tihwa, Kashgar, and Yangi Hissar. The gold fields of the Altai Mountains are among the richest in Asia; and good-quality copper ore is being extracted from a number of deposits. Almost virgin mineral riches lie in the soil of Sinkiang, and serious attempts have recently been made to bring them into full utility.

Petroleum. A so-called "Ferghana Series" of oil-bearing strata runs into Kashgaria from Russian Turkestan and extends along the foot of the T'ien Shan past Aqsu to Kucha (K'u-ch'e). What may be an extension of this same series reappears again in the region of the Sinkiang North Road. The extent to which this series now is being utilized is indicated by the next table which names some of the fields of the province.

315 Samuel Chao gives a figure of 85,000 catties as the annual production of Sinkiang mineral oil. But in the past there has only been fractional utilization of the provincial oil potential; there has not, moreover, been sufficient public information on the more recent developments, which have no doubt shot the figure considerably higher.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 233
1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these 131
are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial au- [651]
thorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding ani- 233
mals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the [436]
steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 241 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 563 241 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace nomads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

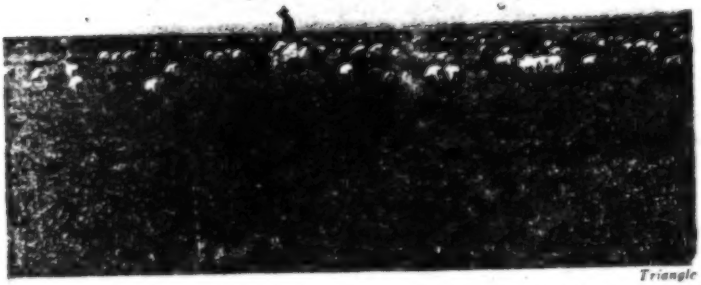
000 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however, there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at
372 the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

233



Triangle

Sheep numberless as the stars. The shepherd, riding back and forth among his flocks spread out over a half mile, finds moving them from one pasture land to the next a slow process.

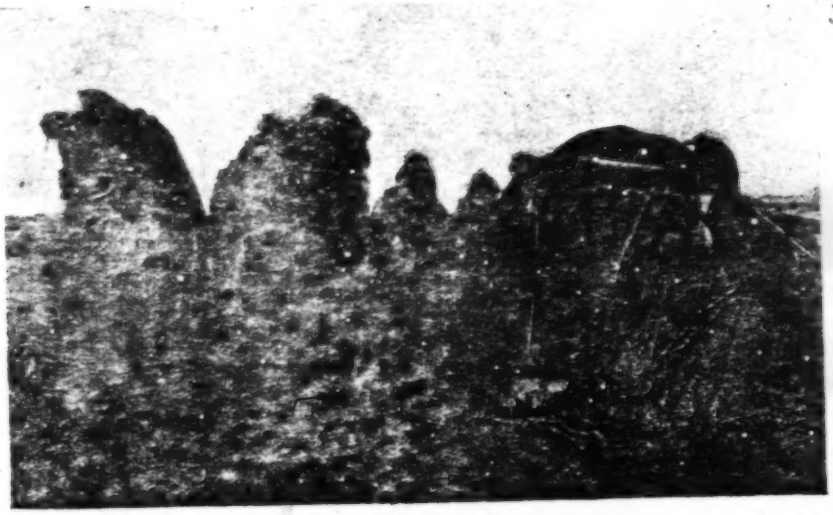
[p. 32 (A)]

The snow has come and the nomads must seek other grounds for their flocks.

233

Lattimore

342



The nomad spends the night in his temporary shelter which he sets up each evening.

[p. 32 (G)]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Sunset in September 12,000 feet up—must have been freezing hard. Of course the oil froze and clogged your bolt. Wonder the rifle went off at all."

We were surprised to find a family of "Sarts" or ordinary Turkis sharing this small valley[1] with the Kirghiz. Coming down from the ibex-ground one day I overtook them trekking down from their summer grazings, a pretty sight. On the opposite side of the stream a lean-visaged Sart shepherded a couple of hundred sheep and goats up an almost perpendicular cliff and along narrow ledges literally overhanging the torrent; this was necessary because the current was too strong for short-legged muttons to cross. Behind, a quaint procession came filing down the track and splashed across the stream; half a dozen mares with their foals, a man and two boys perched on masses of bedding on top of ponies, a neat smiling Sart woman with her baby and another man leading a camel piled high with the framework and felts of the family mansion.

Descending to the plains once more, we camped two glorious days on wide meadows near the long yellow loess bluffs of the Taushkan River. A hundred and fifty miles of the snowy Mountains of Heaven sparkled in the sky to west and north and north-east of us. It was advisable to give the baggage ponies (we had hired new ones at Uch Turfan) and our own animals a day or two in clover before the next lap of our journey; for we were to march 164 miles across the southern face of the Central Tien Shan and down the lower Muzart Valley to Bai on the Kucha road.

We were sorry to leave the Uch Turfan neighbourhood and the lovely valley of the "Hare River." We found the people delightful and quite unspoilt, especially the women. The latter, poor dears, seemed to be even more at a discount than at Kashgar; not one in five appeared to have a husband to herself, and they complained bitterly to D. of their hard lot. They came in streams to our camp among the meadows to "salaam" D. and beg medicines for blind, crippled, tuberculous and otherwise incurable relations. And not one of them came empty-handed. All tried to pay D. for her medicine or advice in peaches, eggs, melons, cream, corn-cobs or some such agricultural product. And when she not only made them take back most of their "widow's mites" but distributed (as she always did wherever we went) little presents of buttons, imitation jewellery, safety-pins, pieces of muslin, beads and

[1] [The Yangi Art Jilga — Analyst]

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion 631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian 668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that 178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet 619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the 648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is 241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain 596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern [241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition 614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted 563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among 233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose 361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent [668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz [622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The [594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
122 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:

233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

[597] Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

S Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
59 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[65] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

S
[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N
563 The Salars:
794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

N 563 794 [795] [596] [241] [438] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Sh[illegible] Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 241 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 198 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest [177] that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 [603] [421] The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
791 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

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There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization
233 are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among
SN the nomads.

563 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious.
181 Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the
SN Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic
[668] trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence.
181 It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for
153 maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances
SN the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic
563 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily
153 matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable
577 inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered
SN "bad" deeds.

563 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some
153 Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims
799 (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or
155 Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

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175 a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the
121 phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."
648 The most important of the multiple influences is believed to
132 be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the
114 climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile
182 enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of
[233] the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food
[262] was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim),
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lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of
175 the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like
121 the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of
648 mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.
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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 771 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 611 428 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of [425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 [592] The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] [622] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. 621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 614 596 563 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

[829] A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 563 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
322 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
267 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, which is the most important stream in this part of Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

10: Tilman T-3 (1947) 1948 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
Sinkiang AI 1

S 487 133 of a glacier of the Kungur group according to Sir Aurel Stein's map. This upper valley was well tenanted by Kirghiz at whose yorts we stopped that night just below the snow line.

The snow which fell that night obliterated all signs of the track, but in 2½ hours our guide took us unerringly to the top of the pass which he called Yambulak—not Tur Bulung. A glacier on the east side of Muztagh Ata is also called Yambulak. I guessed the height to be about 16,000 feet, and though the track is boulder-strewn, lightly laden ponies could cross the pass if clear of snow. From here we dropped about a thousand feet before climbing again to the Yangi Dawan which overlooks S [233] the Chichiklik maidan from the north. This great grassy plain lying at a height of 15,000 feet, in summer thick with grazing yaks, was now bare of life. It was a windy cold evening, so that we were lucky to find shelter in the squalid yort of a family who were trying to live like Kirghiz without the essential livestock. Their sole livestock were five sheep and they existed precariously on the bounty of stray travellers like ourselves. From here we reached Tashkurghan next day by the usual route down the horrible, bone-strewn Dershat defile.

S 487 Between Tashkurghan and Gilgit the seeker after variety is hard put to it. As a variation to the Mintaka Pass route, that over the Kilik Pass, by reason of nearness and similarity, hardly qualifies, while the only other alternative seemed to be a very generous sweep to the east by the Oprang Valley and back into the Hunza Valley by the Shingshal route. But if in order to avoid the usual I must indulge in wide generous sweeps, there was a more interesting one to be made to the west over the Wakhjir Pass and back into India by either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass and so down the Karumbar Valley to Gilgit. It was unfortunately true that this route entailed crossing a frontier as well as a pass—and frontiers are usually the more difficult—but I should not have to be on the wrong side of it more than two days before nipping smartly back to the right side.

From Mintaka Karaul, where there is the last Chinese post, we followed the main valley westwards, leaving the Mintaka and Kilik Passes on our left. It is a fine open valley, comparatively rich in grass but bare A of life—deserted, one supposes, on account of its proximity to the Russian 487 frontier. We crossed the Wakhjir (16,150 feet) on September 28th accom- 167 panied by some Kirghiz whom we had met a few miles below the pass. They had come there only the day before and were one of some thirty families who, we were told, were migrating to Chinese territory from the Murghab Valley east of the Chakmaktin lake on account of incursions and harryings by Kirghiz from the Russian side. We camped at a yort on the bank of the river less than two miles below the ice cave at the snout of the unnamed glacier which is, I think, accepted now as the true source of the Oxus.

A 361 Between here and Bozai Gumbaz there were only a group of yorts on [346] the south side of the river and a small homestead on the north bank where an attempt was being made to grow barley. "Gumbaz"—the conical A 372 mud cupola on a square base built in memory of some holy man—were far more numerous than people. There is peat on the flats on either bank of the river and many stacks of it drying were perhaps evidence of a

231 provinces of China. "The ox of I-li, the sheep of the Altai Mountains, and the horse of the Pa-li-k'un region, all have widespread fame," states the *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun*. Mr. Chao judges the number of domesticated animals in Sinkiang to be as follows:

AN ESTIMATE OF AVAILABLE LIVESTOCK IN SINKIANG

Livestock	*Amount*
Sheep	12,000,000
Horses	2,000,000
Goats	1,300,000
Cattle	1,000,000
Camels	500,000

"Animal husbandry," writes Mr. Chao, "is concentrated in the northern part of the province where the steppes along the I-li River and the Altai Range provide feeding ground. The Altai prairie is Sinkiang's leading sheep raising district, Suiting [I-li] is famous for cattle, and, with Chenhsi [Chen-hsi or Barkol] and Yenchi [Yen-ch'i or Karashahr], also well known for its horses."

237 He estimates Sinkiang's annual output of animal products, skins, and furs to be:

AN ESTIMATE OF SINKIANG'S ANNUAL OUTPUT OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS INCLUDING SKINS AND FURS

Product	*Amount*
Wool	30,000,000 Catties
Camel's hair	2,500,000 "
Horse hair	1,200,000 "
Sheep skins	1,500,000 Pieces
Ermine skins (exports)	100,000 "
Ox hides	60,000 "
Fox skins (exports)	48,600 "
Horse hides	40,000 "
Wolf skins (exports)	11,000 "
Sable skins (exports)	5,000 "

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392 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955.
493 Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

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327 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments
398 in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant,
399 (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the
256 Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August
288 First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng
399 Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen
239 animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs
439 and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

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121 5. Handicrafts.
178 The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development
463 of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this
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463 area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

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[288] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and
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[433] Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

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[323] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000,
[433] and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

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463 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-
289 cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

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[433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
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[p. 138]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Tadjik
Chinese

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Manchu

*563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were estab-
167 lished as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from
174 the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sin-
174 kiang were massacred, but the village communities defended
161 themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and
361 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the prov-
101 ince. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though
●241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a con-
231 siderable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their tradi-
191 tional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 241 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 563 241 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace nomads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

000 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by 241

nomads. There are Mongols in the Baitik Bogda who are both herders and cultivators.[3] Farming began among some of the Torgut Mongols along the Chingho, west of Manass, at the beginning of the present century.[4] In 1943, Kazakhs dug an irrigation canal from the bank of the Kunges, one of the main affluents of the Ili. Two kinds of change take place along the southern foot of the Tien Shan. Uighur owners of sheep in the oases send them up to the alpine meadows of the Kirghiz to pasture, and near Bai and Uch-Turfan Kirghiz, crowded out of these pastures, have taken to farming in the Taushkan and Kharabagh Valleys.[5]

Oasis Farming

There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: the oases of the south, which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches, and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming can be carried on, or still wider fringes of grazing land. The typical characteristics of oasis life are therefore much more sharply accentuated in the south. 133 241

The first oasis makers were probably men who lived along the banks of the rivers in the desert, and in the marshes, where they caught fish, hunted, and gathered wild food crops. A "crop" of the Lopliks of the Lob Depression, the most primitive surviving community in the Tarim Basin, is the tender shoots of the marsh reeds. When irrigation began, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problem required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slope at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the engineering problems were far too great. There were three reasons for the upstream shift: out on the plain, the slow speed of the water 241 312

[3] Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 462.
[4] Sung Po-lu, *History of Sinkiang*, 1913, chuan 2, p. 8 (in Chinese).
[5] R. C. F. Schomberg, "The Habitability of Chinese Turkestan," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXX No. 6, Dec. 1932, p. 510.

[p. 157]

241 312 silted up the canals; the flat level did not allow sufficient drainage from the fields, which gradually accumulated salts; the communities upstream had first access to the water. The drying up of Inner Asia has been blamed for the abandonment of ancient oases found out in the desert, but it is probable that the causes just described are more important than any change of climate in the last two thousand years.

312 Oasis engineering remains extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals, which branch in turn into the ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkistan to lift water from lower to higher levels.[6]

[133] Of the rivers of Sinkiang, the most important for irrigation is the Yarkand Darya, known in its upper reaches as the Zarafshan.[7]

[6] Two kinds of weirs are used to divert water from the river into the takeoff canal. Field notes of an Academia Sinica expedition describe a solid weir which was examined at the point where the Aksu Darya forks into two streams, the Kone Darya or Old River and the Yangi Darya or New River. A fork of this kind is often formed when a river channel silts up and later a freshet of high water comes down the choked channel; the force of the water bursts out at one side of the old main channel, and a subsidiary stream is formed, flowing away from the main stream. Since the Old River irrigates the oases of Aksu and Avat, a solid weir was built to divert some of the water of the New River back into the Old River. Trunks of the *toghrak*, or wild desert poplar, were used as stakes. Between these, cribs were woven with smaller branches and twigs and filled with stones and rubble. A weir of this kind is of limited efficiency. When the river reaches flood level in July and August the weir is battered down, too much of the water of the Aksu Darya discharges into the New River, and the crops in the oases fed by the Old River are imperiled. Solid weirs are used on the larger streams. On smaller streams, where the irrigators hope to be able to control the flow of water, draw-weirs are made with openings or sluices. In some localities, such as Kargalik, instead of building permanent sluice gates or panels the sluices are closed temporarily with rubble.

[7] The Yarkand Darya has also repeatedly changed its course. Thus the brilliant Chinese scholar Hsu Sung described how two tributaries of the Yarkand Darya joined in the second decade of the nineteenth century to form the oasis of Merket, but Sir Aurel Stein's maps show that the present

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

money capital, however, it is not surprising that the line at which work actually starts is still determined by the necessity for public labor, which must be assembled and directed by the exercise of public authority in some form. A typical recent example is the digging of an irrigation canal in the small oasis of Chira. As six villages were affected, three hundred men were assembled from these villages under the authority of their own village headmen. The village organization, however, can be superseded by the higher administrative authority of Chinese officials. The general rule is: local undertakings on a moderate scale are carried out within the limits of such co-operation as can be organized by village elders or headmen; enterprise on a large scale requires the intervention of a Chinese official.

At levels below the intervention of Chinese officials, traces of very ancient practices are found. Field investigation in a village in the oasis of Kucha revealed the survival of the "*ketman* of labor," a concept which combines units of labor, land, and water. The *ketman* is a broad-bladed mattock, the most ancient Inner Asian agricultural tool, which to this day is more widely used than the plow. A "*ketman* of labor" is the work of one man contributed throughout the digging of a canal, which entitles him to a "*ketman* of water," enough to irrigate from ten to fourteen acres.

In this village, however, the uniformity of the concept proved not to be reflected in uniformity of water rights. Of the total population about 8 per cent were landlords and rich peasants; but this 8 per cent owned about half of the total water supply. At the other end of the scale 17 per cent of the population had no water rights whatever, and were forced to purchase their water with a share of their crop. In between these two groups, one half of the water was owned by 75 per cent of the households. These families, classified as middle and poor peasants, had rights to an average of one third of a *ketman* of water for each household.

The shuffle which takes place between the contribution of labor and the allocation of water rights is accounted for in various ways. According to the Islamic principle of *mavat*, he who first

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setder. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

566
households of *chakars,* from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance 691
of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the authority 661
of an official called the *mirab,* who is locally elected, which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241 ●
244

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

An indication of confidence in Sinkiang finance is seen in the report that over $5,444,000 Chinese were subscribed in the province for her 1941 Reconstruction Bond Issue. Yet this does not necessarily mean that she is financially solvent. Quite the opposite is suggested by Chinese comment of November, 1942, that the Sinkiang budget of that year showed a considerable deficit and that the achievement of a budget balance is still considered one of the most serious current problems before the provincial government. 652

Agriculture and Irrigation

Because of their basic importance to the life of the province, agricultural and irrigation developments deserve special scrutiny. There are indications that the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration has given the problem considerable attention, but the available information is not satisfactory. Under these circumstances it might first be well to consider the following base figures given by Chiang Chün-chang for 1918 cultivated acreage in Sinkiang: 241

CULTIVATED ACREAGE IN SINKIANG, 1918

Crop	*Acreage*
Wheat	480,782
Corn	340,486
Rice	52,790
Melons and other fruit	46,737
Cotton	40,025
Sesamum	33,815
Kaoliang	32,325
Beans	23,040

These figures can hardly serve as a definitive 1918 total of cultivated land for the province; some of the crops may, for instance, have been rotated on one and the same acreage. They do suggest, however, that in 1918 there was a total Sinkiang cultivated area in round figures somewhere between a minimum of 500,000 and a maximum of 1,000,000 acres. If Chiang's figures may be considered typical, they also show that cultivation of wheat and corn has by far overshadowed that of other agricultural products, and that the province does have a history

241 of a considerably varied cultivation. Samuel Chao, an authority on Northwest China, says, in fact, that her natural riches have made Sinkiang the third largest agricultural producing center of that broad region.

241 312 In the absence of figures showing increase in cultivated acreage under Sheng's administration, statements as to the improvement of native irrigation facilities are useful—for most of Sinkiang's agricultural development has for centuries been dependent on widespread use of just such irrigation. Under Sheng's first three-year plan twenty-two new irrigation conduits were opened and forty-two old ones repaired. Nine river-deepening projects, two artificial basins for watering of cattle, and the repair and deepening of the locally famous thirty-five mile Hui-yüan irrigation conduit were some of the other tasks undertaken in the same period. By 1940 it was estimated that there were 944 main irrigation canals and 2,335 branch canals in the province. One Chinese writer enthusiastically claims that the cultivable land reclaimed as a result of the improvements mentioned amounts to approximately seventy thousand acres. A more recent survey, available in November, 1942, states that more than 3,000 miles of water conduits and wells have been added to, or repaired in, the provincial irrigation system, making available more than 150,000 acres of cultivable land. While these figures leave an uncertainty about the exact amount of land that actually is under cultivation today in Sinkiang, they do point to considerable emphasis on the problem of land reclamation. The work, moreover, undoubtedly has raised the 1918 base minimum of some 500,000 acres of cultivated land considerably in the direction of —if not beyond—the possible 1918 maximum of roughly 1,000,000 acres.

241 Ha-mi, Tihwa, Sui-lai (Manas), and Sui-ting in the north and Turfan, Aqsu, Kashgar, and Khotan in the south have all been famous in one way or another for their agricultural or related produce. Tu Chung-yüan claims that agricultural products of Sinkiang are "far superior to those of the interior in body, beauty, ripeness, and size." He then continues, "If one were to plant a Ha-mi melon seed elsewhere in China, the first year's crop would bring a change in the sweetness and beauty of the fruit. By the second year the melons would be un-

recognizable so far as quality and taste are concerned." Turfan grapes are exported in dried raisin form to other parts of China; I tried them repeatedly in Kansu Province, and can testify to their delightful taste. The Sinkiang rice, too, is notable for the size and meatiness of its kernel. Chinese from Hunan are said to have first brought rice cultivation to Sinkiang, toward the end of the nineteenth century when they began cultivating the crop along the banks of the Urumchi River. Aqsu, Manas, Wu-su, Sui-ting, and San-tao Pa at present are all rice-growing localities. 241

South Sinkiang is the principal cotton-growing region, and the crop of Turfan, with an annual yield recently estimated optimistically at some 4,000,000 *chin* (catties), is the best. Flourishing cotton fields abound also at So-ch'e, Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u), Shan-shan, Su-lo, and Korla. In the past Sinkiang cotton was practically all of local origin, but in recent years American cotton seed, imported from Soviet Russia, has begun to predominate. The estimate of one Moslem merchant (as reported in late 1942) put the annual provincial crop of Sinkiang-type cotton between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 catties. 248

Around a million catties of raw silk reportedly is produced each year from Khotan, Yarkand (So-ch'e), and Su-lo acreage, and a considerable increase is expected; for the provincial Reconstruction Commission has been importing improved silkworm eggs and extending sericulture plots. 231

Animal Husbandry

When Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Shen Hung-lieh, visited Sinkiang in 1942, he and Ch'en Chi-jung, a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent, inspected a number of cattle ranches near the Urumchi River. Ch'en on that occasion was told that the technique developed on the Sinkiang ranches in the past five years of cattle breeding could be compared favorably with that of any nation in the world. This achievement, in combination with some of the world's best pasture land, has made animal husbandry vie with agriculture as one of the foremost occupations of the New Sinkiang. Samuel Chao estimates that it is engaged in by one-fourth of the Sinkiang people, and elsewhere it is pointed out that in this field Sinkiang leads all other

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

quality not seen in lower snows, makes it an impressive spectacle. The wide floor of the Sariqol Valley is dotted with homely little farmsteads, each nestling snugly beside a clump of willows. The soil is remarkably good; wheat, barley and oats sown in May are reaped in October, and two crops of lucerne are usually taken. Sweet-smelling purple orchises, gentians, vetches of all colours and primulas of large size line the paths in June and July. 133 241 [134]

The Amban of Sariqol, our first acquaintance in the Chinese official world, was not a favourable example of his kind. He was an opium-smoker, and shortly after our arrival at Kashgar was relieved of his post. I called on him my first morning, as I was determined to be polite in spite of his having practically ignored us the previous day. As I arrived only half an hour after the appointed time, nothing was ready, and the Aqsaqal and I had to stand in the waiting-room of the "Yamen" or magistrate's quarters amid an interested crowd of bottle-washers and hangers-on, while a servant hurriedly brought in a small table, two chairs and some uninviting-looking sweetmeats. Finally the Amban came in and we both sat down. Pale green tea tasting strongly of hot water was our tipple; conversation, I regret to say, somewhat flagged, the old Amban being obviously under the influence of opium while my style was cramped by the "gallery" standing close around and following every syllable, every mouthful. I was relieved to be able to escape after twenty minutes or so of this entertainment. 574

The Amban was in better form when he returned my call the same afternoon, and did his best to make amends for his previous remissness. This encouraged us to invite him, his young son, the Commandant of the Garrison and his adjutant, and the Pir of the Maulais to tea the following afternoon. I found out afterwards that it was a mistake to ask the Pir, as the Chinese seldom sit at table with their subjects. D. spent the whole morning making scones and sweets, and the party was a great success. Conversation flourished, the Amban being quite talkative. He spoke in Chinese to the Adjutant, who translated into Turki to Nadir Beg, who translated into Persian to me and I into English to D. So:—

AMBAN (to Adjutant): How old is the *Tai-tai* (lady)?
ADJUTANT (to Nadir Beg): How old is the *Khanum*?
NADIR BEG (to me): How old is the *Mem-sahiba*?
I (to D.) How old are you?

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang AI.

[134] and it will grow into a full-sized tree; the other is its tendency to vertical rather than horizontal cleavage. The result of the first is that wherever water can be brought (the climate of the plains is almost rainless, but water from the encircling mountains is plentiful for irrigation) the land is closely cultivated, willows and poplars line every water-channel and the farmsteads are buried in foliage. The second peculiarity results in the landscape being broken up most picturesquely in the neighbourhood of the many rivers by perpendicular cliffs or river-bluffs, seldom more than thirty or forty feet high, but bold of outline and of a rich yellowish hue, with farmsteads perched on top of them and mills nestling below, trees and crops growing to their very edge and greenery in every cranny.

The whole aspect of the better-watered parts of the oases is one of immemorial peace and contentment and of a civilization, such as it is, that has persisted unchanged for centuries. Nowhere could be found a more striking illustration of the strength and permanence of a rural population with its roots deep in the soil, especially when that soil can only be made productive by means of an elaborate system of irrigation. Politically, Kashgaria has had as stormy a history as any country in the world. During the last 2,000 years or a little more the Chinese have conquered it five times, and four times they have been evicted from it. The total period of their occupations up to date only amounts to about 425 years; during the remainder of the time Kashgaria has been the prey of one conquering people after another. Huns, Yüehchih or Indo-Scythians, Hephthalites or White Huns, Tibetans, Uigur Turks, Qara Khitai,[1] Mongols under Chingiz Khan, Dzungar Mongols and Turkis from the Transcaspian Khanates have all won and lost it in turn. Apart from these more cataclysmic changes, civil war has at various periods raged between the larger towns, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu. Yet down through the ages generation after generation of peasants have yearly tapped the summer floods from the mountains and have raised their crops of wheat and barley, rice and millet, cotton and maize and melons, while wave after wave of conquest has rolled over their head. Whenever any conqueror or tyrant has interfered overmuch with the cultivator, his greed has been his downfall. A striking recent example of this

[1] The twelfth-century conquerors who gave their name to "Cathay." Stein, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1923, p. 495.

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them a few years ago. It was a pity that bad visibility and shortage of time prevented plane-tabling in this region, so that I was unable to supplement Sir Aurel Stein's map by fitting into it a traverse of our route, which except for 14 miles in the Chighmen and Suget Jilghas was one which had not previously been followed by Sir Aurel or any other explorer.

Leaving Yarkand on 2nd April we spent the night at Qaraul Jash, 15 miles to the south-west of the city, as the guests of the British Aqsaqal, who had estates in that neighbourhood. Next day we plunged into the barren foothills of the Qizil Tagh. A long and hot march brought us to the only water in the region, brackish but just drinkable, a spring called Achiq Yusuf Qadir Khan. Here we camped thirstily, leaving at an early hour next morning in order to reach sweet water as soon as possible. It was not till three in the afternoon, however, that we crossed the last range of hills and found ourselves quite suddenly in the Chighmen Jilgha, a long valley which comes down from the inmost fastnesses of the Red Mountains and eventually debouches near Qizil Bazar on the Yarkand-Kashgar road. What a treat it was to come suddenly on a crystal, ice-cold stream and a little mill among willows just showing their spring green! It was too early to halt and we filed up the valley, passing croft after croft of the Kirghiz' rough stone-built huts with steeply-terraced cornfields now just beginning to be ploughed with the help of water carried along the hill-side in narrow channels. For these were "farmer Kirghiz" as we called them, not the pastoral, *aq-oi*-inhabiting Kirghiz of the higher mountains. Here are no great flocks and herds as on the high pastures of the Pamirs or the Tien Shan; only a few sheep and goats nibbling the scanty weeds along the rocky banks of the stream, guarded by tawny, thick-furred dogs. We stopped at a croft slightly larger than the rest to talk to the local Qazi, a typical thin-bearded, high-cheek-boned old Kirghiz, who earnestly begged us to pitch our tents on one or other of his pocket-handkerchief fields and be his guests. We spared the old man and pushed on another mile and a half, camping on a sheltered patch of grass in a bend of the stream-bed, 7,000 feet up.

Next day we contented ourselves with a half-march of nine miles only and camped at the tiny Kirghiz settlement of Suget Ayaghi, near the outlet of the Suget Valley, an upper branch of the Chighmen. The first inhabitants we saw in this valley were four tiny tots of children whom we surprised

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487 toddling down to the ice-covered stream with blackened copper water-jugs to fill, a pretty sight. Later, when our camp was pitched, came three cheerful vast-turbaned, apple-cheeked ladies, with their sewing and their babies, and made themselves comfortable on the grass in front of D.'s tent, chatting with us and among themselves until D. should be ready to receive them inside. Then they crowded into her tent and hung excitedly over her unpacking. Though accustomed to friendliness and naturalness on the part of the Kirghiz, D. was at first a little puzzled at the remarkable lack of shyness of these women, on our very first appearance among them; but the mystery was soon solved. As she was setting out her toilet-table one of them suddenly pounced on a box of *trèfle incarnat* with cries of "Ufpah! Ufpah!" which means "powder-puff." D. was astonished, until they explained. One of them, it appeared, was the daughter of old Ibrahim Beg of Yambulak, and had recently been on a visit to her parents, who had told her all about our stay in their valley last July on our way to Kashgar. Consequently, the Suget ladies knew all that D. had then said and done, how she had given those of Yambulak cold cream for their hands and had initiated them in the mysteries of powder and puff, how she had promised them gloves and had painted a picture of the Beg's pretty daughter-in-law, and many other items of breathless interest. So D. knew what was expected of her, and ere long the camp resounded with their delighted gigglings as they powdered their noses and preened themselves in front of D.'s camp mirror.

Soon after leaving Suget Ayaghi we passed through a remarkable cleft in the high rocky wall and found ourselves in a wide sunny valley with snow-clad peaks at its head. Here, at a height of about 9,000 feet, were the summer pastures of the Suget Kirghiz and two of their cottages. There were no trees, but high up on the flanks of the central peaks we could see patches of fir-forest. This, we were told, was the valley to which the missionaries from Yarkand had come more than once for their summer camp. Leaving the Suget Jilgha by a pass just over 10,000 feet high we descended into a pleasant little valley called the Tam Jilgha, so called from the number of stone houses (*tām*) it contained. Poplars grew in it, remarkable at a height of over 9,000 feet, and there was quite a respectable area of cultivation, chiefly barley. Here we saw three different kinds of animal being used in the plough

[137 241] 231 487

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[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:

4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

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sent up it to look for water came back saying that there was none for "two potais" (5 miles), only a spring high up among the mountains which they could not reach. I was not inclined to reload and toil many miles farther up the valley to the next halting-place, so I thought I would have a look myself. Half a mile up the side-glen the soil was damp, and a little farther I came upon a string of tiny pools. The flow was almost imperceptible, and a few yards further on the soil was again dry. But it was enough; we filled our buckets with sweet water, at the rate of about one per hour, and the animals were all watered by midnight. Evidently the Kirghiz (who were particularly shy at this place) had misled our servants and concealed the existence of the spring for fear lest we should drink up all the water and perhaps foul the supply.

Our next camp was a pleasant one, at Qaragor Kul ten thousand feet up among the very tops of the gently-rounded grey-green hills. Here there are no springs at all; a certain amount of rain falls, judging by the grass which covers the land, but there must be something in the geological structure which prevents the formation of springs. On the other hand there are several shallow basins in which the rain-water collects; the Kirghiz camp with their herds of ponies and flocks of sheep and goats beside one of these rain-ponds until they have drunk it dry, when they pass on to another. Qaragor and its neighbourhood lie within the jurisdiction of the Amban of Kelpin two marches to the south, an interesting place well off the beaten track which I would have liked to visit had there been time.

Next day we crossed two passes and descended a long glen, past patches of our first Tien Shan firs, to the wide valley of the Taushkan ("Hare") River. This stream, the main confluent of the Qum Ariq, which it joins close to Aqsu, breaks through from Semirechian territory, where it is known as the Kokshal. Its broad reaches and the snow-clad Tien Shan on its northern bank made a series of fine vistas for our delectation on the two marches to Uch Turfan. The soil of the valley is rich, and we passed through a series of picturesque villages, Somtash and Safarbai, Kok Oinak and Tusma, growing several kinds of root-crops, grain and lucerne, in the intervals between rocky ridges across which our undersized pack animals scrambled wearily.

Uch Turfan which we reached on 11th September is a small town charmingly situated among groves of planes and tall

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cypress-like poplars. A chain of curiously abrupt, craggy hills juts out from the black fantastically-fretted mountains of the Kelpin district, half-way across the broad valley. On an isolated spur of these, close to the town, is an old Chinese castle, still kept up and occupied by a small garrison; for Uch Turfan is a frontier post of some strategic importance, commanding the high and difficult but much-used Bedal Pass leading across the Tien Shan from Semirechia. The country round Uch Turfan is closely cultivated, the soil being, if possible, even more fertile than that of the great oases of the south. Here there are no villages, nothing but countless farms standing on their own "small holdings," with fields well laid out between rows of tall poplars and many timber-trees shading the farms. From the summit of one of the abrupt hills mentioned above the view on a clear autumn day is superb. At one's feet, gardens and vineyards, melon-fields and tobacco-plantations; in the middle distance, the town with its massive walls embowered in greenery, watched over by the old castle on its crag; all around, miles and miles of fields and trees and farmsteads in rich mosaic, almost perfectly flat, with rocky hills like islands rising out of the sea of green and autumn gold; in the background, from west right round to north-east, the Mountains of Heaven in full array, furrowed deep with glens and rising in the north to Pelion piled on Ossa of eternal snow; to the south and south-west, the fantastic dark-brown and black peaks and crags of the Kelpin mountains, tier beyond tier, each a little hazier and more mysterious than the last.

I dined one day with the Amban and other officials in the gardens of Toqquz Bulak ("Nine Springs"), a Chinese pleasaunce famous throughout Sinkiang. The springs from which the place takes its name gush from the foot of one of the rocky hills near the town; there are well-tended gardens round them and a square pond lined with willows, into the midst of which juts a wooden pier. Anchored at the end of the pier, surprisingly, is a houseboat of the regular Thames or Kashmir type, containing a room fitted up as a dining-room with a kitchen and pantry off it; above, to complete the illusion, awnings and chairs and flowers in pots. One dines either in the houseboat or, if it is warm, in a summer-house on a ledge of the cliff above the pond. The Magistrate who entertained me, a Chinese Mussulman whom we were to meet again at a dramatic moment before we left Kashgar,[1] was a great horti-

[1] See pp. 264–5.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S responsible to the Chinese officials.
N

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

36

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is [592] the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [792] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, [422] for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

133 sea-level, and it joins the Burchun plain on the east. The E-min River originates from this group.

The Dzungarian Basin: Dzungaria was the name derived from a Mongolian tribe who lived in this area for a long time. The basin covers the area from the fringes of the Burkan Plateau and the Burchun Plain at the north, the Ili Plain at the west, and the Cheng-hsi Basin to the south, along the piedmont of the Tien-shan. The basin is triangular in shape. The Altai runs from northwest to southeast, so that the east side of the basin is relatively higher than the west side. The surface elevation of the eastern part of the basin is around 1,500 feet, whereas, on the western part, it is only 600 feet in height. All the rivers run from east to west.

The Tien-shan Region: As the Tien-shan range runs from west to east, it separates the province into two sections - southern Sinkiang and northern Sinkiang. The range has been structured by numerous fault blocks; there are many horsts and grabens along both sides of the mountains. Moreover, they vary considerably in height and width and everywhere constitute a strongly marked dividing line between the great basin and the regions to the north. These comprise the wide plateaus of Dzungaria, stretching north to the fringe of the basin with a few well-irrigated, but isolated, areas and fertile plains and valleys. They do not, however, form any regular system and pattern. Since there is adequate moisture, [241] agriculture is to be found both in the valleys and on the plains, especially in the Ili Valley and on the Fou-kang Plain. Farther north on the northern slope of the ranges, grazing land is found. It has, at all times, attracted waves of nomadic nations, from the Huns to the Kazakhs and the Mongols. The continuity of its rampart, the Tien-shan range, offers opportunities to [487] nomadic neighbors on the north for plundering the oases and and trade routes in the south, since the mountain rampart is pierced at intervals by passes which are passable for mounted men and transport during a considerable portion of the year. To the southwest of the Turfan depression the wide valley of Karashahr descends from the grazing plateaus of Yulduz. It always has served as an open gate for nomadic inroads in the northwestern corner of the Tarim Basin. Farther to the west, under corresponding conditions, the great oases of Kucha and Kashgar are equally liable to attack across the Tienshan. The Tien-shan Region is the most important division in the province, because it occupies almost one-fourth of the provincial territory and there are many major cities and oases located on both sides of the ranges.

The Tarim Basin: This is the huge desert area between the

S 132 places not even as much as 4.5 millimeters falls through the year. There are no longer a series of records showing either the temperature or the precipitation of the area, but the available data show that the total precipitation consists of snow water as well as summer rain in certain parts of the province.

N 132 In the geographical distribution of rainfall there shows a marked contrast between the shady side of the mountainous areas and the oases. On the whole, the southeastern part of Kansu and Shensi receive a relatively greater rainfall than the northwestern sections. For instance, Wu-wei district, in the southeastern section of Kansu, has a comparatively high precipitation, and Chiu-ch'uan, because of its location in the northwestern section of Kansu, has a precipitation that N [241] is relatively low. The former is considered an area of agricultural dominance; the latter, due to less precipitation, makes for agricultural uncertainty.

Because the warmer southern air has been blocked by the Nan-shan and Chin-ling on the southern border of the region, the temperature of Kansu and Shensi is relatively lower than those places in the same latitude in eastern China. For instance, the January temperature in Peking is minus 4.7 degrees Centigrade; in Chiu-ch'uan it is about minus nine degrees Centigrade. In July the temperature in Peking is 25.3 degrees Centigrade, whereas in Chiu-ch'uan it is 23.8 degrees Centigrade. This is due not only to the influence of location - one near the coast and the other inland - but also to the fact that the mountain range runs from west to east as the barrier which shuts off the warm, moist winds from the southeastern coastal areas of China.

S 132 Furthermore, the distribution of precipitation of Sinkiang differs from south to north of the Province. The mean annual precipitation at Kashgar is 89.4 millimeters of which over two thirds, or around seventy three percent, falls in the spring and summer. At Urumchi it is 228.8 millimeters, of which twenty-four percent falls in winter; thirty-four percent falls in spring; fifteen percent falls in summer; and twenty-seven percent falls in autumn. At Kashgar the precipitation is greatest in summer and at Urumchi it falls largely in the spring and autumn months. The Takla Makan desert absorbs the limited moisture from the air. However, in northern Sinkiang the topographical features are comparatively open so that the Arctic Oceanic winds blow toward the area more easily. Thus precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year.

S [241] The dry air reduces cloudiness and thus increases sunshine. The agricultural activities of the area depend largely upon the brilliant sunshine for melting snow on the mountains for irrigation.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

563 3. History and economic activities

The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road
563 constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community, who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.

[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
262 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

464 701 708 668 177 241 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 653 312 668 177 503 464 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 241 668 177 464 [248] A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 708 464 466 668 177 000 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).

III. Conscript Labor

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

241 312 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 312 471 454 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense. Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz, and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 241 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 312 241 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

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241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
*668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres themselves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now examine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

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B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

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1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis) and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review. December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

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Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of further consolidation and development of the cooperative movement. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

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The government has established agricultural stations, in order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

planted in these tracts.

We have cited some of the achievements that have taken place and the general direction of agricultural development. We must be careful about accepting all figures and recognize that many targets are not met but often revised midway through the year until they can be met. When one looks at the entire scheme of development taking place it is important to remember that each group in this scheme has certain commitments to meet as set by the plan for that year. Survey teams are supposed to provide definite information about the amount of land to be reclaimed each year. If their information is not accurate, (and there have been complaints to this effect) then those units which reclaim the land are put off schedule, the proper cultivation and sowing cannot be done, and the intended output is not realized. Such intricate planning can lead to grievous bottlenecks in the attainment of planned goals.

Further defects that have been reported are as follows: there has been inadequate hydrographic and meteorological data for farming and animal husbandry. There has not been the correct coordinated activity between State and commercial enterprises to supply the necessary producer and consumer goods for the agricultural and pastoral co-ops. The People's Bank has been unable to give the needed credit and credit cooperatives and credit groups still have to absorb idle capital and halt usurious practices among the peasants, which still seem to prevail six years after "liberation." The Communists report that rich peasants, and so-called counter-revolutionary elements are still causing trouble by "sabotage" and the spreading of rumors which obstruct Communist policy.

According to observations made by some agricultural stations in Sha-ya County the peasants in many districts placed emphasis only on the summer harvest, and neglected the cotton, mazie and rice crops that are reaped in autumn. This meant that the peasants were devoting more of their attention to harvesting a wheat crop, a food item, and neglecting other farm crops that the state was so urgently emphasizing. In Kuerhlei County there were complaints that the peasants were not picking the cotton at the appropriate time and their delay in doing so had allowed much of the ripe cotton to fall to the ground and rot. This occurred in many of the villages throughout the county. Again the Communists complained of the peasants' lack of care for their farming tools and that damage frequently resulted from mechanical troubles and carelessness.

The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

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2. Chinghai

*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
*668 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity. 563

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1] [143] [779]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying: [241] 197

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt, 563 [221]

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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[133] feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at
486 Tsimusa—' The City of Everlasting Trust '—and seeing a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no ' foreign devil ' should again darken his doors ! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the ' Inn of the Cursing Landlord ' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—' The Third Stage.'
133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes,
241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as : ' Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself.
492 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the back-door of every house on the north side of the village, and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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As soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, which is the most important stream in this part of Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

According to recent field-survey figures, which make possible rough estimates rather than accurate statistical tabulation, the annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds. Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent. 433 439

In subsidiary production, melons are grown in all oases. Dried melon rind is exported by caravan from Komul to China, as a delicacy, and the raisins of Turfan rival the melons of Komul in reputation. In gorges in the hills at the edge of Turfan, and also of Khotan, the growing of grapes is a local specialty. 244

The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis. 314

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[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

N 829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S 829 justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
[554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
S 829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
[634] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[242] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
S N a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
[361] their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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*668 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres them-
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
*668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

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1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis) and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

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Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of further consolidation and development of the cooperative movement. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

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The government has established agricultural stations, in order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

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668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds. Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent.

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The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are 314
cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis.

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161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

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[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
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248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691
authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
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[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the Tümen Su. D. [illegible]r bought it in the bazaar, but arranged with a parti[illegible]sherman to bring along his morning catch now and again. She paid him *4d.* a pound for it, straight from the river. In winter the Chinese get frozen fish by post from Ili in the north, and this is regarded as a great delicacy; it is a kind of sturgeon, which if thawed gradually is quite eatable. But we much preferred fresh "heaven-fish." There is a theory among the Europeans of Kashgar that the local fish is dangerous to eat, on account of a poisonous gland or something of the kind; this seemed to us to be a myth, for neither we nor our guests ever felt the slightest ill-effects from it. We went out one morning with our friend the fisherman and his mate to study their methods. At 7 a.m. they called for us at the Consulate with their paraphernalia, which consisted of a large bag-shaped net on a triangular frame attached to a pole carried by one man, and a long stick carried by the other. Arrived at the canal (the Qizil Su in which they usually fished was rather a long walk from the Consulate, so the men said they would try the mill-canals of the Tümen Su) the man with the net entered the water and submerged the net, facing upstream; his mate waded in about fifty yards above and began beating the water with his pole, gradually working down, in order to drive any fish there were into the net. When he had finished the beat the other man lifted the net out of the water to see if there were any fish in it. We watched them do this at several different points, but we evidently brought them no luck, for not one did they catch. In the Kizil Su they used to get quite big fish, eight or ten pounds.

The king of Kashgar fruits is undoubtedly the melon known as the Beshak Shirin. It is indeed a super-melon. We used to think in Baluchistan that the melons were good, and at Kerman too I used to get fine ones by the donkey-load as presents from Persian friends. But the best of Persia and Baluchistan were only as the inferior kinds grown at Kashgar. The Beshak Shirin is shaped like the Cantelupe, and is yellow with green markings; it is on an average twice as big as any Cantelupe one sees in London shops, and when ripe its skin is so thin that its juice oozes out on to the dish. Its flesh, white or pale yellow, you can eat right down to the skin and its flavour is ambrosial. We weighed and measured a fairly good specimen from our own garden—by no means the biggest I have seen; its circumference was 33 inches and its weight

244 17½ lb. During the lamentably short season of about three weeks in August–September a Beshak of this size costs 3*d*. in the bazaar. Melons like a slightly salt soil, but must have a great deal of water; when we were making an orchard out of the lower garden, which had been under useless and insect-harbouring Babylonian willow, we first sowed melons in order to take the salt out of the soil, and the crop we obtained was a magnificent one. The Beshak Shirin of Kashgar is of the same kind, and probably just as good, as the famous melons of Hami in the extreme east of the province. The latter used 431 to be sent as presents to the Emperor in classical times, as any educated Chinamen will tell you. As the distance is 2,000 miles by road, and as the Beshak is a delicate melon and quickly goes bad, I often wondered how they did it; and I once questioned a Chinese official who had been posted at [251] Hami on the subject. He told me that the reason why Hami melons are so much prized is because they retain their flavour even when dried. There is, or was, a regular trade in dried melons between Hami and China Proper. Presents of fresh melons were, however, sent to the Emperors of the late Ching Dynasty every year by special camel caravan across the Mongolian Desert. Ten times as many as the number intended for presentation used to be sent, each packed in a box separately with cotton wool, as only about ten per cent. of those sent used to be fit for the Emperor's table when they arrived.

244 We grew all our own vegetables in the garden, of which D. was in charge, except potatoes, which were good and cheap in the bazaar and took up too much room in the garden. Beginning with spinach in March we were well supplied throughout the season with asparagus, green peas, cabbages, red tomatoes, French beans, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts. D. also introduced broad beans, yellow "Golden Queen" tomatoes and *brinjal* or egg-plant (the French *aubergine*) from India; all did very well and were greatly appreciated by our Chinese guests.

251 As we had no greenhouses, owing to the prohibitive cost of glass, it was necessary to store vegetables throughout the winter by burying them in deep pits. Owing to the intense dryness it was possible to do this without first drying the vegetables, and we thus got cabbages, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts fresh daily right through till March, when the spinach (sown the previous autumn) was ready. The mouths of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and emerged later with her portly form arrayed in a new white muslin dress and a green striped jacket. D. had as much difficulty in not witnessing her hostess' toilet as she had in keeping a straight face while making polite conversation to her host.

The fertility of the soil and the cheapness of living in Aqsu district are amazing. Agricultural labour costs 2½*d.* *per diem*, and the price of land is on an average less than a quarter of that at Kashgar. A *jing* (20 lbs.) of maize costs 4*d.*–5*d.*, wheat 6*d.* and rice 7*d.* Fruit and vegetables are as plentiful and cheap as the cereals. The grapes we had were the finest I have ever tasted; the two best kinds were an enormous "lady's finger" and a smaller seedless grape with a rose-red flush on it, sweet and strongly-flavoured. The former, which sold at 2½*d.* for a bunch weighing 1½ lbs., were so big that I took one at random from a bunch and measured it; its circumference lengthways was four inches, round the "waist" two and a third. In a field close to Abdus Sattar Haji's house I was astonished to find one day about half an acre of ground literally carpeted with fine melons; on inquiry I was told that there were 15,000 there, and that they were the larger part—not the whole—of the crop raised by a cultivating lessee of some of the Haji's land. The man told me afterwards that he had paid 100 taels (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*) rent for the land and water and had spent 80 taels (£10 13*s.* 4*d.*) on seed, labour, etc. He had already sold 5,000 in the Aqsu bazaar, and expected to retail the whole 20,000 at an average price which worked out at slightly less than a penny apiece, netting approximately 360 taels or 200 per cent. on his outlay! It must be confessed, however, that we found the Aqsu melons inferior to those of Kashgar, though succulent enough according to our English ideas. They had nothing at Aqsu to compare with the ambrosial "Beshak Shirin" of Kashgar.

The garden near the New City to which we moved on 23rd October belonged to the Russian Aqsaqal, another Andijani merchant; it contained an even finer show of fruit and flowers than Abdus Sattar Haji's. There were two immense pergolas measuring together about a hundred yards under which one strolled and munched the above-mentioned rose-pink seedless grapes almost without the trouble of putting one's hand up. The Tao Tai of Aqsu Circle[1] and other officials

[1] This includes Uch Turfan, Bai, Kucha, Shahyar, Bugur and other districts of the lower Tarim River valley with its tributaries, but not Maralbashi, which is in the Kashgar Taoyinship.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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THE CITY OF THE DEAD, OLD AQSU

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AN AQSU SMALL-HOLDER'S MELON-CROP; 15,000 MELONS READY FOR MARKET

[Face p. 236]

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618-907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke of themselves as coming from Tientsin; the banks and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people; coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as to warrant an old name for Hami—'The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of 'Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

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Sinkiang AI 1

grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we were received were not unlike those of the Chinese, only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

251 pits were filled up with a layer three feet thick of branches, matting, straw and leaves, a small hole closed with straw only being left for the gardener to get in and out by.

245 With regard to fruit, nearly everything that is found in a south of England garden grew well in our garden ; most of the fruit indeed ripened too quickly so that there was a good deal of waste. We used to get two crops of green figs, but the trees had to be well covered up in winter to protect them from the frost. Grapes also grew wonderfully, the base of the vine-stem being similarly covered up in winter. Strawberries (known locally as " Russian mulberries ") grew in profusion, but never became very sweet or large because they ripened too quickly. Apples and pears were poor, for lack of good European varieties, but peaches, nectarines, black mulberries, greengages and damsons were all as good as could be ; the greengages, indeed, were almost too sweet. And yet our orchard was not a good one, compared for instance with those of the chief Andijani merchants. Besides all the above, they grew magnificent cherries, quinces and pomegranates, none of which were good in our garden. Among flowers, most annuals did very well, and roses too if the bushes were carefully buried in winter. D. started a most successful rose-garden with several varieties imported from India.

574 I have already mentioned the frequency with which we were entertained by the hospitable Chinese officials. This was particularly the case when Chu Tao Tai, as he was generally called, was Taoyin or Prefect of Kashgaria. From the social point of view, apart from everything else, it was a great blow to us when after a long term of office at Kashgar this universally-respected official was transferred to Yarkand in the autumn of 1922. Beaming all over with humour and good-will, he was one of the best hosts I have ever seen, and we always looked forward to his parties. He got over the language difficulty at the more polyglot meals by the simple method of seating all the guests of one nationality together, so that there was always a subdued hum of conversation, if no more ; besides which he himself was always an interesting and interested talker and kept the available interpreters fully occupied. What appealed to us most, however, was his consideration for his foreign guests' likes and dislikes. He had evidently made a special study of European tastes and manners, and as far as possible he tempered the wind of Chinese hospitality to the shorn Western lamb.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

243 the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. On the average, the
242 amount of labor expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China proper, but the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It is
248 known to have been grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618–907). By 1750, it was used to pay taxes in Yarkand.[15] In 1776 it was described as ranking next to the wheat crop in importance,[16] and it has been one of the leading exports to Russia since 1890. The cotton belt lies south of the Tien Shan. Turfan and Merket (on the northern edge of the Yarkand oasis) lead in production, followed by Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, and Aksu.

Two varieties are grown, native and American. After failure in experimenting with Sea Island cotton in Tashkent in the 1870's, two Russian merchants named Belyakov and Lakhtin experimented very successfully with the Upland variety in 1883. After 1885 American species began to supplant the native type in Ferghana and Samarkand. A few years later Russian dealers set out to improve the quality grown in Sinkiang by distributing American seed.[17] Up to 1942 large quantities of seed were imported yearly from the Soviet Union, especially two varieties of American origin called "Shredder" and "Novrozkii." From American long-staple varieties of 25 to 29 mm., 32-count yarns can be spun, while the short-staple Inner Asian variety can be used only for 24-count yarns. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, 73 per cent with native cotton and 23 per cent with seed of the American varieties.

231 Silk is a second ancient crop of commercial importance. The
439 most noted silk oases have always been Khotan and Yarkand.
288 Part of the raw silk they produce is manufactured on the spot into fabrics which have greatly declined in value and beauty in recent years, and the rest is exported to the Soviet Union and

[15] Kuropatkin, p. 126.

[16] Chuan Yuan, *Geography of the Western Regions*, written 1776, published 1818, chuan 1, p. 1 (in Chinese).

[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

439 into the economic life of Sinkiang. In the early 1930's it reached 82.5 per cent of Sinkiang's foreign trade. The most populous and productive areas lie closer to Russia than to any other market. The situation is one which is completely open to the manipulation of Soviet policy, but it was not created by Soviet policy.

439 Cotton has been the most important export to Russia from the
435 oases since 1890. In 1926–1927 the Soviet customs returns listed
248 2676 metric tons of cotton imported from Sinkiang. While cotton averages perhaps a little less than 10 per cent of the total value of exports to the Soviet Union, its relative importance is shown by the fact that more than half of the crop in the Turfan oasis, the largest producer, is normally sold to the Soviet Union, and when the Chinese authorities cut off trade in 1943, because of bad political relations, the effect of the resultant fall in prices was widespread.

439 From the pastoral regions, livestock are the most important export to the Soviet Union, followed by livestock products like wool and hides. Because the Soviet statistics do not give ad valorem figures, it is difficult to state the values of these exports, but it is evident that they greatly exceed the value of exports from the oases. Before the first World War and the Russian Revolution, in 1913, 300,000 head of sheep alone were sold to Russia, representing about 10 per cent of the total number of sheep in the Kulja and Chuguchak regions. Trade fell abruptly during the Revolution and civil war, and did not begin to recover until about 1925. In 1926, 90,000 sheep were exported. One Russian author states that in the first half of 1926 sheep alone accounted for 32 per cent of Russia's purchases from Sinkiang, while all livestock together accounted for 48 per cent.[24] Another Russian author states that between 1930 and 1933 livestock and livestock products provided from 79 to 93 per cent of Soviet purchases from Sinkiang.[25]

This trade is of benefit to both sides. From 1918 to 1924, when

[24] N. Stefanov, "The Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. in Central Asia," in *Planned Economy*, Moscow, Oct. 1926 (in Russian).

[25] P. M. Fesenko and others, *Iran, Afghanistan and Sinkiang*, Moscow, 1936, p. 346 (in Russian).

recognizable so far as quality and taste are concerned." Turfan grapes are exported in dried raisin form to other parts of China; I tried them repeatedly in Kansu Province, and can testify to their delightful taste. The Sinkiang rice, too, is notable for the size and meatiness of its kernel. Chinese from Hunan are said to have first brought rice cultivation to Sinkiang, toward the end of the nineteenth century when they began cultivating the crop along the banks of the Urumchi River. Aqsu, Manas, Wu-su, Sui-ting, and San-tao Pa at present are all rice-growing localities.

South Sinkiang is the principal cotton-growing region, and the crop of Turfan, with an annual yield recently estimated optimistically at some 4,000,000 *chin* (catties), is the best. Flourishing cotton fields about [illegible] Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u), Shan-shan, Su-lo, and Korla. In the past Sinkiang cotton was practically all of local origin, but in recent years American cotton seed, imported from Soviet Russia, has begun to predominate. The estimate of one Moslem merchant (as reported in late 1942) put the annual provincial crop of Sinkiang-type cotton between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 catties.

Around a million catties of raw silk reportedly is produced each year from Khotan, Yarkand (So-ch'e), and Su-lo acreage, and a considerable increase is expected; for the provincial Reconstruction Commission has been importing improved silkworm eggs and extending sericulture plots.

Animal Husbandry

When Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Shen Hung-lieh, visited Sinkiang in 1942, he and Ch'en Chi-jung, a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent, inspected a number of cattle ranches near the Urumchi River. Ch'en on that occasion was told that the technique developed on the Sinkiang ranches in the past five years of cattle breeding could be compared favorably with that of any nation in the world. This achievement, in combination with some of the world's best pasture land, has made animal husbandry vie with agriculture as one of the foremost occupations of the New Sinkiang. Samuel Chao estimates that it is engaged in by one-fourth of the Sinkiang people, and elsewhere it is pointed out that in this field Sinkiang leads all other

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
465 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

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161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
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244 17½ lb. During the lamentably short season of about three weeks in August–September a Beshak of this size costs 3*d.* in the bazaar. Melons like a slightly salt soil, but must have a great deal of water; when we were making an orchard out of the lower garden, which had been under useless and insect-harbouring Babylonian willow, we first sowed melons in order to take the salt out of the soil, and the crop we obtained was a magnificent one. The Beshak Shirin of Kashgar is of the same kind, and probably just as good, as the famous melons of Hami in the extreme east of the province. The latter used 431 to be sent as presents to the Emperor in classical times, as any educated Chinamen will tell you. As the distance is 2,000 miles by road, and as the Beshak is a delicate melon and quickly goes bad, I often wondered how they did it; and I once questioned a Chinese official who had been posted at Hami on the subject. He told me that the reason why Hami [251] melons are so much prized is because they retain their flavour even when dried. There is, or was, a regular trade in dried melons between Hami and China Proper. Presents of fresh melons were, however, sent to the Emperors of the late Ching Dynasty every year by special camel caravan across the Mongolian Desert. Ten times as many as the number intended for presentation used to be sent, each packed in a box separately with cotton wool, as only about ten per cent. of those sent used to be fit for the Emperor's table when they arrived.

244 We grew all our own vegetables in the garden, of which D. was in charge, except potatoes, which were good and cheap in the bazaar and took up too much room in the garden. Beginning with spinach in March we were well supplied throughout the season with asparagus, green peas, cabbages, red tomatoes, French beans, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts. D. also introduced broad beans, yellow "Golden Queen" tomatoes and *brinjal* or egg-plant (the French *aubergine*) from India; all did very well and were greatly appreciated by our Chinese guests.

251 As we had no greenhouses, owing to the prohibitive cost of glass, it was necessary to store vegetables throughout the winter by burying them in deep pits. Owing to the intense dryness it was possible to do this without first drying the vegetables, and we thus got cabbages, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts fresh daily right through till March, when the spinach (sown the previous autumn) was ready. The mouths of the

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251 pits were filled up with a layer three feet thick of branches, matting, straw and leaves, a small hole closed with straw only being left for the gardener to get in and out by.

245 With regard to fruit, nearly everything that is found in a south of England garden grew well in our garden; most of the fruit indeed ripened too quickly so that there was a good deal of waste. We used to get two crops of green figs, but the trees had to be well covered up in winter to protect them from the frost. Grapes also grew wonderfully, the base of the vine-stem being similarly covered up in winter. Strawberries (known locally as "Russian mulberries") grew in profusion, but never became very sweet or large because they ripened too quickly. Apples and pears were poor, for lack of good European varieties, but peaches, nectarines, black mulberries, greengages and damsons were all as good as could be; the greengages, indeed, were almost too sweet. And yet our orchard was not a good one, compared for instance with those of the chief Andijani merchants. Besides all the above, they grew magnificent cherries, quinces and pomegranates, none of which were good in our garden. Among flowers, most annuals did very well, and roses too if the bushes were carefully buried in winter. D. started a most successful rose-garden with several varieties imported from India.

574 I have already mentioned the frequency with which we were entertained by the hospitable Chinese officials. This was particularly the case when Chu Tao Tai, as he was generally called, was Taoyin or Prefect of Kashgaria. From the social point of view, apart from everything else, it was a great blow to us when after a long term of office at Kashgar this universally-respected official was transferred to Yarkand in the autumn of 1922. Beaming all over with humour and good-will, he was one of the best hosts I have ever seen, and we always looked forward to his parties. He got over the language difficulty at the more polyglot meals by the simple method of seating all the guests of one nationality together, so that there was always a subdued hum of conversation, if no more; besides which he himself was always an interesting and interested talker and kept the available interpreters fully occupied. What appealed to us most, however, was his consideration for his foreign guests' likes and dislikes. He had evidently made a special study of European tastes and manners, and as far as possible he tempered the wind of Chinese hospitality to the shorn Western lamb.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. • 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called ōy, or
[184] sometimes hānā, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

291

KIRGHIZ CALLERS, QIZIL TAGH REGION

252
291

A KIRGHIZ WEDDING BREAKFAST, UPPER QARATASH VALLEY

[Face p.132]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of ~~living~~

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212] Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252 Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291 The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

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/The New Uighurs/

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N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [787] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, N [177] be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food S 563 262 [272] are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N [252] considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 [146] N [751] B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] N [433] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tienshui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yaokai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nancheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[377] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used
[291] for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly
[825] important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds
[276] of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more
[592] commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

L: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
372 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
• 262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Mantu*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demon- 563
strated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang.

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, if one is fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 342
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Art (13,340 feet) and the Kashka Su (12,900 feet) respectively. They were very much alike; winding ravines among high rocky hills; a glen thickly carpeted with alpine flowers, narrowing and steepening as we ascended it; a last back-breaking ascent, and then the col, a rounded ridge with out-cropping rocks and turf enamelled with tiny blooms. We lingered long on the Kashka Su; we had been travelling over or among mountains for such an age—a golden age—that it was difficult to believe that we were crossing our very last pass. From the summit we looked with interest towards the north, hoping to see the plains of Kashgaria spread out below us, but as far as the eye could reach lay a jumble of green ridges surmounted here and there by a snow-flecked crag and deeply seamed by silver torrents, the music of which floated gently up to us. Behind us to the south and south-east a magnificent array of giant peaks, the little-known mountains of the Upper Yarkand River valley, bounded the horizon with walls of cliff and glacier.

Descending steeply for 1,500 feet over meadows covered with asphodel we found a small tent pitched for us and a way-side tea-drinking prepared by a delightful old Father Christmas of a Beg called Mirza Ahmad Beg of Taumtara, a side-glen to the north-west. We greeted our host in the tent and were at once confronted with a mountainous collation of freshly-killed and exceedingly tough mutton, leather-like bread, a kind of oily and very indigestible pastry and tea with salt in it. Being fortunately left to ourselves with this repast, we were able, ostensibly at any rate, to do our duty as guests by disposing of quite a large quantity of the food; this we effected by the simple process of eating our own sandwiches and putting the Beg's viands in the haversack thus emptied. Meanwhile the Beg's wife and sister, who must have heard of D.'s fame from Yambulak, were round the corner in gorgeous robes and exaggerated Kirghiz head-dresses, awaiting their opportunity. As we emerged from the tent after our deceitful meal, we saw them in all their glory crossing the stream on their ponies, a picturesque sight. A lengthy interview with D. in the tent followed, while I talked to the old Beg outside. When the ladies had at last finished sampling D.'s medicinal stock and wisdom (for that is what they had really come after), we continued on our way. D. said that they had been rather heavy on hand and had no small-talk; they gave her the impression of being *mazlum-kishis* indeed (I may explain that

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

443 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to
511 be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his
571 lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of
435 the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

262 Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*
Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.
Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*
Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.
Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.
Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.
Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*
Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.
Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the Tümen Su. D. never bought it in the bazaar, but arranged with a particular fisherman to bring along his morning catch now and again. She paid him 4*d*. a pound for it, straight from the river. In winter the Chinese get frozen fish by post from Ili in the north, and this is regarded as a great delicacy; it is a kind of sturgeon, which if thawed gradually is quite eatable. But we much preferred fresh "heaven-fish." There is a theory among the Europeans of Kashgar that the local fish is dangerous to eat, on account of a poisonous gland or something of the kind; this seemed to us to be a myth, for neither we nor our guests ever felt the slightest ill-effects from it. We went out one morning with our friend the fisherman and his mate to study their methods. At 7 a.m. they called for us at the Consulate with their paraphernalia, which consisted of a large bag-shaped net on a triangular frame attached to a pole carried by one man, and a long stick carried by the other. Arrived at the canal (the Qizil Su in which they usually fished was rather a long walk from the Consulate, so the men said they would try the mill-canals of the Tümen Su) the man with the net entered the water and submerged the net, facing upstream; his mate waded in about fifty yards above and began beating the water with his pole, gradually working down, in order to drive any fish there were into the net. When he had finished the beat the other man lifted the net out of the water to see if there were any fish in it. We watched them do this at several different points, but we evidently brought them no luck, for not one did they catch. In the Kizil Su they used to get quite big fish, eight or ten pounds.

The king of Kashgar fruits is undoubtedly the melon known as the Beshak Shirin. It is indeed a super-melon. We used to think in Baluchistan that the melons were good, and at Kerman too I used to get fine ones by the donkey-load as presents from Persian friends. But the best of Persia and Baluchistan were only as the inferior kinds grown at Kashgar. The Beshak Shirin is shaped like the Cantelupe, and is yellow with green markings; it is on an average twice as big as any Cantelupe one sees in London shops, and when ripe its skin is so thin that its juice oozes out on to the dish. Its flesh, white or pale yellow, you can eat right down to the skin and its flavour is ambrosial. We weighed and measured a fairly good specimen from our own garden—by no means the biggest I have seen; its circumference was 33 inches and its weight

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

followed, during which we all sat talking in the pavilion or walked about the garden admiring the lotuses. Dinner when it came at last was served in the houseboat-like pavilion, the interior of which consisted of one long, airy dining-room tastefully decorated with flowers in pots and Chinese paintings. 574

The Taoyin, as I have said, was always merciful to his European friends, and the dinner was much shorter than the average Chinese repast. There were only some twenty-five courses, and these were eaten with the full complement of knives, forks and spoons; not a chop-stick to be seen, though I, for one, as soon as I had learnt the knack of using them, always used chop-sticks on the exotic Chinese food rather than banal Western cutlery. It may be of interest to record the menu, so far as I was able to identify the courses. Hors d'œuvres including, in addition to the usual items, slices of hard-boiled egg which had been buried for some years and had turned quite green, were eaten during as well as before the meal. 264 262

MENU

Tea and Dessert
Hors d'œuvres
Syrup dumplings
Shark's fin with shredded chicken
Pigeon's eggs
Pork fritters
Traveller-fish soup
Bamboo-root stewed in syrup
Roast chicken
Mince dumplings
Dried Chuguchak sturgeon
Sea-slug soup
Tinned oranges
Stewed chestnuts
Cold roast pork
Veal fritters
Fish tripe
Cabbage soup
Stewed pears stuffed with rice
Pastry dumplings
Baked mutton
Roast pigeon
Mutton fat fritters
Seaweed soup
Lotus seeds in syrup
Boiled rice
Tea and dessert

The Taoyin's chef was a master, and many of the above dishes were excellent, both European and Chinese; but I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

262 must confess that the three or four favourite Chinese *plats* leave me cold. Shark's fin consists of a tangle of absolutely tasteless pieces of white elastic, stewed with shreds of chicken; sea-slugs are dark grey gelatinous substances with an unpleasant dead sort of flavour, swimming in a salty gravy; bamboo-root in slices has a nutty flavour and is not so bad, but very indigestible; another delicacy which is, I believe, a kind of seaweed tastes of—well, of seaweed. I can quite believe that all these things have a quite different flavour when fresh, especially the marine products which seem to appeal particularly to the Chinese; the trouble is that in Sinkiang, five months' journey from the coast, they can only be obtained in the dried form, and yet the Chinese like or pretend to like them better than the best-cooked fresh local products. The fact is, I suppose, that the exiled Chinaman has the palate of faith and to him even a dried sea-slug tastes of home.

574 What was almost always a trial at Yamen banquets was the drink. Except on great occasions when one or two bottles
273 of a sticky brand of French champagne were produced and administered in small quantities, there was nothing to drink but a peculiarly evil-smelling kind of brandy. One was seldom pressed to eat, for which one was thankful enough, but it was impossible to avoid at least sipping the brandy between every course. A Chinese host talks much more about his cellar than about his cook; to refuse to drink with him
574 means that you do not like his wine, an imputation which causes him much loss of face. Apart from the conventional
524 politenesses, which one soon learns to give and take as a matter of course, there is nothing stilted or ceremonious about Chinese conviviality, even on official occasions. The etiquette seems to be for a guest to behave as if he were in his own home, lolling about on his chair, getting up from table in the middle of dinner and walking about for a few minutes, and so on. When conversation flagged at our own parties it was generally safe to start the Chinese off on a kind of "fingers-out" game which was very popular. In this, two players put out their right hands at the same time, either closed or with one or more fingers outstretched, at the same time shouting a number which they guess will be the total number of fingers out for both hands. Whenever one of the players shouts the correct number, he makes the other drink his health. The fingers go out and the numbers are shouted with amazing rapidity, and when three or four such contests are going on at the same time

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 We did not halt at Saman, as there was one obstacle still to be negotiated before our entrance to the Promised Land was assured. This was a corner of rock which juts out into the stream at the rapids below Khan Terek. At this point the track passes round the rock and is under water even in winter, and I knew that the only chance of getting round it at this season would be at low water in the evening. We came to the place at half-past four, when I found to my relief that there were only about three feet of water off the end of the rock and that the current was not strong, though few feet farther out the cataract roared past like a gigantic mill-race. The loads splashed through without mishap, and half an hour later in the little orchard of Qurghan we were being warmly welcomed by a dozen beaming Kirghiz men and girls.

574 The only permanent inhabitant of Khan Terek was a little old woman who lived alone in a tiny shanty. Each of the previous occasions on which we had passed her hut she had bustled out with a large copper jug and a wooden bowl to give us tea. She saw us coming this time and hobbled over to our camp where, for once, she had tea with us. Afterwards D. returned her call; she found the old lady living in a room about five feet square off a yard about twice that area, in which she kept one aged cock. Her husband had long been dead, she told D., and her children scattered, but one son occasionally came and cultivated a couple of fields near by, while she stayed in the hut all the year round and made tea for passing Kirghiz.

The humble hospitality of even the poorest of the Kirghiz in these parts warmed our hearts to them. Next day three miles up the Chopkana valley we were overtaken by heavy rain and took refuge in an *aq-oi*. A pretty girl and her one-eyed old father insisted on making up a blazing fire for us and a bowl of tea, chatting politely to us the while. On an exposed meadow at the very top of the pass, 11,500 feet above the sea, we found a solitary *aq-oi* with a girl in it whose husband was away on the hill-side tending the flocks. She had weather-beaten red cheeks and a flat nose, but she was charming and joined us in the tea-basket tea with which we warmed ourselves while waiting for the caravan to struggle up the last 262 steep ascent. Meanwhile, in a large pot on the central fire of fir-logs, she brewed *mach*, a kind of soup of milk, barley-meal and water with a little meat in it, and when our men arrived at the top she ran out and administered it to them

IN WOODEN BOWLS.

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:

4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a 'time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
[197] of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

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Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

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b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

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Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

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The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
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N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S
N In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S
N d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S
N Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
563 playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
265 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
262 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S
N Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
563 money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
463 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
779 serve this taboo is not known.
784

3. Social values

S
N a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S
N This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
563 lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
571 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
186 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
183 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
[576] the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[196] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S
N b. Concept of charity

563 Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
183
779
431

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

563 [533] songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.

The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local [776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region [778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or [184] sometimes hānä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur- [354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor [352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and [251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on [352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard [351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar- [184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a 262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk [272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse [273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are 262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats 252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron. [264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [785] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
519 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
519 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

As
177 their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[291] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
322 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S [272] [263]

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The
262 best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink
[273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound
262 by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed.
779 The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except
[273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However,
[369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both
779 to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem
[784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [787] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] S 563 262 [272]

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 [146] S N [751]

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese. 563

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volunteered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously. 262 137

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed 361 485 133 000

1 [changliushui -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

485 exclusive use of a small kitchen, in which we cooked with our own utensils. Our word was accepted that no pork, lard or swine's flesh of any description would be used, nevertheless the members of this large Moslem clan preferred employing another kitchen rather than that contaminated by wandering Gentiles.

• 262 The landlord was on the spot to receive us, and at once we were served with a melon, which was entirely worthy of the reputation that Hami has gained for this fruit. An hour later we sat down to an abundant meal of rice and good Chantow bread, a dish of chopped mutton and egg-plant fried together, a plate of French beans *sautés* in mutton fat with sliced cucumber, and the whole accompanied by unlimited 'sweet water' tea, followed by slices of cantaloupe melon—truly a feast for the gods!

485 Before we had finished our meal Mr. Hunter arrived with an armful of our much accumulated mail, which kept us fully occupied for the remainder of the afternoon. The landlord meanwhile explained to us that his inn was only recently built, and was constructed to accommodate such merchants as might need to spend a considerable period in Hami. It was not yet officially opened, but when his old friend, Mr. Hunter, asked that we might be his first guests, he could not refuse him, especially in view of the long distance which we had come. This eventful day then closed with a hot sponge-bath, as, for the first time since leaving Suchow, we were able to obtain sufficient hot water for our use.

361 During the next few days we visited every portion of the three settlements which form the city of Hami.
634 There is a well-built, mud-walled town in which is situated the Palace of the Khan, known by the Chinese as Wang ye.

Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, bestowed

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

Where a stream is not accessible, the water is poured from the purification pot. Many were the prostrations and different attitudes taken by the worshipper as he lifted his hands to the back of his ears, then bowed, rose, and bowed again towards Mecca. In the evening the children were all gathered together for the reading of the Koran and the study of Arabic, and, incidentally, to learn how superior were the followers of the Prophet to the rest of mankind. 779

Our first caller was a Military Official who had become a Christian during his stay at Urumchi. His visit was followed by the arrival of servants carrying trays of the best food the restaurants of Kucheng could produce. Piled up on brazen plates was the Turki national dish of 'pillau.' It was composed of rice steamed and fried, and flavoured with chopped mutton, carrots and onions, sultanas and spices, and laid on the top were joints of roast fowl. This was accompanied by large, thin, flat cakes of bread and plates of fruit, while more servants followed with fodder and grain for our mules. Later on this gentleman's mother called and asked us to her house, where she most kindly entertained us. The food supply of Kucheng was so good that during the length of our stay we were able to luxuriate in milk, fruit, fresh bread, and good mutton. 262 574

Our next visitors were the band of Shansi men with whom we had become so friendly *en route*. It was difficult to recognise in the well-dressed gentleman who sent in his card the pedestrian traveller who had carried his own bundle and water can. They were most eager to know if Kucheng reached the expectations formed from their descriptions of its glories. Here, as elsewhere, we found no difficulty of access to the homes of both Chinese and Turki, and we never went out without receiving cordial invitations to visit well-off families in their comfortable houses.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

467 Kök Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down [622] from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting [272] for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we • [263] made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

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II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar [263] and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

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Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Mantu*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264] have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272] Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545] Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535] it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526] with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

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"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

followed, during which we all sat talking in the pavilion or walked about the garden admiring the lotuses. Dinner when it came at last was served in the houseboat-like pavilion, the interior of which consisted of one long, airy dining-room tastefully decorated with flowers in pots and Chinese paintings. 574

The Taoyin, as I have said, was always merciful to his European friends, and the dinner was much shorter than the average Chinese repast. There were only some twenty-five courses, and these were eaten with the full complement of knives, forks and spoons; not a chop-stick to be seen, though I, for one, as soon as I had learnt the knack of using them, always used chop-sticks on the exotic Chinese food rather than banal Western cutlery. It may be of interest to record the menu, so far as I was able to identify the courses. Hors d'œuvres including, in addition to the usual items, slices of hard-boiled egg which had been buried for some years and had turned quite green, were eaten during as well as before the meal. 264 262

MENU

Tea and Dessert
Hors d'œuvres
Syrup dumplings
Shark's fin with shredded chicken
Pigeon's eggs
Pork fritters
Traveller-fish soup
Bamboo-root stewed in syrup
Roast chicken
Mince dumplings
Dried Chuguchak sturgeon
Sea-slug soup
Tinned oranges
Stewed chestnuts
Cold roast pork
Veal fritters
Fish tripe
Cabbage soup
Stewed pears stuffed with rice
Pastry dumplings
Baked mutton
Roast pigeon
Mutton fat fritters
Seaweed soup
Lotus seeds in syrup
Boiled rice
Tea and dessert

The Taoyin's chef was a master, and many of the above dishes were excellent, both European and Chinese; but I

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
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2. Patterns of living

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[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
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b. Food

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/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128

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S
N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation
N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit
N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayingthat "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity
N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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183
779
431

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467 Kōk Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down [622] from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. • [272] Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we [263] made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

/The New Uighurs/

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S 563 262 [272]

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized. There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a N [787] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton S 563 262 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and [272] millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 [146] B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. S N [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 731
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

Manchu
Mongol

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a resolute way. 563 167

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia. [162] 563

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long varicolored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka to a rare imported brandy. [291] [273]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

262 must confess that the three or four favourite Chinese *plats* leave me cold. Shark's fin consists of a tangle of absolutely tasteless pieces of white elastic, stewed with shreds of chicken; sea-slugs are dark grey gelatinous substances with an unpleasant dead sort of flavour, swimming in a salty gravy; bamboo-root in slices has a nutty flavour and is not so bad, but very indigestible; another delicacy which is, I believe, a kind of seaweed tastes of—well, of seaweed. I can quite believe that all these things have a quite different flavour when fresh, especially the marine products which seem to appeal particularly to the Chinese; the trouble is that in Sinkiang, five months' journey from the coast, they can only be obtained in the dried form, and yet the Chinese like or pretend to like them better than the best-cooked fresh local products. The fact is, I suppose, that the exiled Chinaman has the palate of faith and to him even a dried sea-slug tastes of home.

574 What was almost always a trial at Yamen banquets was the drink. Except on great occasions when one or two bottles 273 of a sticky brand of French champagne were produced and administered in small quantities, there was nothing to drink but a peculiarly evil-smelling kind of brandy. One was seldom pressed to eat, for which one was thankful enough, but it was impossible to avoid at least sipping the brandy between every course. A Chinese host talks much more about his cellar than about his cook; to refuse to drink with him 574 means that you do not like his wine, an imputation which causes him much loss of face. Apart from the conventional 524 politenesses, which one soon learns to give and take as a matter of course, there is nothing stilted or ceremonious about Chinese conviviality, even on official occasions. The etiquette seems to be for a guest to behave as if he were in his own home, lolling about on his chair, getting up from table in the middle of dinner and walking about for a few minutes, and so on. When conversation flagged at our own parties it was generally safe to start the Chinese off on a kind of "fingers-out" game which was very popular. In this, two players put out their right hands at the same time, either closed or with one or more fingers outstretched, at the same time shouting a number which they guess will be the total number of fingers out for both hands. Whenever one of the players shouts the correct number, he makes the other drink his health. The fingers go out and the numbers are shouted with amazing rapidity, and when three or four such contests are going on at the same time

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Behind him we were relieved to see Chu Tao Tai and other official friends from the Old City; the Tao Tai whispered to us that he had made a point of being present as he was the only person who could keep the Titai in some sort of order. 574

The meal when it came was a remarkable experience. We sat down to a table which had evidently been arranged for the old man by Chu Tao Tai, for the seating and appointments were very much the same as at the latter's Yamen; but there the resemblance ended. The first thing our host did was to take off his uniform in front of us all and sit down in a suit of pale blue silk pyjamas, remarking as he did so that it was very hot and he could stand the uniform no longer. He then seized his chop-sticks and began piling our plates with messes from a mountain of mixed garbage in the middle of the table. Then he shouted to the crowd of minions behind his chair to bring his wine, with which he proceeded to fill our glasses, telling me through Fitzmaurice that it was the best wine in China and contained seventy-one different ingredients, including pounded cuttle-fish bones and essence of tiger's claw. From the smell I could quite believe it, while as for the taste, it nearly took the roof off my mouth; it was not wine at all but exceedingly potent brandy. I heard afterwards that the Titai's brew with its seventy-one dopes was famous throughout Central Asia; it was believed that he owed his extraordinary health and strength (in spite of his age, he was drunk every day of his life) to the magic properties of some of the ingredients. Shark's fin and the other usual delicacies followed, and then came the *pièce de résistance*; the middle of the table was cleared and a huge dish with a sheep roasted whole on it was brought in. Scarcely had it touched the table before the Titai fell on it with a large knife and began hacking at it, tearing off with his left hand chunks of meat and of skin with fat adhering to it and giving them to us. This I gathered was a great honour, and I did my best to eat some of the freshly-killed and therefore very tough meat, but without much success. However, as the Titai very soon became too drunk to notice much, my unworthy appetite escaped comment. The occasional remarks fired at me by our host and translated by Harding or Fitzmaurice were generally to the effect that he, the Titai, had the greatest respect for the King of England, about whose name he seemed to be rather hazy, and that he had been a personal friend of my predecessor and proposed to be mine too; also that he was

273 • 574

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[203] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
[361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānā, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk coctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used
[291] for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly
[825] important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds
[276] of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more
[592] commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Pashraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

735 [575] 548

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

733 276

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers.

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can inport the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above.

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

a. Marriage

563 562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
563
751
753
772

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
164
364

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and even Keriya, it is still possible to pick up beautiful old carpets and ornamental metal-work, embroideries and other *objets d'art.* 531

In the course of some five years' service between Quetta and Kerman I had collected a number of specimens and acquired a little experience of the carpet-weaving industry of South-East Persia and Afghanistan, and I was therefore specially interested in the corresponding industry which had flourished for centuries at Khotan, or rather at Yurungkash and Lop near that town. Ninety-five per cent. of the specimens brought us were in bad condition, with the pile in many places worn right away, and we acquired only three of the genuine old Khotan flower-pattern rugs, together with about half a dozen pieces of more recent though still pre-aniline weave. Of the former the best, which measures 8 feet by 5 feet, is a fine specimen of the work of a hundred years or more ago. Its design is a most interesting mixture of Persia and China. The whole treatment—conventional flowers symmetrically arranged on a monochrome ground and enclosed in a broad-banded border—is unmistakably Persian; while the *besh gul* or five-rose *motif*, consisting of a straight stalk with three roses on one side and two on the other, though not (so far as I know) found in Persian or Turkish carpets, still belongs to the same *genre*. But many of the other details are Chinese, such as the wave- and key-patterns in the border and the *fleur-de-lis* interspersed in symmetrical groups of four among the roses. 286 531

The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan, of which we picked up several good specimens. Here, too, scarcely anything that has been done within the last thirty or forty years is worth a second glance. The stitch chiefly used is the Turkish chain-stitch, which is not found in the embroidery of China Proper and is done with the *ilmek* or hooked needle of the Turki races. Some of the flowers, particularly the single sprigs, as well as the "feel" of the whole composition are Western. But the wave- and cloud-patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers such as the purple iris, are definitely Chinese.

Apart from the silk needlework of Khotan, there is the gold and silver embroidery on velvet for which Kucha in the north has been famous for generations. The industry is still alive, though the materials are imported, the thread from India and the velvet from Russian Transcaspia. Women's indoor

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

286 531 caps are the chief article of manufacture. Really old specimens are exceedingly rare, and we were very fortunate in lighting upon six circular medallions, about ten inches in diameter, of green velvet embroidered in gold and silver with a Persian floral design. These, I was told on good authority, once adorned the State robes of the indigenous Princes of Kucha. Here again, though the design as a whole is Persian, there is a touch of China in certain parallel wavy lines, while the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is itself a Chinese device.

It was extraordinarily interesting to find, persisting in the south of the Tarim Basin right up to modern times, that same cultural mingling of Persia and China with the indigenous element which marked the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, when the T'ang Emperors ruled the Middle Kingdom and the last of the Sassanids reigned in Zoroastrian Iran.[1] In nineteenth-century Khotan we have a rug of Turkish weave with a design in which the colours and patterns of China and Persia are closely intermixed. We find also an embroidery with a peculiarly Turkish stitch done on Chinese silk or Bokharan velvet and showing designs in which Chinese and Persian art are represented in almost equal proportions. There could be no more striking illustration of that peculiar feature of the Tarim Basin's history, the cultural mingling of East and West, to which I referred at the beginning of this chapter.

326 But carpet-weaving and embroidery were not the only arts in which bygone Khotan excelled. Among the most attractive products of its craftsmanship were brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work. This is another lost art, for though teapots and water-jugs of graceful shape are still made, their only decoration is a rough chasing of lines following the curves of the pot. The old pierced metal work, four specimens of which we were fortunate enough to secure, is strongly reminiscent of the similar work in silver and copper still done at Isfahan. Here I could detect no Chinese influence, probably because the *chainak* (tea-pot) and *aftaba-lagan* (jug and basin

[1] Cf. the discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein in the seventh-century cemetery at Astana, near Turfan, of fine figured silks both in Chinese and in pure Sassanian style ("Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 492); also the Sassanian embroideries on damask found in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Tunhwang ("Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 208).

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
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415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

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294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

S N [433]

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

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N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

243 the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. On the average, the
242 amount of labor expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China proper, but the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It is
248 known to have been grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618–907). By 1750, it was used to pay taxes in Yarkand.[15] In 1776 it was described as ranking next to the wheat crop in importance,[16] and it has been one of the leading exports to Russia since 1890. The cotton belt lies south of the Tien Shan. Turfan and Merket (on the northern edge of the Yarkand oasis) lead in production, followed by Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, and Aksu.

Two varieties are grown, native and American. After failure in experimenting with Sea Island cotton in Tashkent in the 1870's, two Russian merchants named Belyakov and Lakhtin experimented very successfully with the Upland variety in 1883. After 1885 American species began to supplant the native type in Ferghana and Samarkand. A few years later Russian dealers set out to improve the quality grown in Sinkiang by distributing American seed.[17] Up to 1942 large quantities of seed were imported yearly from the Soviet Union, especially two varieties of American origin called "Shredder" and "Novrozkii." From American long-staple varieties of 25 to 29 mm., 32-count yarns can be spun, while the short-staple Inner Asian variety can be used only for 24-count yarns. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, 73 per cent with native cotton and 23 per cent with seed of the American varieties.

231 Silk is a second ancient crop of commercial importance. The
439 most noted silk oases have always been Khotan and Yarkand. Part of the raw silk they produce is manufactured on the spot
288 into fabrics which have greatly declined in value and beauty in recent years, and the rest is exported to the Soviet Union and

[15] Kuropatkin, p. 126.

[16] Chuan Yuan, *Geography of the Western Regions*, written 1776, published 1818, chuan 1, p. 1 (in Chinese).

[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
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433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

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241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

N
*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

N In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[471] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000
[433] worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry
*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry
392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
38 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[377] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

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N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

necessitated a double march of 35 miles to Chulak Langar, mostly over desert. To make matters worse the Amban, whose private amiability was as excessive as his official stubbornness, insisted on our *dining* with him at 8.30 a.m. on the day of our departure, a most trying business. What with this and the various farewell tea-drinkings we did not finally escape from the Karghalik neighbourhood till past noon. D. rode with me for eighteen miles, and then we packed her with a mattress and plenty of bedding from our valises in the tarantass. Sunset, and with it an icy wind from the desert, found us still twelve miles from the lonely rest-house for which we were bound. This last lap was the heaviest going of all; the tired horses were unable to drag the tarantass at more than about three miles an hour, and time after time I had to help the two orderlies to push it out of a sand-dune, thankful for the exercise which kept me warm. We were both dead tired when at last, at 9 o'clock of a freezing starlit night, we pulled into the big stone *serai* constructed in the sixties by that public-spirited tyrant, Yakub Beg "Bedaulat." Chulak Langar is situated at one of the coldest points on the whole Khotan road; standing on a slight rise facing the desert, its very name commemorates a tragedy of cold; *chulak* means "lame," and refers to a poor man who stumbled into the *serai* many years ago with his arms and legs frost-bitten and remained there a beggar until he died. To the south, the rolling gravel hills stretch away up to the blue snow-capped Kunlun; after heavy rain, and when the snows melt in the early summer, a trickle of water comes down a little valley and replenishes the big square reservoir from which the inn draws its water. In the valley are also a few poor little fields and some acres of grazing belonging to the innkeeper. To the north in the clear dawn the view is inexpressibly awe-inspiring and sinister; the yellow dunes of the Takla Makan, like the giant waves of a petrified ocean, extend in countless myriads to a far horizon with here and there an extra large sand-hill, a king-dune as it were, towering above his fellows. They seem to clamour silently, those dunes, for travellers to engulf, for whole caravans to swallow up as they have swallowed up so many in the past.

19th November.

Goma is a thriving little town of wooden houses surrounded by orchards and groves of mulberry. A flourishing local industry is the making of coarse paper from pulped mulberry-bark—a link with the past indeed, for the process is much the same as that by which the Chinese made paper towards the beginning of the Christian era. Another link with the past, of a different kind, was a debtor I saw this morning in the Yamen wearing a "cangue" (Turki *shal*) or heavy square yoke of wood padlocked round his neck. This ancient Chinese method of making debtors pay has long been officially abolished both in China Proper and in Sinkiang, but it evidently survives in out-of-the-way places; the cangues, I am told, vary in weight from 20 to 60 lb. or more, and are left on the neck of the debtor until he pays up. He can move about as he likes inside the Yamen precincts, but has to be fed by his relations as he cannot reach his own mouth.

Goma is on the very verge of the Takla Makan, of which we had such an impressive glimpse from Chulak Langar. It is a great place

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a N 463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [289] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N [433] it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in [illegible] places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and [illegible]g-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

[412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

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Uighur

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

586 If the husband and wife do not prove
to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the prop-
587 erty of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

684 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from bazaar to bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

291 The Wei-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a kerchief. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Manti*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and diced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

**Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about**

Manchu
Mongol

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a resolute way. 563 167

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Banntermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia. [162] 563

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long vari-colored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka [291] [273]

to a rare imported brandy.

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demonstrated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang. 563

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia. 262 342 712

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume. 291 301

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor*. Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village "general shops" at home.

Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

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600 very well, and the negatives of it which I took up with me to-day were most useful in enabling me to identify the various peaks. Again I spent three hours on the top, mapping and photographing, but this time there were no contretemps on the way down and we returned to camp before sunset. D. and Nazaroff have had a good day too. They went out shooting rock-pigeons this morning and got two each, and in the afternoon D. gave a tea-party to the Kirghiz women and children of the valley. This has caused great excitement. Seven women and two children came, all there are in the valley, bringing their own wooden bowls like school-children their mugs to a treat. D. had plenty of bread baked for the occasion in one of the *aq-ois* and had also made some drop-scones herself; she bought quantities of rich yaks' milk in the morning and used up in the tea most of our remaining supply of sugar, which the ladies with squeaks of delight scooped with their fingers out of the bottom of their bowls.

Khanterek, 21st October, 1922.

All the Kirghiz, including D.'s guests of yesterday, came to see us off this morning and seemed genuinely sorry to bid us adieu, begging us to come again next year. The Chopkana pass proved 11,500 feet high and fairly easy, though loaded camels could not have crossed it. At the top, under the crags of Kaying Beli, I went after a covey 136 of snow-cock, which the Kirghiz call *ulai*, but they were far too wild. This bird seems to be the same as the *rām chikor* of the Himalayas, and is the size of a bustard; he is a true partridge and is marked like a chikor, but, living like the ptarmigan on or near the snow-line, he has more white about him. His bill is curved like a hawk's, very 361 curious in a partridge. Just below the pass on the north side is the highest summer *yailāq* or camping-place of the Kirghiz, a pretty "alp" with firs; there was nobody there, but a mile further down at Ui-chi we found small crofts and tents and three or four families of Kirghiz. Two of the women wore most wonderful head-dresses, 291 peaked fore and aft and garnished with red embroidery, quite different from the flat-topped turbans of the ladies of the Pamirs. Apparently only the richer ones wear this curious head-dress. All the Kirghiz 600 crowded round D. for medicine; her daily "sick parade" has become quite an institution and is probably the chief reason of our popularity.

The Chopkana people have brought down an *aq-oi* for us to the little apricot grove by the bridge. We have come down 3,000 feet from Kaying and 5,000 from the top of the pass, and the warmth in this sheltered spot is delightful. To-morrow the caravan goes to Saman only, as we want to reconnoitre the Achiq Jilgha, a side-glen at the top of which I am told there is a pass leading over the Gez River and the main winter road between Kashgar and the Pamirs.

The problems of travel in the wilds have been enormously simplified for us on this pioneer trip by the admirable behaviour of our men, all of whom work splendidly so that everything runs with clockwork precision. Our programme on an average march is as follows. At seven Ahmad Bakhsh brings tea to our respective tents, shortly followed by Yakub and the tub. Yakub has had the bath-water simmering in its oil-tins on his own particular fire since the night before; the same tins provide the hot water required in the kitchen. By

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

343 a cosier and more private apartment; she has but one lattice window, but that looks down on to the roof of a carpenter's house, on which the women sit spinning and sewing in the sun all day long; cocks and hens peck about amid heaps of shavings, and children clad in long boots, greatcoat and nothing else peep over the edge into the street, tumble down the ladder into the shop and otherwise enjoy themselves without anyone minding. Children are cheap in this fat, easy-going land.

Khotan, 27th November, 1922.

574 We have just returned (8 p.m.) from an interesting but arctic dinner-party at the Yamen. Our hosts, the Amban and Commandant, had arranged a theatrical performance for the occasion, a great honour. D. and I were met within the Yamen by two parallel processions headed by our hosts and their wives respectively; I was led with much ceremony to one dinner-table and D. to another separated from the men by a low partition. The travelling company's stage was set in the open courtyard opposite us.

353 The prevailing note of the decorations was red; the walls of the Yamen building behind were covered with fine scarlet embroidery and scrolls of the same colour inscribed with Chinese characters in gold; under-foot were red Khotan carpets, while from the roof of the portico and the branches of the trees in the courtyard hung scores of red Chinese lanterns. Most of the latter were of paper, but several of them were of the beautiful and fantastic hexagonal pattern with panels of embroidered silk and long coloured tassels. Major Ma told me that most of the embroidery had been done by Turki women in Khotan, but he hastened to add that the Khotanis had learnt embroidery from the Chinese.

574 The dinner lasted some four hours, and the theatrical performance went on all the time.[1] After sunset the temperature sank to several degrees below freezing-point, and I nearly froze to death. The Chinese never mind how cold it is, for their winter clothes and boots, lined with fur throughout, are as admirably designed to withstand cold as their summer costume is to keep its wearers cool. D. says she was better off, thanks to large braziers which were kept under the table well stoked with wood-embers. She was charmed with the little Chinese [291] ladies, who wore the regulation black satin tunic and trousers and their hair scraped back and twisted into small buns lavishly decorated with ornaments of jade and precious stones. By far the loveliest of her hostesses, however, was a Turki girl from the Titai's household at Kashgar, who was married to one of the military officers. She had, according to D.—I missed this vision—a perfect profile and small oval face, a complexion like a wild rose and large limpid dark eyes; her voice, like those of the beauties of Kashgar, had a kind of uneven tone with long, full, liquid notes.

The ex-Amban's mother, with whom D. exchanged calls yesterday, was not at the dinner. She, according to D., might have stepped straight out of a fairy-story. She looks about a hundred and fifty, wears a black silk handkerchief tied round her head like a pirate, and owns an enormous woolly black cat which adores her and sits all the time licking her hands and face.

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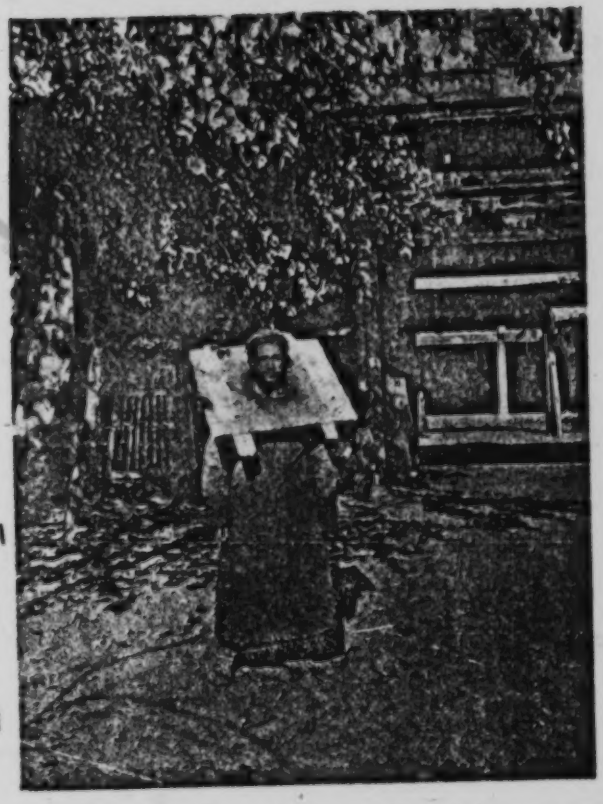
[1] For a description of a Chinese theatrical performance, see pp. 245–7.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

there is the much-frequented shrine of one of Kashgar's many lady-saints, Bu Mariam. It is a simple affair; a grove of ancient desert-poplars, two or three single-storied buildings on a little hill, a tall conical mound of faggots and sand surmounted by a bundle of long poles, and all round in serried ranks the tombs of the Faithful. Escaping with difficulty from the idly curious of Tarim Bazar we made tea for ourselves under a scented tamarisk-bush near the shrine. In a corner under the ancient poplars some families of pilgrims from Khotan were encamped with their ponies, donkeys and goats around them like a nomad tribe on the move; an incredibly old beggar in his elaborately-ragged, almost theatrical patchwork costume and mediæval sheepskin-rimmed extinguisher hat doddered about among the graves; and all the while, incongruously, every tree and every bush was loud with the chorus of Spring.

Next day we crossed the westernmost and narrowest section of the Takla Makan, 24 miles broad, to the tiny settlement of Langar among the first jungles of the Yarkand River. It was not a pleasant march. Though there were no high dunes to cross, the going was heavy throughout, the sun's heat trying and the endless vistas of tamarisk-cones inexpressibly monotonous. The tarantass had as usual been sent back after our first double march, and we both rode. But the worst was now over. Next morning an exhilarating two-mile canter brought us to the river, across the placid waters of which roomy flat-bottomed ferry-boats were plying to and fro with cargoes of fur-hatted carters, blue-hooded Chinese carts, gaily-decked horses tinkling with bells and villagers in costumes of many colours. Across the river, in a grove of trees from which last year's leaves had not yet fallen (so calm and windless is the winter here), we were met by an unexpectedly imposing cortège. Twenty horsemen escorted a landau drawn by three fine bays, harnessed troika-fashion and skilfully handled by an obviously Russian-trained Turki coachman. In the carriage sat a good-looking, clean-shaven young Chinese gentleman dressed in the regulation black silk coat and white skirt, and wearing the neat black cap of his country instead of the ridiculous bowler favoured by most of his colleagues. It was the Amban of Maralbashi, of which district Merket is a subdivision, and he was actually on tour—the first and last occasion during the whole of our time in Kashgaria on which we met a District Magistrate away from



DEBTOR WEARING CANGUE, MAGISTRATE'S YAMEN, KARGHALIK

[Face p. 124]

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DULANI WOMAN WITH SICK LAMB, MERKET

[p. 124]

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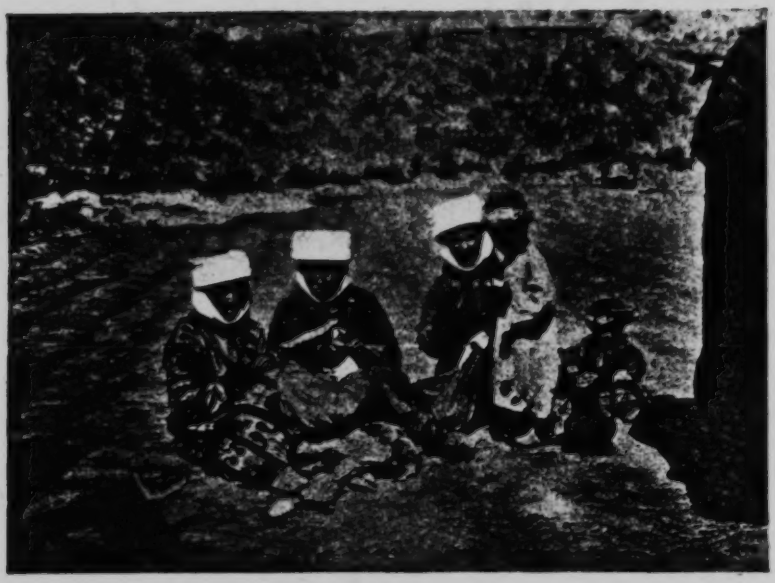

291

KIRGHIZ CALLERS, QIZIL TAGH REGION

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291

A KIRGHIZ WEDDING BREAKFAST, UPPER QARATASH VALLEY

[Face p.132]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, combining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER X

A MURDER CASE AND A DIFFICULT JOURNEY

EARLY summer in Kashgaria is a time of crystal-clear mornings and noonday skies of indigo flecked with argosies of creamy clouds. But the weather is by no means monotonously perfect. Every week or two comes a thickening of the atmosphere and an increasing sultriness which leads up to a *buran* or storm of dust and rain. Compared with those of South Persia or Upper India these *burans* are mild affairs, though further east round the edges of the Takla Makan they can be bad enough. A high wind, a pale brown sky, a consciousness of fine loess dust collecting in one's eyes and gritting on one's teeth; this goes on for some hours, perhaps the whole day, and then comes a drumming and a sputtering of warm rain which passes in an hour or two and leaves the air clean and sweet, the garden full of scent and the landscape of colour. Colour—that is the note of Kashgar in summer. Not only is Nature a rich mosaic of emerald and turquoise and ochre, but Man decks himself—and herself—in every colour of the rainbow. Accustomed to the dirty white or dust-coloured raiment of Upper India and Baluchistan, the effective but monotonous dark red of the women of Rajputana and Central India, the dead white or coal black affected by their sisters in Persia and Mespotamia, I did not know what the "gorgeous East" could be until I saw the bazaars at Kashgar on a summer's morning. The 'Id festival which comes at the end of the Ramazan fast happened to fall in May our first year. This is an occasion on which every one who can afford to do so, man, woman and child, comes out in new clothes—and almost every one can afford them, for the dyed silks of Khotan are dirt-cheap and even the superior products of Ferghana and Bokhara far from dear. To the many-hued cloaks, dresses and pork-pie hats

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

291 of the ladies are added the long striped *chapans* of purple, green and yellow sported by their husbands. But the prettiest pictures of all are the merry groups of little girls who roam the streets hand-in-hand clad in rainbow-tinted silks and cottons, their curls decked with red roses thrown to them from the flower-stalls. Many of the colours are crude enough, green and yellow, magenta and vermilion, mauve and peacock blue; but even the gaudiest contrasts somehow blend under the blue sky and against the warm-toned background of wooden houses and loess bluffs. Of many a vivid picture one perhaps stands out in memory. It is of the sun sinking in glory over the Tien Shan, its level rays bathing farmstead and foliage in gold; at the door of a farm-house where there has been a party, a group of departing women guests stand gossiping, their cloaks, dresses and caps making an exquisite pattern of orange, maroon, apple-green, rose-pink, purple, indigo and lemon-yellow all enriched and blended by the golden light; beyond, the long brown walls of Old Kashgar.

Midsummer approached, the cooling showers became rarer, and there came a suspicion of sultriness in the nights. The Chinese officials retired to the seclusion of their yamen gardens, the Swedes in relays to their "hill-station" at Bostan Terek, and the Russians to their favourite camping ground at Salarma, ten miles from the city. As for the better-class Turkis and British subjects, they had already deserted the town for their country gardens. It would be disingenuous of me to convey the impression that we at the Consulate-General suffered from the heat and that a trip to the "Hills" became advisable on hygienic grounds. But prevention, we told ourselves, was better than cure; I had one or two long reports to write which would be the better for the seclusion of a suitable *villégiature*; and altogether there were cogent reasons for a short sojourn among the mountains. In truth, of course, it was the Happy Valley that called us, and there was no stopping our ears to its call. Whether we would succeed in reaching it or not was another question. The Tümen and Qizil Su rivers were in full flood and several bridges had already been carried away, including the big one between the Old and New Cities; I had visions of the lower Qaratash valley brimming with turbid waters and our caravan struggling hopelessly in their grip. But I knew that even if the direct route proved impossible, we could still as a last resort reach Kaying Bashi by a three days' détour across seven of the "Nine Passes" in the Gez

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DISPENSING MEDICINE TO THE KIRGHIZ, CHOPKANA JILGHA

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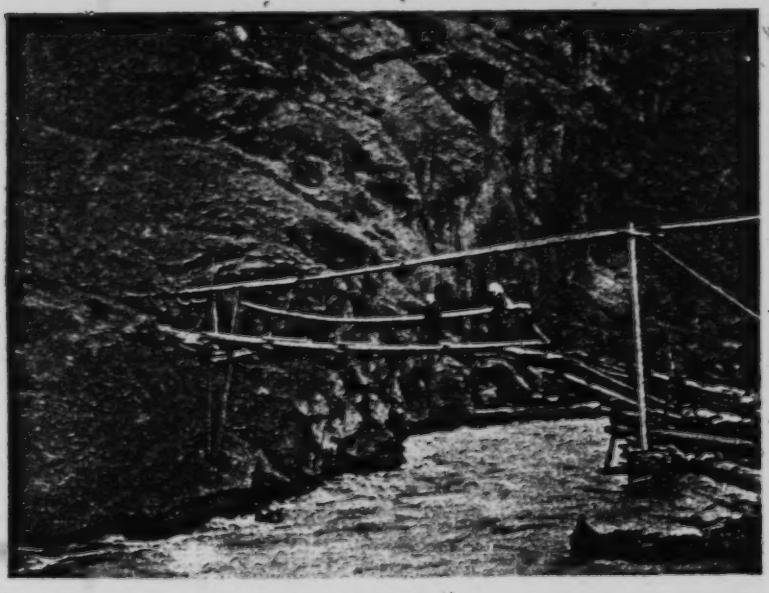

A KIRGHIZ BRIDGE BUILT ON THE CANTILEVER PRINCIPLE, KHANTEREK. THE FOREMOST OF THE LADIES CROSSING IS CARRYING TWIN BABIES

[Face p. 146]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796

A PROFESSIONAL BEGGAR, OLD AQSU

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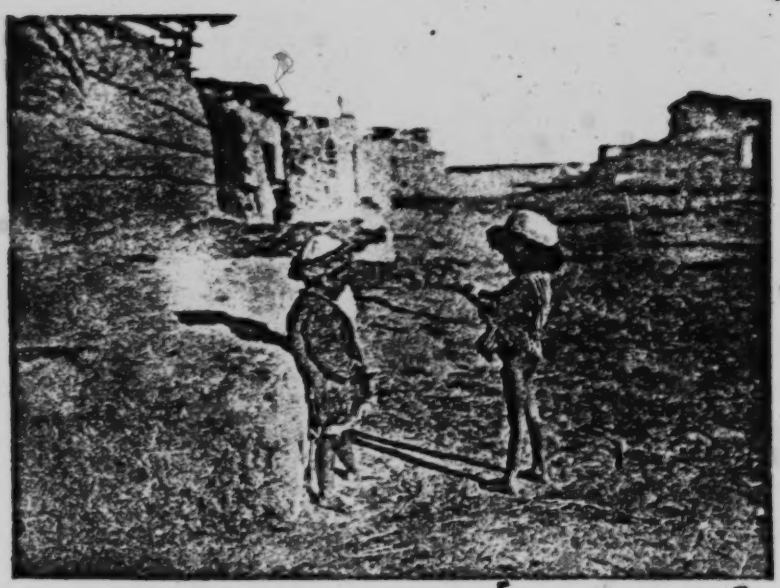

DULANI CHILDREN, MARALBASHI DISTRICT
A GAME OF CAT'S CRADLE

[Face p. 184]

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S N 563 291 S N [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 779 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[935] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 a. Marriage

562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

As
563 their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
267 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were
463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in
366 the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

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244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese
•291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei
482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we
352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese,
576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

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563 but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinc- [291] tive cap and high heels to his top-boots. We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper is a Russian subject, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. [291] The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large [779] number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

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563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered
492 man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
437 but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

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000 other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accom-
291 panied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

364 Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were
[312] never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses
536 of the Chinese population is distinctly different from
636 that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accom-
636 plished in Shansi. The policy of this strong auto-
20 cratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the back-door of every house on the north side of the village, and

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As soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,

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be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

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[FACING p. 266]

A NOGAI.

Seated with a Turki wife on his left and a Qazaq wife on his right. The Turki woman is mother of the little boy.

To face page 266.

563
291

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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Frontispiece

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585
539

Mother's Song

Kichik kina, qāra kuz
Wai balam!
Tili tātliq, shirin suz
Wai balam!
Balam mandin airilde
Wai balam!
Uida yälghuz qälärman,
Wai balam, balam!

Little tiny dark-eyed one
Alas, my child!
Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Alas, my child!
My child is taken from me
Alas, my child!
In the house I am left alone,
Alas, my child! my child!

Daughter's Song

Man änämdin airilip
Sunde qanätim qäralip;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun
Jänim änamdin airilip?

Torn from my mother's side
My wings are broken and bent;
Who may weep, if not I
Torn from my darling mother's side?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

"I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

"Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [901]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches
[301] of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings.
Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each
[302] plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink
[299] and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the
one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

"Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room,
585 one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of
574 the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some
relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party
was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in
[576] public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her
reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as
she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands
Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching
their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think,
and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed
in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the
floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who
had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in,
and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their
outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess
with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have
no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and
politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide
indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served,
soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our
hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time
handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar.
There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such
a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits
of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and
fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the
ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away
the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the
usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans*
or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and
huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more
music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast
began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called
the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of
egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was
served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish
was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which
had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had
come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the
court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows,
clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific.
The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The
lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

S N 563 291 S N [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 779 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
286 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
294 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
531 sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes
[177] is a Chinese device.

There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
53 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
517 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
177 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of
178 Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
517 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
532 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
177 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "li-
668 berated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
529 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine 494
animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles.

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down [491]
hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as 563
the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any 294

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563 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing
294 machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While
563 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the
231 tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

491 We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming
000 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demon- 563
strated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang.

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 342
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585
539

Mother's Song

Kichik kīna, qāra kuz	Little tiny dark-eyed one
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Tili tātliq, shīrīn suz	Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Balam mandin airilde	My child is taken from me
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Uida yälghuz qälärman,	In the house I am left alone,
Wai balam, balam !	Alas, my child ! my child !

Daughter's Song

Man ānāmdin airilip	Torn from my mother's side
Sunde qanātim qāralip ;	My wings are broken and bent ;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun	Who may weep, if not I
Jānim ānamdin airilip ?	Torn from my darling mother's side ?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

" I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

" Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [301]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings. Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

"Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 a. Marriage

562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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/The New Uighurs/

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563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[367] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

/The New Uighurs/

563 587 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 843 844 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 846 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 852 [553] [854] [302] When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 764 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 764 793 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set, three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity
• [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were
463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated
366 as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

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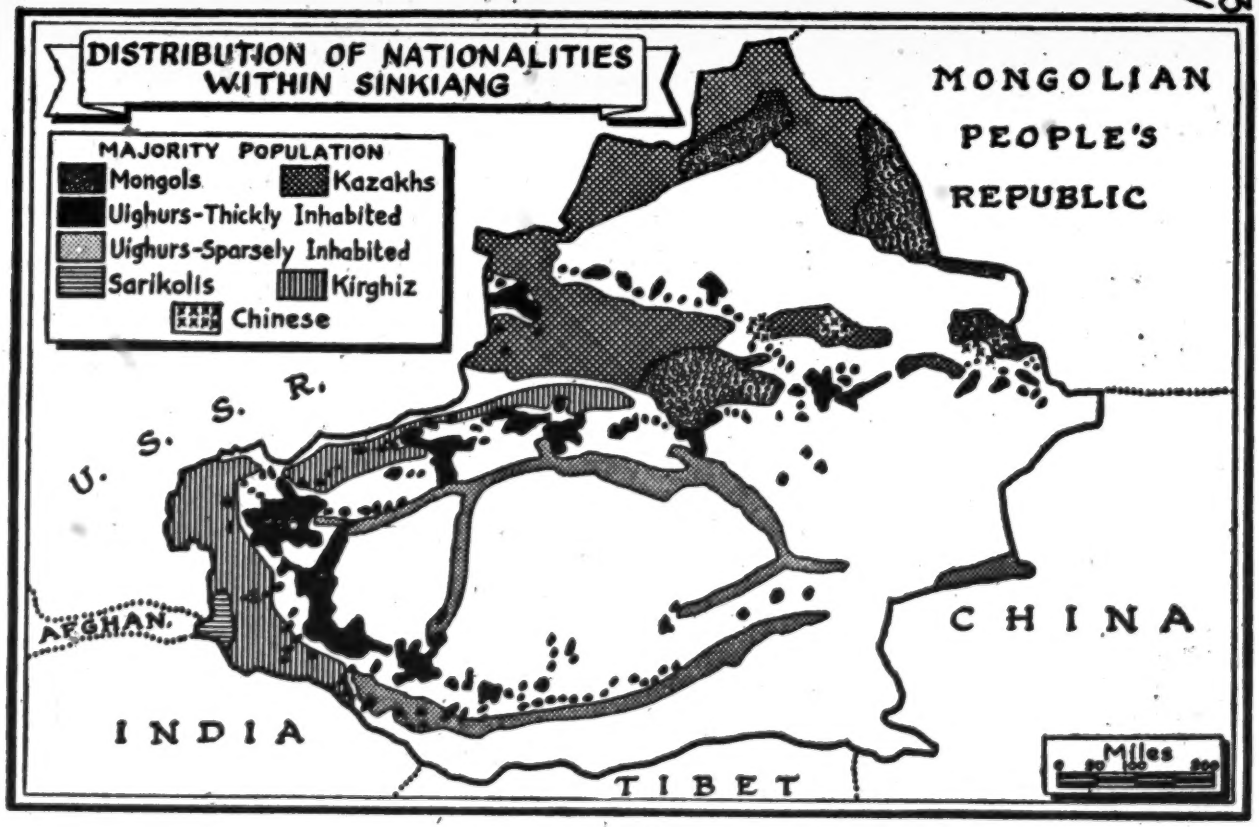
1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1



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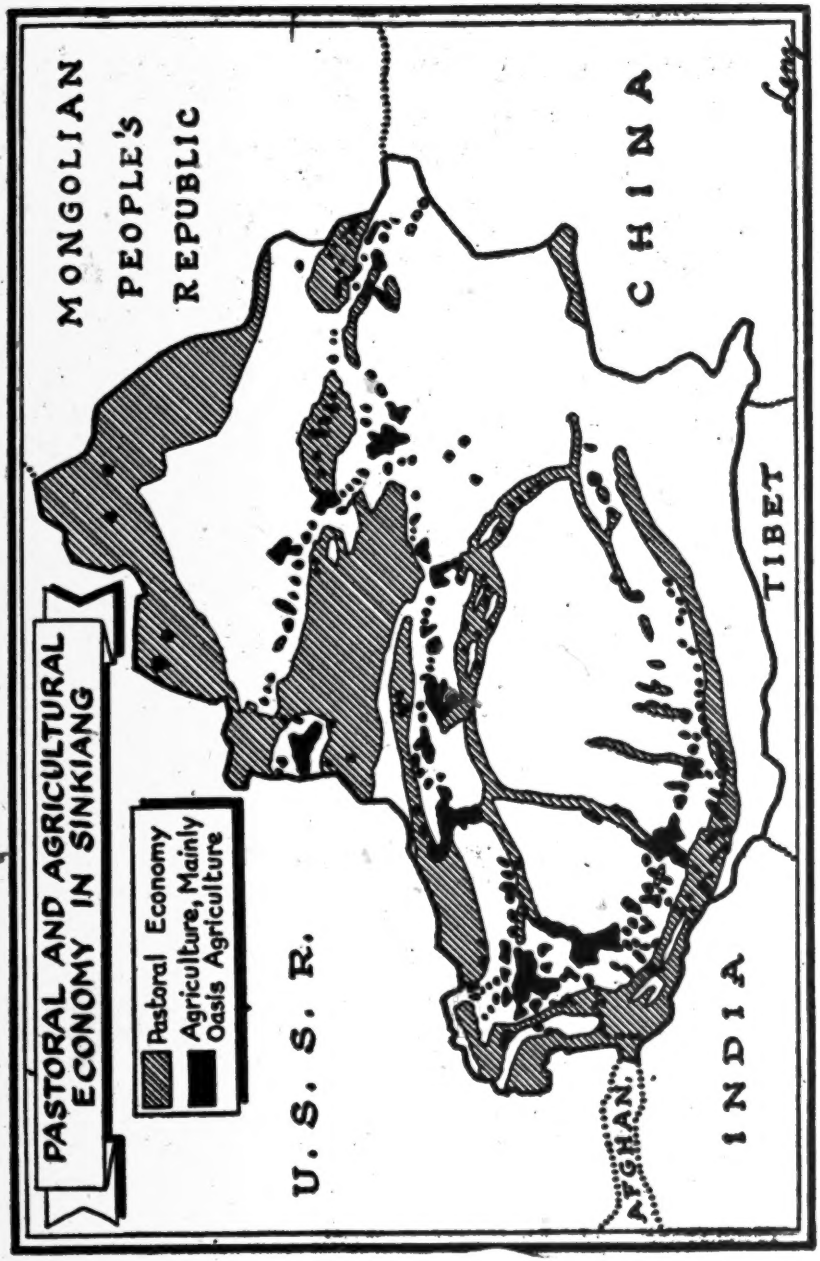
1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1



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[p. 121]

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

[p. 138]

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg. 563* 241 311 161

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet. 563* 186

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule. 563*

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have 563* 174 167

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

In Jungaria there is a little more rain, as much as ten inches a year in the more favored places, and here the desert is neither so vast nor so forbidding as in the Tarim Basin. There are fringes of grazing land on the slopes of the Altai in the north, the Tien Shan in the south, and other ranges in the west, but the herds must move frequently and the men who own them must move too, leading a nomadic life. Men learned to live in this land of poor rainfall only by learning how to master the animals which ate the grass which they themselves could not eat. 133 132 311

In addition to irrigated agriculture there is some dry farming in Jungaria, particularly in the river valleys along the Soviet frontier. Along this frontier, which rarely follows the watershed, three important rivers have their source in Sinkiang and their main course in Soviet territory. They are the Black Irtish, the only Sinkiang river whose waters reach the sea, and the Emil and the Ili, which are routes of communication between Soviet and Chinese territory.

The broad and fertile Ili Valley is enclosed between two arms of the Tien Shan which open toward the west into Soviet territory. It thus forms a distinct region which has closer geographic ties with Soviet territory than with Sinkiang itself. Its forests, mines, rich mountain pastures, and fertile arable lands offer the best prospects for economic development north of the Tarim Basin, but it has never enjoyed a sufficiently long period of peace and sound administration to permit exploitation of its resources. It has been fought over during the successive waves of migration and was largely depopulated in the eighteenth century. At present the valley supports an agricultural and nomadic population of less than half a million.

Both oasis agriculture and pastoral nomadism are such highly specialized ways of life that throughout the history of Inner Asia men never learned how to combine them. Cultivators and herdsmen fought each other, traded with each other, and sometimes ruled each other, but they never fused together in a new, mixed, and permanent society.

The totally new factor of machine-powered industrialism is 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[651] [161] 311 631

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

case arose in connexion with the murder of a British subject by his son at a village in the Yarkand district, and it became necessary for me to confer with the Amban of Yarkand at his headquarters. The march of 45 miles to Yarkand occupied a day and a half and led us through country which alternated between desert-poplar forest, marshes and cultivation. The display of bird life among the marshes along the right bank of the Yarkand River was astonishing. We saw none of the rainbow-plumaged "Shaw's pheasant" supposed to haunt these jungles, but among the reedy lakes and water-channels all along the road there was every now and again a mighty cackling and splashing of duck, geese, teal, cormorants, cranes, terns, plovers, coots, water-hens and many kinds of lesser fowl. A Paradise indeed for the naturalist and even for our ignorant selves, could we but have spared a few days to explore these little-known wilds with gun and camera. The Yarkand oasis was entered at Abad, a village of several hundred families living on land brought into cultivation twenty years before by an Amban called Liu, who used prison labour to dig a canal from the Yarkand River. This was one of several instances I came across in the Yarkand neighbourhood of cultivation being extended by enterprising and ambitious Magistrates. The area of this great oasis must be now at least twice what it was fifty years ago under the indigenous rule of Yakub Beg.

The five days my work occupied at Yarkand passed pleasantly enough at the garden of the Bar Gah, now a mass of snowy blossom, and while I sat in conclave with Amban or Aqsaqal, D. amused herself with shopping in the kaleidoscopic bazaars and exchanging visits with Swedish, Chinese, Indian and Turki friends. Once she was entertained at tea in the grand manner by the entire community of Hindu traders at their big caravanserai in the middle of the Old City, during the course of which a bowing young *bunnia* informed her that he knew the *Generail-Consul-Sahib* (i.e. me) quite well, as he had been a waiter at the United Services Club at Simla in 1920 when I had quarters there! Since then he had given up the job in order to join his brother who represented an Amritsar firm at Yarkand. Her visit to the Yamen to see the wife of the Amban was a somewhat difficult one. She found a child of eighteen, a forlorn, rather pathetic little figure dressed up like a doll, who almost died of nervousness and said through her Turki maid, "Please forgive me, I don't

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 659 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
177 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

433 2. Soldier Colonization

648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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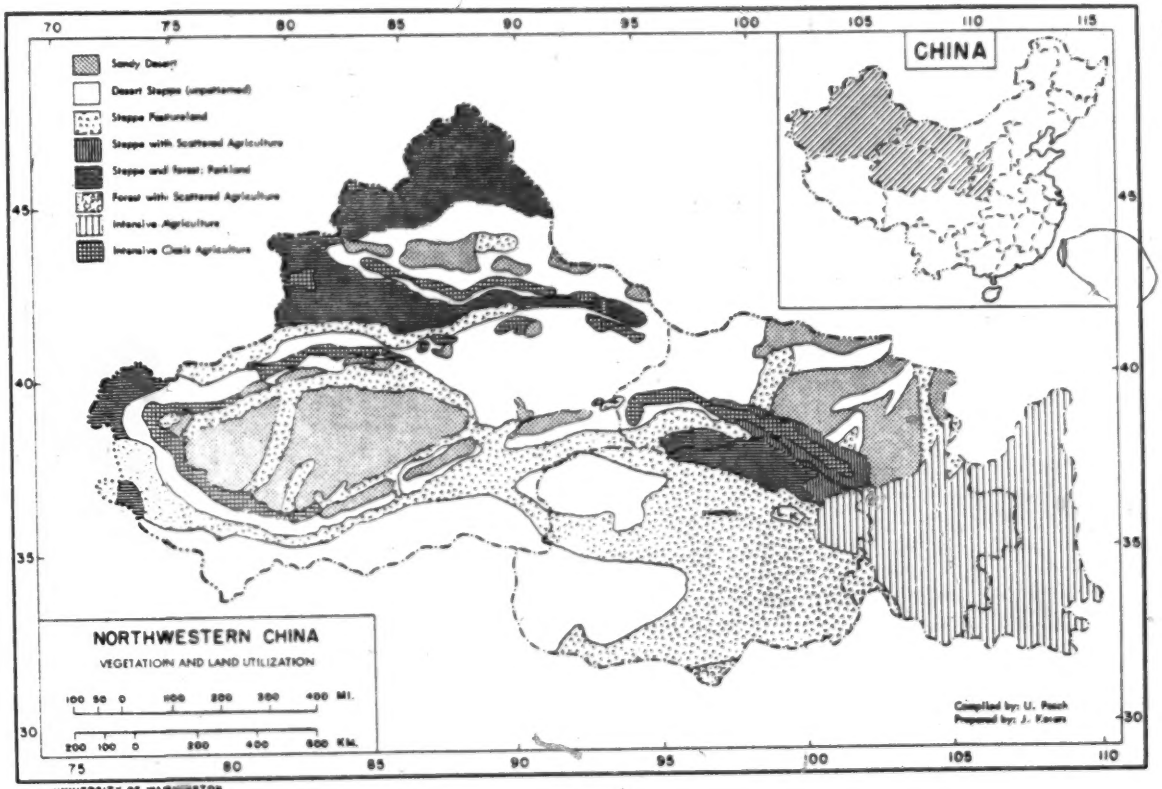
433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11



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following page 665

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
(184) rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

• 311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
(243) (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice
[461] shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[433] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

241 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second
312 should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense.
312 Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single
471 long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to
454 find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz, and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of
241 water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is
312 determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the
241 oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by 241

nomads. There are Mongols in the Baitik Bogda who are both herders and cultivators.[3] Farming began among some of the Torgut Mongols along the Chingho, west of Manass, at the beginning of the present century.[4] In 1943, Kazakhs dug an irrigation canal from the bank of the Kunges, one of the main affluents of the Ili. Two kinds of change take place along the southern foot of the Tien Shan. Uighur owners of sheep in the oases send them up to the alpine meadows of the Kirghiz to pasture, and near Bai and Uch-Turfan Kirghiz, crowded out of these pastures, have taken to farming in the Taushkan and Kharabagh Valleys.[5]

Oasis Farming

There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: the oases of the 133
south, which are sharply isolated from each other by desert 241
stretches, and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming can be carried on, or still wider fringes of grazing land. The typical characteristics of oasis life are therefore much more sharply accentuated in the south.

The first oasis makers were probably men who lived along the 241
banks of the rivers in the desert, and in the marshes, where they 312
caught fish, hunted, and gathered wild food crops. A "crop" of the Lopliks of the Lob Depression, the most primitive surviving community in the Tarim Basin, is the tender shoots of the marsh reeds. When irrigation began, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problem required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slope at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the engineering problems were far too great. There were three reasons for the upstream shift: out on the plain, the slow speed of the water

[3] Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 462.
[4] Sung Po-lu, *History of Sinkiang*, 1913, chuan 2, p. 8 (in Chinese).
[5] R. C. F. Schomberg, "The Habitability of Chinese Turkestan," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXX No. 6, Dec. 1932, p. 510.

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241 silted up the canals; the flat level did not allow sufficient drainage from the fields, which gradually accumulated salts; the communities upstream had first access to the water. The drying up of Inner Asia has been blamed for the abandonment of ancient oases found out in the desert, but it is probable that the causes just described are more important than any change of climate in the last two thousand years.

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312 Oasis engineering remains extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals, which branch in turn into the ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkistan to lift water from lower to higher levels.[6]

[133] Of the rivers of Sinkiang, the most important for irrigation is the Yarkand Darya, known in its upper reaches as the Zarafshan.[7]

[6] Two kinds of weirs are used to divert water from the river into the takeoff canal. Field notes of an Academia Sinica expedition describe a solid weir which was examined at the point where the Aksu Darya forks into two streams, the Kone Darya or Old River and the Yangi Darya or New River. A fork of this kind is often formed when a river channel silts up and later a freshet of high water comes down the choked channel; the force of the water bursts out at one side of the old main channel, and a subsidiary stream is formed, flowing away from the main stream. Since the Old River irrigates the oases of Aksu and Avat, a solid weir was built to divert some of the water of the New River back into the Old River. Trunks of the *toghrak*, or wild desert poplar, were used as stakes. Between these, cribs were woven with smaller branches and twigs and filled with stones and rubble. A weir of this kind is of limited efficiency. When the river reaches flood level in July and August the weir is battered down, too much of the water of the Aksu Darya discharges into the New River, and the crops in the oases fed by the Old River are imperiled. Solid weirs are used on the larger streams. On smaller streams, where the irrigators hope to be able to control the flow of water, draw-weirs are made with openings or sluices. In some localities, such as Kargalik, instead of building permanent sluice gates or panels the sluices are closed temporarily with rubble.

[7] The Yarkand Darya has also repeatedly changed its course. Thus the brilliant Chinese scholar Hsu Sung described how two tributaries of the Yarkand Darya joined in the second decade of the nineteenth century to form the oasis of Merket, but Sir Aurel Stein's maps show that the present

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The Khotan Darya, the Konche Darya, and the Kaidu Gol 133 provide enough water for the branching canals and settlements 312 along their courses. The Aksu Darya, the Muzart, which flows to the Kucha oasis, and the Kizil Su or Red River flowing through the Kashgar oasis all fail to supply enough water for the oases on their lower courses.

In volume of discharge the rivers of the Tarim system are far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya.[8] The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about 70 per cent is in the Tarim Basin. The total length of irrigation canals in Sinkiang was reported in 1943 to be 36,000 kilometers. The technique of utilization is defective in many ways. The lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salts deposited by irrigation has already been mentioned. There is a lack of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small-scale tanks, as a result of which it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste. A standard calculation, in irrigation engineering, is that a discharge of one cubic meter per second should irrigate over 6000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2530 acres.

A number of special practices in irrigation deserve description. 312 Of these the most important is the *kariz* or underground irrigation channel, which is the characteristic feature of the Turfan oasis. A *kariz* is built by starting at ground level in the area which is to be irrigated and tunneling at a slight upward incline into the fan of detritus heaped up along the foothill range where it is hoped that water will be found. The tunneling is continued until the water table is reached. From the slope under which the tunnel runs, shafts are sunk down to the tunnel for ventilation. When the underground water is brought out to the open plain, it is carried farther by an ordinary canal. The length of a kariz

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junction is far downstream from Merket. It is this change of river channels that has probably caused the present severe shortage of water in Merket, the foremost cotton-growing oasis in Sinkiang.

[8] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 22.

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312 varies from less than a mile to several miles. In addition to Turfan, there are a few *kariz* in the oases of Pichang and Guma, and some years ago they were tried, without much success, on the outer slopes of the extreme eastern Tien Shan, north of Barkul, using skilled workers from Turfan. A *kariz* may be very small: field notes show one in the Komul oasis irrigating only six and a half acres, which is close to the average for this oasis. The most recent figures show the following statistics:

	Number of *kariz*	Total acreage irrigated by *kariz*	Average irrigated acreage per *kariz*
Turfan[9]	370	28,000 acres	76 acres
Toksun	166	10,700 "	65 "
Komul[10]	495	3,700 "	7 "
TOTAL	1,031	42,400	

312 The construction of *kariz* involves a heavy capital expense.
435 Stein, some forty years ago, estimated the cost of a single long *kariz* in Turfan at over 300 pounds.[11] A long *kariz* recently constructed cost 50,000 Sinkiang dollars. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a *kariz*, and construction is therefore usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when they are successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable
[454] that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in *kariz*.[12]

[9] Ni Chao, "Report on Sinkiang's Irrigation," *Shui-li Wei-yuan-hui yueh-k'an* (monthly of the Conservation Administration), August 1945 (in Chinese).

[10] Huang Yu-hsien, "Irrigation in Hami," *Ching-chi chien-she chi-k'an* (*Quarterly Journal of Economic Reconstruction*) Vol. III, No. 1, July 1944 (in Chinese).

[11] Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 361.

[12] This capitalistic turn in the digging of *kariz* is probably a late development. It is likely that in the eighteenth century, when Turfan was ruled by the Khojas, *kariz* were built by exercising the feudal power to demand unpaid labor as an obligation to the lord.

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There is a controversy concerning the origin of the *kariz* which has a bearing on the ancient routes by which knowledge of various kinds was transmitted through Inner Asia into China and from China. Huntington asserted that the *kariz* was introduced into Sinkiang from Iran or Transcaspia, about 1780. Pelliot and Stein held almost the same view. On the other hand the eminent Chinese historian Wang Kuo-wei believes that it was first brought to Sinkiang from China after the opening up of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty. These references do not exhaust the problem, for the *kariz* principle was used by the Greeks on Samos, and by the Etruscans in Italy in the sixth century B.C. In Central Arabia it is known as *saqi*, and in Morocco as *foggara*. Subterranean irrigation canals were also built by the Incas in Peru.

Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. About 50 per cent of the water for irrigation in Komul comes from springs, as against 25 per cent each from *kariz* and rivers. In Kulja and several other large oases springs are used to irrigate rice fields, which require a very steady flow of water. In the miniature oasis of Kumish, south of Toksun, a spring with a discharge of only three cubic meters a day is the sole source of water for the irrigation of about eight acres of land. Closely related to springs are the streams which disappear in boulder fans and emerge again later in or beyond an oasis. The flow of such streams, which are called *sai*, is apt to be fluctuating; but except where they have been tapped by *kariz*, they are an important source of water which has not been fully utilized.

"Tanks" — as they are called in India — or small pits are used for the storage of drinking water in the towns of some oases, but not as reservoirs for irrigation water except in the dying oasis of Maralbashi. Most of the river water is taken off by oases lying upstream from Maralbashi, forcing the cultivators to store water when they can get it and keep it until they need to use it. Unfortunately the main reservoir has now silted up, so that unless a new one is dug the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

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312 133 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 731 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome. It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 631 423 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

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money capital, however, it is not surprising that the line at which work actually starts is still determined by the necessity for public labor, which must be assembled and directed by the exercise of public authority in some form. A typical recent example is the digging of an irrigation canal in the small oasis of Chira. As six villages were affected, three hundred men were assembled from these villages under the authority of their own village headmen. The village organization, however, can be superseded by the higher administrative authority of Chinese officials. The general rule is: local undertakings on a moderate scale are carried out within the limits of such co-operation as can be organized by village elders or headmen; enterprise on a large scale requires the intervention of a Chinese official.

At levels below the intervention of Chinese officials, traces of very ancient practices are found. Field investigation in a village in the oasis of Kucha revealed the survival of the "*ketman* of labor," a concept which combines units of labor, land, and water. The *ketman* is a broad-bladed mattock, the most ancient Inner Asian agricultural tool, which to this day is more widely used than the plow. A "*ketman* of labor" is the work of one man contributed throughout the digging of a canal, which entitles him to a "*ketman* of water," enough to irrigate from ten to fourteen acres.

In this village, however, the uniformity of the concept proved not to be reflected in uniformity of water rights. Of the total population about 8 per cent were landlords and rich peasants; but this 8 per cent owned about half of the total water supply. At the other end of the scale 17 per cent of the population had no water rights whatever, and were forced to purchase their water with a share of their crop. In between these two groups, one half of the water was owned by 75 per cent of the households. These families, classified as middle and poor peasants, had rights to an average of one third of a *ketman* of water for each household.

The shuffle which takes place between the contribution of labor and the allocation of water rights is accounted for in various ways. According to the Islamic principle of *mavat*, he who first

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setder. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

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households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691
authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
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[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
372 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

241 of a considerably varied cultivation. Samuel Chao, an authority on Northwest China, says, in fact, that her natural riches have made Sinkiang the third largest agricultural producing center of that broad region.

241 312 In the absence of figures showing increase in cultivated acreage under Sheng's administration, statements as to the improvement of native irrigation facilities are useful—for most of Sinkiang's agricultural development has for centuries been dependent on widespread use of just such irrigation. Under Sheng's first three-year plan twenty-two new irrigation conduits were opened and forty-two old ones repaired. Nine river-deepening projects, two artificial basins for watering of cattle, and the repair and deepening of the locally famous thirty-five mile Hui-yüan irrigation conduit were some of the other tasks undertaken in the same period. By 1940 it was estimated that there were 944 main irrigation canals and 2,335 branch canals in the province. One Chinese writer enthusiastically claims that the cultivable land reclaimed as a result of the improvements mentioned amounts to approximately seventy thousand acres. A more recent survey, available in November, 1942, states that more than 3,000 miles of water conduits and wells have been added to, or repaired in, the provincial irrigation system, making available more than 150,000 acres of cultivable land. While these figures leave an uncertainty about the exact amount of land that actually is under cultivation today in Sinkiang, they do point to considerable emphasis on the problem of land reclamation. The work, moreover, undoubtedly has raised the 1918 base minimum of some 500,000 acres of cultivated land considerably in the direction of —if not beyond—the possible 1918 maximum of roughly 1,000,000 acres.

241 Ha-mi, Tihwa, Sui-lai (Manas), and Sui-ting in the north and Turfan, Aqsu, Kashgar, and Khotan in the south have all been famous in one way or another for their agricultural or related produce. Tu Chung-yüan claims that agricultural products of Sinkiang are "far superior to those of the interior in body, beauty, ripeness, and size." He then continues, "If one were to plant a Ha-mi melon seed elsewhere in China, the first year's crop would bring a change in the sweetness and beauty of the fruit. By the second year the melons would be un-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[134] and it will grow into a full-sized tree; the other is its tendency to vertical rather than horizontal cleavage. The result of the first is that wherever water can be brought (the climate of the plains is almost rainless, but water from the encircling mountains is plentiful for irrigation) the land is closely cultivated, willows and poplars line every water-channel and the farmsteads are buried in foliage. The second peculiarity results in the landscape being broken up most picturesquely in the neighbourhood of the many rivers by perpendicular cliffs or river-bluffs, seldom more than thirty or forty feet high, but bold of outline and of a rich yellowish hue, with farmsteads perched on top of them and mills nestling below, trees and crops growing to their very edge and greenery in every cranny.

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The whole aspect of the better-watered parts of the oases is one of immemorial peace and contentment and of a civilization, such as it is, that has persisted unchanged for centuries. Nowhere could be found a more striking illustration of the strength and permanence of a rural population with its roots deep in the soil, especially when that soil can only be made productive by means of an elaborate system of irrigation. Politically, Kashgaria has had as stormy a history as any country in the world. During the last 2,000 years or a little more the Chinese have conquered it five times, and four times they have been evicted from it. The total period of their occupations up to date only amounts to about 425 years; during the remainder of the time Kashgaria has been the prey of one conquering people after another. Huns, Yüehchih or Indo-Scythians, Hephthalites or White Huns, Tibetans, Uigur Turks, Qara Khitai,[1] Mongols under Chingiz Khan, Dzungar Mongols and Turkis from the Transcaspian Khanates have all won and lost it in turn. Apart from these more cataclysmic changes, civil war has at various periods raged between the larger towns, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu. Yet down through the ages generation after generation of peasants have yearly tapped the summer floods from the mountains and have raised their crops of wheat and barley, rice and millet, cotton and maize and melons, while wave after wave of conquest has rolled over their head. Whenever any conqueror or tyrant has interfered overmuch with the cultivator, his greed has been his downfall. A striking recent example of this

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[1] The twelfth-century conquerors who gave their name to "Cathay." Stein, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 495.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals, and the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of semi-stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

When some of the crowd caught sight of our small party trotting quietly over the fields, to our surprise they turned and ran like rabbits; the alarm spread, and the next moment the whole crowd was scattering helter-skelter in all directions. Only a few fierce-looking dogs remained to receive us. Qari quickly realized what the matter was and informed us that we had broken up a dog-fighting meet. I sent Hafiz after the fugitives to tell them not to be frightened of us; gradually they trickled back and soon we were surrounded by a hundred or so sheepish-looking villagers, some of whom led heavily-built crop-eared dogs of the chow type. I thought at first that dog-fighting was forbidden, and that the sportsmen of Domoko had taken us for the arm of the law; but Qari assured me that this was not the case, and that the bolting of the crowd was due to nothing but pure funk. They saw five strangers riding towards them, and their instinct was to run. No wonder a handful of Chinese with a paper army keep perfect order throughout Kashgaria!

I was particularly anxious while at Keriya to obtain a view and if possible a telepanorama of the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a range belonging to the Kunlun system and extending from the south-east of Keriya 800 miles in a north-easterly direction. We were indeed vouchsafed a glimpse of the object of our desires, but a tantalizingly premature and inadequate one. In the late afternoon of the 30th November, on the road between Domoko and Qarakir Langar, we caught our breaths at the distant vision of two mighty peaks of the Mountains of Gold, both over 21,000 feet high, 65 miles away over the desert; but the next morning the fatal dust-haze which is far worse here even than at Kashgar had blotted them out, and we did not see them again.

A peculiarity of the Keriya district outside the cultivated area is the coarse grass which covers the country for hundreds of square miles. As there is practically no rainfall at all in this part of the world, these savannahs must be due to comparatively plentiful subsoil water percolating from the distant Kunlun. Chira and Gulakhma and other oases on the road to Keriya owe their existence to this water, which appears in frequent springs after an underground passage of forty or fifty miles beneath the belt of absolutely barren desert between the main road and the villages at the foot of the Kunlun.

There is an end-of-the-world feeling about Keriya which

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

for dinner I did not finally escape from Karghalik till 3 p.m. I was then faced with a 41-mile ride to Yarkand, including all the ceremonies involved in arriving at and departing from the town of Posgam as well as an hour or two's work with the Amban of that district. Attended only by Hafiz on his sturdy Kalmuck pony I called upon the black horse to rise to the occasion and galloped practically the whole way to Posgam (24 miles) in 2½ hours. At the British Subjects' tea-drinking, a mile short of Posgam, the poor old Aqsaqal and his friends had been waiting for me ever since noon, so I had to give them a good innings and hear all they had to say about their various lawsuits and other business. It was pitch-dark when I mounted again and trotted on into Posgam, and in view of this and of the gallop he had just done the black horse may perhaps be forgiven for coming down on a perfectly smooth bit of road and throwing me on my left shoulder rather heavily. The Amban, I was thankful to find, had abandoned the idea of a road-side reception hours before, and awaited me in his yamen; he was more considerate than my Manchu friend of Karghalik, and compliments, small talk, business and farewells were all successfully packed into an hour.

By seven o'clock I was again on the road, riding my other horse which had been waiting for me all day at Posgam. I had hoped to be able to trot and canter all the way into Yarkand (17 miles), but my shoulder, which had been wrenched by my fall, was somewhat painful and would not stand jogging, so I had to proceed the whole way at a walk. A hospitable British subject called Haji Turab Shah was ready for me at his house, a mile out of Posgam, with a good square meal for which I was extremely thankful. Crossing the Yarkand River a mile beyond this was strange experience. I was surprised to find that there was considerably more water than when we had forded this river early in November, and that some of the ferry-boats which had then been laid by were now again in use. I was told that this was due to the fact that in November the water of the river can still be drawn off for irrigation, and is used for flooding the fields which have been sown for next spring's crop; later, when the hard frost comes to the plains, the sluices of the canals become blocked with ice and it is no longer possible to draw off the waters of the river. I was escorted by the Aqsaqal of Posgam and two of his men, one of my own orderlies, and four of the Amban of Posgam's runners, who dangled at the end of poles monstrous

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly
609 impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus
[651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1¼*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

• [312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next
487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above 778
the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312] •
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders)
S responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[233] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally
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433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur S [464] kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
465 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

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/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] S 563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S N 744 E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. When each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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[312]

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

241 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second
312 should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense.
312 Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single
471 long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to
454 find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz, and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of
241 water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is
312 determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the
241 oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

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485 mud floor was transformed into a series of mud pits so treacherously slippery that we had to move about with the greatest care. During a fine spell between two storms the Commanding Officer appeared at our door to return our call. We were not sorry that he should see our plight, but his only comment was: 'This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose that in England your hotels are all better than this?'

486 712 Though we suffered so much discomfort from the rain, we were secretly rejoicing, because news was brought to us that a number of young men had escaped that night, and thanks to the rain had not yet been recaptured. [312] Hsinghsinghsia has the only spring of water in an immense area, and the patrols found it sufficient to watch the next springs on either side in order to take deserters. As the hunted man crept stealthily to the water's edge to slake his thirst under cover of darkness, the mounted soldiers seized him, bound him and drove him back to the camp, where many had died from the severity of the flogging received. After the rains, however, little pools of water collected in the hollows of the granite rocks, and thus enabled the fugitives to leave the main road and so reach freedom. Many deaths had occurred through pedestrians, or mounted travellers, trying to cross the frontier without passing the camp. One day six riderless mules were captured, the men having, doubtless, died of thirst in the sands.

000 It was very touching to see the delight with which groups of these poor men would gather around us and talk for long hours. We had travelled so much in North China that we knew the localities from which several of them had come. Some from Shansi found that we actually knew the very villages where their parents lived, and in some cases we had even visited the homes of relatives. One youth was the son of the

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these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard, which had never left us all through our travels, had so accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic, so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were the only travellers on that road who would dare to take such a journey without observing this ritual, and such an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of our carters, who two months previously would have been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt. The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1 [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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494 moreover, told badly on our cart-wheels, and one of the spokes had cracked; all the same we pushed on, resuming the night stages. The hour of departure was fixed for 6 p.m., so the whole party ate a meal at 4 p.m., after which the care of the animals, packing the carts and settling the inn account kept us busy until we left.

000 As soon as we were clear of the village, according to our habit, we enjoyed a time of reading aloud, the smooth, sandy roads keeping the cart so steady that without undue fatigue to the eyes we were easily able to do so. As daylight faded, however, we dismounted for our evening walk, which generally continued until darkness fell, for we had not our carters' gift of seeing by night. At this time of the year there were only about seven hours of darkness, yet always at sunset the icy chill seemed to rise from the surface of the sand, when everyone at once put on an extra garment. Then silence fell on the party, and the only sound heard was the rhythmic clang of the great camel bell which swung from the axle of our big cart. The crescent moon rose and set; we watched the great stars move slowly across the sky; on the horizon magnetic fires rose and fell, and when the driver touched the mules with his whip a flash of light appeared. The space, the silence, the darkness, the loneliness all produced a state of consciousness when the accepted values of life seemed readjusted, being found to be curiously different from those accepted by day in the busy throng. Day uttereth speech, but night showeth knowledge; and we have remained wiser women for the meditations of those Gobi nights.

494 312 Our carters had frequently made reference to a stage of unusual difficulty and length still lying ahead, and at Kushui—'The Spring of Bitter Water'

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—we found that we had reached it, and that 46 English miles still divided us from Kotzyentun— —'The Dove Tower'—which was the next oasis. We now occasionally met a convoy taking supplies to the troops, and at the 'Spring of Bitter Water' our carters were delighted to find a string of carts returning to Hami, whose drivers proposed to travel with us. So all started in good time together for the record march and made good progress until 1 a.m., when, without warning, two sections of the wheel rim detached themselves and fell to the ground. The situation would have been hopeless had it not been for our fellow-travellers, but now in the space of half an hour the Chinese evangelist came to an arrangement with one of the carters to transfer us and our baggage to his cart, the remainder of the party staying behind to patch up the wheel and to drag the empty vehicle somehow to the end of the appointed stage.

Meanwhile we jolted along, but before we reached 'The Dove Tower' the sun was high and the scorching heat was almost intolerable, for there was no cover and we were wholly unprotected from its rays. All the same on we jolted, sitting upon some mysterious boxes, which were the cargo of our new conveyance; but before long the aroma with which we seemed to be surrounded caused us to enquire what merchandise was being conveyed over this desert road. 'Dead mules,' was the answer. 'Two of mine have just died, so I have packed them into those boxes to sell for meat further down the road.' The end of the incident was, that we bought the meat, and promptly abandoned it!

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door the darkness is almost complete. Experience in travel, however, enables one to appreciate the fact that in this dark hole: 1. The rays of the sun being excluded, the traveller (whose only rest is taken by day) has a good chance of sleep; 2. The heat does not easily penetrate this earthen dwelling; 3. The darkness is so distasteful to flies that once the room is shut up they voluntarily leave by the hole in the roof; 4. The Gobi wind and swirling sand are as effectively excluded as possible; 5. The tired traveller may sleep as soundly as he pleases, there being no aperture through which a stealthy hand can introduce itself and abstract his goods while he slumbers.

We had been in bed for about three hours when we heard the sound of the derelict cart approaching the inn. It was quite unmistakable owing to the thud given each time when the injured portion of the wheel met the ground. There were a few deep groans from the driver; a brief conversation with the innkeeper; and then, silence while the exhausted men slept.

In the afternoon a council of war was held, and the Turki driver of our rescued conveyance was induced, for a moderate sum of money, to fill up his empty cart with the heavy luggage, which he undertook to deliver in Hami. There was no blacksmith nor wheelwright in the village, but a venerable Turki volunteered his amateur services, and by means of a length of rope, a few nails and the skilful use of an adze, before nightfall the wheel was so far repaired, that by letting the cart go empty we hoped to bring it in safety to Hami.

Our next night of travel brought us to the well-named oasis of Changliushui—'The Inexhaustible Spring.' As we approached by moonlight we suddenly caught sight of a tree, the first we had seen since leaving

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained:
312 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier for the normal conditions of travel and business to
312 obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
563 dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

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133 The next dawn found us at a beautiful spot called
312 Yatzchüan—'The Duck Pond.' It held a 'living spring,' that is to say, one in which the water is in constant motion, welling up from the sandy bed, sometimes with such force as to set the whole pond in ebullition. Every few minutes the depths were strongly disturbed, and a trembling column of sand would rise to the surface and then break in large bubbles. The oases through which we were passing were fed by the same water supply as that which irrigated the fields of Hami. It has been pointed out that the traveller must not allow himself to be deceived by the long, continuous blue line, indicating the flow of imaginary rivers connecting the ranges of the Barkul mountains and Karlik Tagh with visionary lakes. As a matter of fact, the water from the melted snows is lost in the gravel soil at the foot of these ranges, but reappears many miles away in such living springs as that by which we rested, or in a saline well in some depression of the desert. The Khan of Hami owns a house at this place, in which he stays when travelling on official business, and the caretaker allowed us the use of his rooms. They were clean and comfortable, but as bare as an inn. Near the front gate was his private mosque, decorated with a picture of Mecca. These buildings were throughout of mud, but the outer walls were yellow-washed, with a view of giving to the whole an imperial aspect.

133 On leaving the 'Duck Pond' we drove for twelve hours on a long, arid, stony, uphill stage, and shortly
[185] after sunrise arrived at an isolated inn. For several days each stage had brought us nearer to the foothills of the Barkul Range, and here we were so close that only three days' journey north-east divided us from the
133 town and lake of Barkul, both of which lie on the other
136 side of the Range. In these mountains are herds of wild

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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

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When we were about one mile from the gate of Kucheng, 494
a yell was heard, and our men hastily drew up, saying, '*Kwai che lai liao*'—the Express is coming! and in a swirl of dust, and with a wild jingle of many harness bells, three long-limbed, bony horses galloped madly past under the lash of the driver, who, having just caught sight of the town entrance, was bringing his team through the city gate and up the main street at a pace calculated to impress the populace! It was then that we saw the body of the cart was simply made of long poles lashed together, on which two passengers, clinging to the framework, were being hurled from side to side by the violence of the jolting. One glance at the 'Express' quickly satisfied us that such a mode of travel, while excellent for postal parcels, would be hideous torture to ordinary human beings if nerves formed any part of their anatomy, while some might scarcely survive the fifty-four hours of this frenzied mode of dispatch.

From Kucheng onwards it was no longer necessary to 484
make night stages. Hot as it was, the animals stood it 312
well, as each midday brought us to a wayside foodshop, where we were able to get something for ourselves and water for the mules, and the nights were now spent in towns of some importance. The direction of the road was south-west, as we had reached our most northerly point at Kucheng, and we were now following the line of the Tian Shan towards the dip which marks the position of Urumchi. The highest peak of this part of 133
the Tian Shan was now coming into sight, the great Bogdo-ola—'The Mount of God'—which rises twenty thousand feet, and is seen from a great distance. This summit, with its surrounding peaks, is of a grand and rugged shape, and lends distinction to the country which would be insignificant were it not for this arresting

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CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'

[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

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000 other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accom-
291 panied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

364 Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were [312] never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses
536 of the Chinese population is distinctly different from
636 that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accom-
636 plished in Shansi. The policy of this strong auto-
cratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people
20 from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a 133 village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for 491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

• [312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a 579 region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the 167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

4. Forestry

S 311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

175
242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

According to recent field-survey figures, which make possible rough estimates rather than accurate statistical tabulation, the annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds. Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent.

In subsidiary production, melons are grown in all oases. Dried melon rind is exported by caravan from Komul to China, as a delicacy, and the raisins of Turfan rival the melons of Komul in reputation. In gorges in the hills at the edge of Turfan, and also of Khotan, the growing of grapes is a local specialty.

The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis.

Some peculiarities of Sinkiang agriculture are that winter wheat is grown north of the Tien Shan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by a cover of snow, but only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tien Shan, where lack of a snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields which are becoming alkalinized by irrigation. On the other hand the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

APPENDIX VII Oil in Sinkiang

315 It has long been known that there are sources of oil in Sinkiang. Seepage oil, thinned out with vegetable oil, was traditionally used for lighting. The crude oil was also used for axle grease.

Deposits are known to lie along the Tien Shan, both north and south of the main range. More recently, oil has been struck in the extreme south of Sinkiang, at the edge of the Tibetan plateau.

East of Sinkiang, there is oil in the western "panhandle" of Kansu; still farther east, oil has been worked on a small scale in northern Shensi province, near the wartime Communist capital of Yenan. It does not appear to be known whether any or all of these deposits, which are the only known deposits in Chinese territory, are geologically related to the oil fields of the Caspian region, in Soviet territory, or to those of Iran in the Middle East.

135 315 In 1948, the Chinese National Resources Commission (NRC) confirmed press reports of the discovery of oil on the Sinkiang-Ch'inghai border, near the newly constructed highway connecting those two provinces. Mr. C. H. Wu, Secretary General of the NRC, stated that the field is located at Timurlik, near the border of the Tsaidam Basin, which forms the lowest part of the Tibetan plateau, between 80 and 92 degrees longitude and 36 and 40 degrees latitude. It was discovered by the exploration department of the Kansu-Ch'inghai branch of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation, an NRC subsidiary. According to Dr. Wu, a cursory survey reveals more than twenty horizons of oil sand in this field, the thickest horizon being three meters deep. All horizons occur in the Red Bed of the Tertiary Age.

Among the previously known fields, one near Urumchi has been

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

worked at times in the past when oil could not be obtained from Russia. This field is known to be of the Jurassic Age. 315

A small field, known as Jushantze, is located twenty kilometers southeast of Wusu, about halfway along the main trade route between Urumchi and Kulja. The wells, which are known to be shallow, produce a paraffin-base oil under natural pressure. There is no recent information on production. 135

When the Russians withdrew from Sinkiang in 1942 they capped and turned over to the provincial authorities 25 wells which had been producing 49–52 gravity oil at a depth of 4800 feet. It appears probable that these wells were in the Jushantze field. Although the Russians were quoted as stating that they would return at a later date to work the field again, they took most of the oil-field machinery with them when they withdrew. 315

(Sources: Information from Chinese National Resources Commission, supplied by United States Department of Commerce; see also Huang Chi-ch'ing, *Report on Geological Investigation of Some Oil-Fields in Sinkiang*, by T. K. Huang and others. Nanking, National Geological Survey of China, 1947; No. 21 of Series A of *Memoirs* of Geological Survey of China. Text in English.) 315 113

alone, resources are available in such an abundance as can furnish the 135
foundation for a thriving industrialization.

Iron, coal, copper and gold have been found near Sui-ting (I-li). 135
Henceforth this important center on the Soviet-Chinese border may 316
take its prosperous tea and fur trade for granted and brag, instead, of blazing furnaces. T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), a frontier locality on the road from the Turksib Railway and probably the only city to have boomed more than Sui-ting, is already boasting of the iron vein one hundred and thirty miles long which runs right through the town, and of the Black Oil Mountain nearby. The oil appears abundantly in the form of springs and is especially black and thick. It is probably a tar, for it gets hard and has been used in the laying out and paving of the new provincial highways. There is coal too, not far away. But miners are nothing new for T'a Ch'eng; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were thousands of them prospecting in the fifty square miles or so of gold mines roundabout, or so the old people say.

Tihwa (Urumchi), the provincial capital, with a population judged 135
at around 100,000, dominates both the North and South Roads: hence its 361
military and political importance. Nowadays, not to be outdone, it has also been showing great industrial promise. Most of its houses are heated with oil or coal produced in the vicinity. One visitor to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's headquarters saw a piece of coal so huge that it took two men to carry it.

Farther south, Kashgar (Su-fu), largest oasis in Sinkiang and hub of 361
both transport and political interests from the neighboring lands of 315
Northwest India, Afghanistan, and Soviet Turkestan, is also blessed 648
with natural resources. Kashgar oil, though often merely "scooped out" by primitive means, has long provided the city with gasoline, kerosene, machine oil, and grease. Even Ma Titai, old-school Commander-in-Chief of the Kashgar district at the close of World War I, guessed at the worth of the oil in his domain. He put most of his personal army to the task of tapping wells for him, and almost negotiated a deal with Soviet Russians of Ferghana for modern machinery. The Russians had said they would supply the machinery and would personally see to its being escorted to Kashgar, when Ma's plans hit a snag. His ambitions

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

232 The administration of the New Sinkiang has taken significant steps to assist the peasants in the solving of their agricultural and animal husbandry problems. Field stations have been set up in every county with, among other services, eight veterinary hospitals and one veterinary school. There are province-wide facilities by which farmers may rent farm machinery otherwise unavailable. Experimental irrigation stations, forestry offices, and weather bureaus have all been established under Sheng's administration. These are epoch-making innovations for this once relatively isolated "desert" area.

Mineral Resources

135 Chinese reports have long testified to the rich mineral potential of Sinkiang Province, but the Occident has only recently attempted systematic study of that testimony. Now it is learned that numerous oil fields have been put into operation in Sinkiang. "Prosperous," though primitive, iron foundries have existed since the time of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), and now the Sinkiang iron veins are being rapidly opened. Excellent coal is found near Tihwa, Kashgar, and Yangi Hissar. The gold fields of the Altai Mountains are among the richest in Asia; and good-quality copper ore is being extracted from a number of deposits. Almost virgin mineral riches lie in the soil of Sinkiang, and serious attempts have recently been made to bring them into full utility.

Petroleum. A so-called "Ferghana Series" of oil-bearing strata runs into Kashgaria from Russian Turkestan and extends along the foot of the T'ien Shan past Aqsu to Kucha (K'u-ch'e). What may be an extension of this same series reappears again in the region of the Sinkiang North Road. The extent to which this series now is being utilized is indicated by the next table which names some of the fields of the province.

315 Samuel Chao gives a figure of 85,000 catties as the annual production of Sinkiang mineral oil. But in the past there has only been fractional utilization of the provincial oil potential; there has not, moreover, been sufficient public information on the more recent developments, which have no doubt shot the figure considerably higher.

315

PETROLEUM FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Unnamed	4 mi. long & 2 mi. wide; daily yield, 100 catties for 1 well
Kucha	K'o-la-ya-lun	Over 100 catties daily
Manas (Sui-lai)	Lake An-chi Hai	Largest field in Western China; quality oil comparable to Baku product
	Ch'ia-tzu Wan	4 gushers; output, 20-30 catties daily
	Shih-yü Yen	Output, about 50 catties daily
	T'ung-ku Po	9 wells; output, over 200 catties daily
	Po-lo-t'ung-ko	Operations suspended; former yield, 70 catties daily
So-ch'e	Shang-wo-p'u	70-80 catties daily
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak) ..	Black Oil Mt.	9 oil springs; possibly a tar; daily yield of greatest spring, 200 catties
Tihwa	Ssu-pen Kou	7 oil fields in Tihwa, 3 abandoned; Ssu-pen Kou & Su-ta-chang, outstanding
	Su-ta-chang	See above
Wen-hsü	T'a-na-k'o	"Hundreds" of catties "regularly"
	Ma-li-li-k'o Shan	
Wu-su	Tu-tzu Shan	4 fields in Wu-su; 32 oil springs, 15 operating at Tu-tzu Shan

316

Iron. Sinkiang iron is distributed both in the north and south. The vein which runs through T'a Ch'eng is really the largest in the province, though that of Khara Balgasun Mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to Chinese. Prime difficulties with iron mining in Sinkiang have been its seasonal or market fluctuations and, as with so-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his
601 command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product
[315] of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kash-
[382] gar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

704 Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells N [315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil [489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation [497] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent N 316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S N Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology 315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are [654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in 316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

S
135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

N
S
135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook
N appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.
[131] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

N
S
1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones
N of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
S tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from
[439] America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the YU-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

N 315 new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been consid-
S [315] erably increased in the last two years. At a conference on pet-
N 315 roleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the
648 development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been
177 working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of
N the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations ex-
[133] tend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have
N been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts
[433] to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more pro-
S 315 mising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foot-
[648] hills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its
[433] current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China
S with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West
[315] Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N
315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansu province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.) [1]

S
315 Oil Development in Sinkiang:
[135] To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40), near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-tan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
S [133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1, [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to [433] thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chin- [433] ese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.) 1

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest 654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures,

1, [See p. 129--Analyst]

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433
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TABLE
III. Distribution of Oil Wells in Sinkiang.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Ssu-cha-kou, k5 km W of Urumchi	1934	shallow	small	13, 51 x 87.16
Ching-shih-hsia (Kaiavusun) or Hsi-ho) 95 km SE of Tarbagatai	Not available	seepages	fair	46.04 x 83.34
Tu-shan-tzu, 25 km SE of Wu-su	1934-42	2,275	From few hundred bbls (1942) to 1000 bbls in 1946; now 10-30 tons a day.	44.18 x 84.54
Hung-tung-shan (Kolayalun)	Not available	seepages	50 tons a day from 6 uncapped wells (1944)	42.06 x 82.47
Nan-shan, 40 km. W of Shu-fu, to the W of Kashgar	Not Available	seepages	small	29.32 x 75.31
Taklak, along Kunalik Range 50 km NE of Wen-su	Not Available	seepages	small	41.40 x 80.12
Hung-kou and An-chiu, SE of Wu-kia (Urukhe-kiati)	Not Available	seepages	2-3 gal/day(1949)	38.04 x 74.50

464 466 697 499 668 177 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion, i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments, led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took [648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 466 697 668 177 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 466 315 697 668 177 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000

464 465 315 697 668 199 648 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.

After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 464 697 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo) of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because

S 668 433 [288] [315] Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

alone, resources are available in such an abundance as can furnish the 135
foundation for a thriving industrialization.

Iron, coal, copper and gold have been found near Sui-ting (I-li). 135
Henceforth this important center on the Soviet-Chinese border may 316
take its prosperous tea and fur trade for granted and brag, instead, of blazing furnaces. T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), a frontier locality on the road from the Turksib Railway and probably the only city to have boomed more than Sui-ting, is already boasting of the iron vein one hundred and thirty miles long which runs right through the town, and of the Black Oil Mountain nearby. The oil appears abundantly in the form of springs and is especially black and thick. It is probably a tar, for it gets hard and has been used in the laying out and paving of the new provincial highways. There is coal too, not far away. But miners are nothing new for T'a Ch'eng; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were thousands of them prospecting in the fifty square miles or so of gold mines roundabout, or so the old people say.

Tihwa (Urumchi), the provincial capital, with a population judged 135
at around 100,000, dominates both the North and South Roads: hence its 361
military and political importance. Nowadays, not to be outdone, it has also been showing great industrial promise. Most of its houses are heated with oil or coal produced in the vicinity. One visitor to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's headquarters saw a piece of coal so huge that it took two men to carry it.

Farther south, Kashgar (Su-fu), largest oasis in Sinkiang and hub of 361
both transport and political interests from the neighboring lands of 315
Northwest India, Afghanistan, and Soviet Turkestan, is also blessed 648
with natural resources. Kashgar oil, though often merely "scooped out" by primitive means, has long provided the city with gasoline, kerosene, machine oil, and grease. Even Ma Titai, old-school Commander-in-Chief of the Kashgar district at the close of World War I, guessed at the worth of the oil in his domain. He put most of his personal army to the task of tapping wells for him, and almost negotiated a deal with Soviet Russians of Ferghana for modern machinery. The Russians had said they would supply the machinery and would personally see to its being escorted to Kashgar, when Ma's plans hit a snag. His ambitions

315

PETROLEUM FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Unnamed	4 mi. long & 2 mi. wide; daily yield, 100 catties for 1 well
Kucha	K'o-la-ya-lun	Over 100 catties daily
Manas (Sui-lai)	Lake An-chi Hai	Largest field in Western China; quality oil comparable to Baku product
	Ch'ia-tzu Wan	4 gushers; output, 20-30 catties daily
	Shih-yü Yen	Output, about 50 catties daily
	T'ung-ku Po	9 wells; output, over 200 catties daily
	Po-lo-t'ung-ko	Operations suspended; former yield, 70 catties daily
So-ch'e	Shang-wo-p'u	70-80 catties daily
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak) ..	Black Oil Mt.	9 oil springs; possibly a tar; daily yield of greatest spring, 200 catties
Tihwa	Ssu-pen Kou	7 oil fields in Tihwa, 3 abandoned; Ssu-pen Kou & Su-ta-chang, outstanding
	Su-ta-chang	See above
Wen-hsü	T'a-na-k'o	"Hundreds" of catties "regularly"
	Ma-li-li-k'o Shan	
Wu-su	Tu-tzu Shan	4 fields in Wu-su; 32 oil springs, 15 operating at Tu-tzu Shan

Iron. Sinkiang iron is distributed both in the north and south. The 316
vein which runs through T'a Ch'eng is really the largest in the province, though that of Khara Balgasun Mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to Chinese. Prime difficulties with iron mining in Sinkiang have been its seasonal or market fluctuations and, as with so

316 many other resources of the province, the failure to apply scientific mining and production processes. Progress has, nevertheless, been made in uncovering many important deposits. Some of them are named below:

IRON DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Aqsu	K'o-kan-ch'ia	2 deposits | Not highest quality
	T'ieh-pen-erh-k'o-la-pa-la-k'o	2 deposits
Ch'ang-chi	Meng-k'o-t'u Ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi Kou	7 furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (I-li)	So-erh-ko Ling	
Pai Ch'eng	Ming-pu-la-k'o Mt.	
	T'a-erh-ch'i Mt.	Mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	Ya-se-la-min Mt.	
	Neng-li-ha-t'a Mt.	
	K'o-shih-k'o-k'o-pa-shih Mt.	
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	K'o-la-t'a-fu-pan to Ch'i-erh Shan	Vein, 130 miles long; largest in province
T'a-pan Ch'eng	Unnamed	
Yangi Hissar	I-ko-jih-ya-yen Mt.	
	A-ha-mai-ti Mt.	

Coal. Samuel Chao asserts that Sinkiang has an annual coal production of about 100,000 tons, while 6,000,000 tons has been the old conservative estimate for what may be a much greater Sinkiang coal reserve. The latter is scattered mainly along the Altai, T'ien Shan, and K'un-lun Ranges. A table of Sinkiang coal deposits which have recently come into prominence is given on the following page.

Gold. Gold resources, too, have long made Sinkiang famous among Chinese; and there is reason. The Altai ("Gold") Mountain deposits of North Sinkiang have proved their value, and other deposits have been found, particularly in the foothills of South Sinkiang. The work

316

COAL DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Barkol (Chen-hsi)	San-t'ang Hu Hsiao Liu Kou Kuan-t'an-yao	Bituminous
Ch'ang-chi	Ch'a-han-wu-su T'ou-t'un Ho	
Fou-k'ang	Big Yellow Mt. Little Yellow Mt.	Coal only 10 ft. underground
Fu-yüan	Unnamed	
Ha-mi (Qomul)	San-tao Mts.	Strata over 35 mi. long with coal sometimes 20-30 ft. underground
Sui-ting (I-li)	Hui-yüan	"Coal caves"; "sizeable output"
Karashahr (Yen-ch'i)	Ha-man Kou	Useful for iron smelting
Kashgar (Su-fu)	K'an-chi-kang	2,000-3,000 ton annual yield; smelts iron
Kucha	Su-pa-yi	"Fine" coal
Pai Ch'eng	K'o-p'ing T'i-li-ko Shan T'a-la-k'o Ya-hsiang-pa	
Shan-shan	Ko-ko-ya Mt.	"Extensive" deposits; 5 mines now in operation
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	K'u-k'o-ts'ang Mt.	Anthracite; in Tarbagatai Range
Tihwa	Shui-mo Kou T'ou-t'un Ch'ang Ts'ang-huang Kou	S. Chao says Tihwa coal is "best" in province
Turfan	Unnamed	East & West of city; 300-400 workers seasonally
Yangi Hissar	Sa-pa-t'i-k'o	Useful for iron smelting

of excavation in the Altai has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 thousands of miners were said to be operating in the district, though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia.

316 Interesting is the claim that a two and a half pound gold nugget once was mined from the Altai Hou Kou field. The richest of the South Sinkiang gold deposits are in the vicinity of Cherchen and Keriya. Local villagers have contracted for extraction of ore from these deposits, and each year over 3,500 taels are said to be paid for the mining privileges. These are the best known gold fields of the New Sinkiang:

GOLD FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
A Shan (Altai)	Tung Kou	
	Hsi Kou	
	Ch'ien Kou	
	Hou Kou	
	Chung Kou	
	Ha-hsiung Kou	
	Pan-tang Kou	2½ lb. nugget mined; "Highest" qual.
Barkol (Chen-hsi)	Hsiao Liu Kou	
Cherchen (Ch'ieh-mo)	Unnamed	
Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu)	Unnamed	
Sui-ting (I-li)	Ch'iao-li-k'o R.	
Keriya (Yü-t'ien)	A-ha-t'a-k'o Shan	
	Ch'ia-pa Shan	
	Tsao-li-ya-k'o	
	Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung (?Sui-ting or I-li?)	Unnamed	
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	Ha-t'u Shan	Placer. Between T'a-erh-ta-mu-t'u and Su-erh-t'u Rivers
Tihwa	Unnamed	

[454] According to rumor, gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden away; many of these are individually of unimportant amount, but the sum total is supposed to be large, and some of the caches are said to be "several thousands of taels." One can understand, therefore, why the Sinkiang gold reserve and annual production have been enthusiastically estimated at 31,300,000

and 50,000 ounces respectively. With all due allowance for exaggeration, there seems little question that if the gold latent in this province can be brought forth into the public markets many of China's, let alone Sinkiang's, financial worries will be eradicated. 316

Copper and other minerals. There are also considerable finds of copper, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrate, and common salt in Sinkiang. Of these the 40 per cent pure copper ore that has been extracted from one of two great mines near Kashgar, and the copper deposits at K'ang-shan, Pai Ch'eng, Kucha, Tihwa, I-ning, and Sui-ting are notable. These are some of the recently publicized workings of the province:

COPPER DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Sui-ting (I-li)	Wu-ts'ung-tao Shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-t'u Shan	
K'ang-shan	Unnamed	
Karashahr	K'u-erh-tai Shan	
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Wu-lan-wu-su R.	20% pure ore
	Su-hun Shan	40% pure ore
Kucha	New Copper Works	
	Old Copper Works	
	Su-pa-shih Copper Works	
Pai Ch'eng	Ho-se-erh Copper Works	
	K'o-t'a Copper Works	
	Kung Po Copper Works	
	Upper Copper Works	
	Lower Copper Works	
T'a-pan Ch'eng	San-chio Shan	
Tihwa	Chai-o-pao	

Industry

Though possibly microscopic in American eyes, the "industries" of Sinkiang deserve, and have been receiving, encouragement. The province has long been known for her handicraft talents in rug-making and silk-weaving, and recently primitive establishments of older days like those for wool-washing and leather-tanning have been improved 471

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Tügene Tar or "Camel's Gorge," so called I suppose because only the long-legged camel is happy in it. In this gorge we had to cross the river nine times, and each time it was more unpleasant doing it on horseback than the last. D.'s old bay horse is splendid in water, as he is well-bred and a high-stepper and so keeps his feet well; but my black is a stumbler on dry land, as I know to my cost, and in the deeper parts of the current he lurches all over the place. Several times he lost his footing and I found myself up to the waist in the cold Qaratash. Luckily the bottom is good at most of the fords and none of the horses were swept down-stream; most Kashgar horses indeed are adepts at crossing rivers, thanks to the practice they get.

A fortnight ago, the Beg says, we could not have got up even as far as this with horses. I asked him how the Kirghiz get through these gorges in summer when the water is too high even for camels; he said that they go on foot, and pointed up to what looked like half a dozen matches spilt over the cliff-face far above us. This, he explained, was a Kirghiz summer "road," *i.e.* thin tree-trunks laid along from ledge to ledge of the precipice, a most terrifying affair.

Just before entering the gorge we came upon chikor (red-legged partridge), and I got two or three, much to the housekeeper's delight. On the opposite side of the river we at last saw signs of present human occupation, the smoke of a camp-fire; I was told that there was a coal-mine there[1] which is worked by the Chinese military authorities with local labour. The "mine" appears to be a tiny affair, a mere surface working employing a dozen men or so.

It was six o'clock before we came to a possible camping place here at Bash Kupruk and we were thankful for the partial shelter of a thicket of tamarisk and willow in which to pitch our tents. There is a deserted Kirghiz hut, too, for the men. An icy night-wind sweeps down the gorge, which they say is even narrower and more difficult ahead, so as there is plenty of firewood and grazing for the camels I have decided to halt here for a day or two and give the animals a rest. We are 7,000 feet up here according to my aneroid, and the cold dry autumn weather has evidently set in; even at Saman this morning, at 6,000 feet, our sponges were frozen hard. However, dry cold is better than either rain or the thick, hazy summer atmosphere, and there are welcome signs that the air is clearing of dust-haze; this morning when we got up we were delighted with the sight from our tents of a magnificent snow-peak rising dimly but grandly above the river-valley straight in front of us. We soon lost sight of it behind nearer heights as we marched on, but there it is, quite close to us. Can it be one of the Shiwakte peaks?

Bash Kupruk, 16th October.

The mountains here are mostly unclimbable except for a properly-equipped Alpine climbing party, but this morning I noticed, about a mile up-river, a spur coming down from the west which seemed comparatively easy. Stein in his traverse of the Qaratash gorge marks here a side-valley called the Kaying Jilgha, which goes right up into the blank patch to the east of Qungur. I accordingly took Hafiz and a Kirghiz guide whom the Beg has managed to collect from somewhere and set up my plane-table first at the mouth of the

1 [At Bash Kupruk — Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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the appalling conditions under which the gold-miners work in the Zailik valley, 13,500 feet up among the peaks to the south-west of Polu; the well-known mines of Surghak and Chizghan, 60–85 miles E.S.E. of Keriya, employ 2,000 labourers even under the Chinese system. Gold is continually being found in new places between Chizghan and Tunhwang in Kansu province, 700 miles eastward. I heard at Keriya of three new mines, all rich, to which there had been miniature "gold-rushes" during the previous two or three years. All the mines between Polu and Cherchen are under the control of the Amban of Keriya, who farms them out to a Beg for a fixed annual weight of gold-dust to be delivered to the Chinese at the fixed rate of 25 taels per tael weight, about five-sevenths of the average market price at Khotan. The Beg is not supposed to extract more than that amount from the mines, but of course he does. He finds, pays and feeds his own miners, whose numbers are augmented at Surghak by numerous convicts. The Chinese do not allow the local people to wash for gold except for the Beg, and as his total output is limited by contract he does not often give the inhabitants of a village like Polu leave to wash for him. As a special favour we were given a demonstration of the primitive methods used. Three boys crawled into a hole in the conglomerate bank of the Polu stream and passed out tray after tray of blueish gravelly earth; a fourth washed it in a wooden pan shaped like a very shallow cone with a slit in it. From each trayful the boy got from two to seven tiny grains of gold, some red, some yellow; in a quarter of an hour he had washed out a quantity which he told us was worth a tenga (*2d.*) at the Beg's rates. In a day's work, he told us, he would get anything from one-tenth of a tael to 10 taels worth (*3d.*–£1 *7s.*).

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The men of Polu are exceptionally friendly and hospitable to Europeans, a fact noticed by Deasy, Stein and the few other travellers who have come this way. The villagers still remember Deasy, though his visit took place as long ago as 1897. The stable in which his ponies were kept is pointed out with pride, also the room in which stayed the Chinese *ssu-yeh* or secretary who was sent by the Amban of Keriya to watch Deasy and prevent him at all costs from finding the secret path over the Kunlun.[1] One of the *bais* or chief men, Tokhta Khalfa, told me with pride that it was his father, Rahim Khalfa, who really helped Deasy to cross the mountains.

[1] Deasy, "In Tibet and Chinese Turkistan," p. 308.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells N [315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil [489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation [499] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent N 316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S N 315 Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology [654] Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in 316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

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135 region, even excluding Shansi, ranks high and accounts for about half the coal deposits of all China. The known coal
S reserve of Shensi amounts to over 72,950 million tons and
[135] that of Sinkiang is over 35,000 million, about half that of Shensi. Most of the coal deposits of the Northwest are of good quality and have been exploited very little. Thus they provide sufficient fuel for industrial development for a considerable length of time.

N Some New Coal Discoveries:

316 Some new discoveries of coal deposits have been reported. In addition to the previously mentioned, newly discovered big coal field in west Kansu, which is estimated to have a reserve four times that of A-kan-chen colliery, one of the major coal mines in Kansu, new coal deposits are found in the vicinity of Ching-tai in north Kansu in 1954. Large scale and detailed prospecting is now under way. Also, many prospecting teams are searching for mineral deposits in the Chiu-chuan (Su-chou) district of northwest Kansu and in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai province. (FBIS, Daily Report, No. 102, 1955). Mining machinery and other equipment are now being sent from Sian, the capital of Shensi, to the site of the deposits. Drilling teams arrived and have been working since early May, 1955; it is said when put into operation, the new coal field will supply Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, and Kansu-Sinkiang Railway and the Paotow-Lanchow Railway lines, both of which are now under rapid construction. (NCNA April 24, 1955). Deposits of good quality coal have also been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin, Chinghai, where oil is being prospected. The coal deposits consist of seven seams totalling some twenty-five meters in thickness. They are suitable for open-cut working (NCNA, June 19, 1955).

S In Sinkiang, coal deposits are widely distributed. They are
135 found in the vicinity of Aksu, Kucha, Kurin, Turfan, Urumchi, along both shores of the Ili river, and in the north of Chuguchak. In addition to the above-mentioned places, high quality coal deposits are located along the northern slope of the Tien-shan mountains in Wu-su district. The Sinkiang coal belongs to Jurassic formation. The deposits are of exceptional good quality with thick seams. Most are bituminous and some may be good for coking industrial uses.

Sinkiang's coal deposits were estimated at over 35,000 million metric tons in 1955 (32,000 million in 1950), fourteen percent of China's total. The richest coal beds in the province are those of the Ili valley and near Urumchi. There are good anthracite beds in both places. Similar beds are also found
S near Aksu, Kucha, Yenchi and Hissar. Geological teams were
316 sent in early 1955 to investigate the two large coal fields in

S 316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

N 316 Coal Mining and Its Production:

While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a xixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal by mule collie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

N [655]

N [466]

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

S 316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome. Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the S [377] Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants S [377] in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N 377 653 According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lüeh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, N 316 where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The total annual production is less than 2,000 tons.

[433] In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and N [433] Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The S 316 iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. S 327 Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is [398] producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [392] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N S 135 With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found useful. (See Tables V and VI.)[1]

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chü-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter

1, [See p. 131--Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold,
S platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively
316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of
[508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet
S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining
[491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B. cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S a. Copper:

N Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and
135 Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality. It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the
S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near
N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent
316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.)[1]

S b. Gold and Platinum:

135 Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread, stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains
S too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan,
316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1. [See p. 132-- Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined.
Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River,
S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot-
[433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik:
ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine
is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in
Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both
primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is
obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting
the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said
to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai
mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000
miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942
S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district
though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to
Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a
two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-
mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of
southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sin-
kiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden
N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning
and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province.
(See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in
Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam
Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content
S [316] in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very
primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih,
Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the
deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is
very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is
much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha
near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some
other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is
extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in
Sinkiang.

N 135 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China
are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily
rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide
the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia
province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.
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Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it
316 is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

N
135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve
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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S
316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,
N
Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku
135 area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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N
A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu
131 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang
161 Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

N S 316 135 433 635
S 316 135 327

TABLE IV. China's Northwest: Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman: Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang A11

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*

(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":

697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
199 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this
S
[316] area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

S
464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
199 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
668 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
175 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
315 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the
473 Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
175 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early
288 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

According to the province's initial plans, the investment in
471 capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
471 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
316 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
392 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
339 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of
323 Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

491 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took
133 the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the
135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as
• 316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard, which had never left us all through our travels, had so accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic, so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were the only travellers on that road who would dare to take such a journey without observing this ritual, and such an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of our carters, who two months previously would have been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt. The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1[Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N 135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T"eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in S [135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

b. Borax:

N 317 Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang, S [317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine S [433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

c. Jade and other precious Stones.

S 135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern S [439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

4. Sinkiang

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S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 377 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tienshui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N [433] it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 AI Sinkiang AII

trestles, over the roofs of the houses and the streets of the bazaar; this was the Titai's "Royal Road," along which he had been wont to walk between his old and new residences without soiling his feet with the dust of the bazaar. Between thirty and forty ladies of the Titai's harem were still living at the old Yamen when the blow fell; I was told that they were being treated kindly by our old friend Mr. Wang, Magistrate of the New City, in whose charge they had been placed. A horrible, toothless old major-domo of the Titai's showed us, with ghoulish gusto, over the warren-like zenana, still odorous of its late fair occupants, but turned completely upside down, looted and violated. Carpets were ripped up, upholstery torn open, tables and cupboards smashed to pieces in the search for treasure; for it was well known that the late owner had invested a large part of his ill-gotten gains in diamonds and other jewellery, mostly Russian revolution loot, which he had bought cheap from across the frontier. And everywhere was jade, great blocks of it, half-polished slabs lying about, broken cups and half-turned bangles littering the ground; for one of the Titai's industrial enterprises had been the establishment of a jade-cutting factory in his yamen, by the simple process of moving half the Khotan artisans bodily to Kashgar and forcing them to work at starvation rates on the jade brought from his mines in the upper Yarkand River basin.

Throughout the whole of that week I was greatly impressed by the orderliness of the proceedings. By the evening of the Sunday on which the Titai was captured all was quiet, and there was no disorder on the part either of the conquerors or of the conquered, who in Chinese civil war are usually more dangerous to the civilian population than their rivals. If it had been the Persia of my Kerman days, every shop in the bazaar would have closed at the first hint of trouble and half the population would have been taking refuge (*bast*) against one side or the other. As it was, the only effect of the general excitement was an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in prices. This satisfactory state of affairs was entirely due to the thoroughness of Governor Yang's preparations and the efficiency of his lieutenants; for there is no doubt that if the dispositions of the Higher Command had been less skilful or the revenge-seeking Captain Ma less bold and swift in his movements, the course of events might have been very different. The Titai and his son, knowing that it was war to the death, were preparing to defend the New and Old Cities

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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caps are the chief article of manufacture. Really old specimens are exceedingly rare, and we were very fortunate in lighting upon six circular medallions, about ten inches in diameter, of green velvet embroidered in gold and silver with a Persian floral design. These, I was told on good authority, once adorned the State robes of the indigenous Princes of Kucha. Here again, though the design as a whole is Persian, there is a touch of China in certain parallel wavy lines, while the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is itself a Chinese device.

It was extraordinarily interesting to find, persisting in the south of the Tarim Basin right up to modern times, that same cultural mingling of Persia and China with the indigenous element which marked the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, when the T'ang Emperors ruled the Middle Kingdom and the last of the Sassanids reigned in Zoroastrian Iran.[1] In nineteenth-century Khotan we have a rug of Turkish weave with a design in which the colours and patterns of China and Persia are closely intermixed. We find also an embroidery with a peculiarly Turkish stitch done on Chinese silk or Bokharan velvet and showing designs in which Chinese and Persian art are represented in almost equal proportions. There could be no more striking illustration of that peculiar feature of the Tarim Basin's history, the cultural mingling of East and West, to which I referred at the beginning of this chapter.

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But carpet-weaving and embroidery were not the only arts in which bygone Khotan excelled. Among the most attractive products of its craftsmanship were brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work. This is another lost art, for though teapots and water-jugs of graceful shape are still made, their only decoration is a rough chasing of lines following the curves of the pot. The old pierced metal work, four specimens of which we were fortunate enough to secure, is strongly reminiscent of the similar work in silver and copper still done at Isfahan. Here I could detect no Chinese influence, probably because the *chainak* (tea-pot) and *aftaba-lagan* (jug and basin

[1] Cf. the discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein in the seventh-century cemetery at Astana, near Turfan, of fine figured silks both in Chinese and in pure Sassanian style ("Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 492); also the Sassanian embroideries on damask found in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Tunhwang ("Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 208).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

for hand-washing) are "turban-head" utensils in which the Chinese took no interest. 326

The calligraphic art seems never to have flourished in Chinese Turkistan, and no Turki or Persian manuscripts of any merit appear to have been produced locally. Among the masses of "junk" brought to me at Kashgar, however, I was fortunate enough to come upon a genuine fifteenth-century Persian MS., in almost perfect condition. Noticing that the writing was exquisite and that a very early date appeared on the last page, I pointed out disparagingly that the book contained no pictures (this was not surprising) and few illuminated headings, and offered five taels for it. Eventually, after months of desultory bargaining, I acquired it for sixteen. It proved on examination by Dr. Edwardes of the British Museum and Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge to be a MS. of considerable importance, dated A.H. 150 or A.D. 1446, and containing four different Persian works, namely: 212

(1) The *Kulliyat* of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (twelfth-thirteenth century).
(2) The *Fihi Mafihi* of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi.
(3) A mystical work called *Tarab ul Majalis*.
(4) In the margin, the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

The *Kulliyat* and the two Rumi works are early enough recensions to be of some importance textually, while the *Tarab ul Majalis* is almost unique, only one other copy of the work being known, that in the India Office Library.

As might be expected from the isolated position of the Tarim Basin and the mediæval conditions prevailing, the country is a happy hunting-ground for the folklorist. Quaint customs and superstitions, most of them dating far back beyond Islam and even Buddhism, survive in remarkable profusion. Legends, too, are numerous and widespread; but these are more difficult to disentangle from the mythological web with which Islam has interwoven the mass of Buddhistic and Manichæan tradition. The legends and mediæval history of Chinese Turkistan have been treated very fully by M. Grenard in his work "La Haute Asie," embodying the researches of the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission to Tibet and Chinese Turkistan (1890–95), and I found afterwards that some of the material I collected had already been recorded by that Mission. The subject is of such interest, however, and the work done on it so little known, that I make no apology for recording some of 538

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lileh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, N. 316 where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The total annual production is less than 2,000 tons. [433]

In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, N [433] Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The S 316 iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. S Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is • 327 producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [398] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine [392] tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and S the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found 135 useful. (See Tables V and VI.)

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter

1. [See p. 131--Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S 316 135 327
S N 316 135 327 433 635

TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 379 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a N S 463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and S N [433] Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

N
*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
• 327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

N
*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
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185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia,
[648] and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
179 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Also in the environs of Kucha, which is known to have been the center of a large and thriving principality, are the *Ming Oi* (literally "thousand houses") of Kyzyl, Kumtura, and Kiris. Those cave temples are cut out of the solid rock of cliffsides where rivers coming down from the high mountains have cut steep ravines. At Shorchuk, between Korla and Kharashahr, stand the ruins of an ancient walled town with many temples and burial monuments; as at Kucha, the local people refer to the shrines as *Ming Oi*.

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The Turfan Depression, with its twin oases of Turfan and Kharakhoja, is particularly rich in artistic remains. Two old towns could be traced here: the more ancient one was in utter ruins but Khocho ("Chotscho"), the capital of the Uighur Kings of Turfan from the ninth through the thirteenth century, had numerous temples, monasteries, and tombs which generously rewarded excavation. In the rocky ravines near Khocho are great clusters of shrines and monastic dwellings both cut out of the cliffs and built on the banks. Most notable are the temples and stupas of the Tuyok Valley and the Sangim Gorge, and the great monastery terrace of Bezeklik (also sometimes called *Ming Oi*).

One further site which should perhaps be included is Khotan itself. Although structural remains of the old capital are limited to doubtful mounds of debris, large quantities of interesting metal and pottery objects of undoubted antiquity have been dug up in the oasis.

With few exceptions the structures of which any traces remain are of a clearly religious character. They can usually be distinguished as shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Everywhere but in the Turfan basin, the religion is exclusively Buddhist. A few of the buildings in the old city of Khocho display murals of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean inspiration, and manuscript remains in the area confirm the coexistence in Turfan of these three faiths for several centuries.

Apart from temples cut out of rock, construction is generally of sun-dried bricks, stamped clay, or some sort of mud plaster

[341]

172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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KASHGAR ON BAZAR-DAY

[Face p.80]

Uighur

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

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Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

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The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

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Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

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[21] Katanov-Menges.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231
342 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
221 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
[436] country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[262] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221
[618] Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
361 ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious); these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

361

Triangle

Panoramic view of a typical settlement in the verdant Tekes valley, where cultivation is possible. For the rest there are the grasslands.

The houses in the valley are of log and mud. The summer grazing grounds are on the steep hill at the left.

Triangle

342

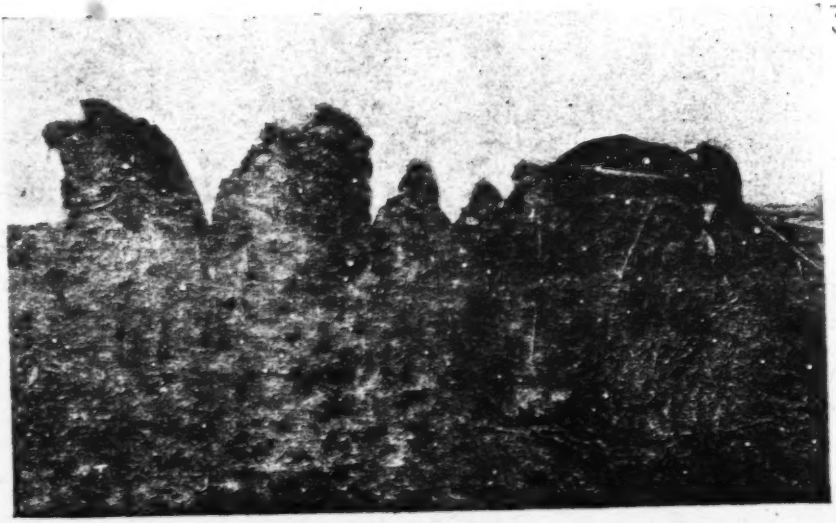
[p. 32 (C)]

The snow has come and the nomads must seek other grounds for their flocks.

233

Lattimore

342



The nomad spends the night in his temporary shelter which he sets up each evening.

[p. 32 (G)]

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demon- 563
strated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang.

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton *hamis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 342
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows. 487

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were ; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia. [712]

Ighiz Yar (" The High Bluff ") proved to be a pleasant stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession ; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters ; they also opened on a cow-byre. 342 [134]

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have 487

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals; the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

It is a great place

172 for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

134 We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi"—the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate
• 342 is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious
181 and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The
825 inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

000 This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

them a few years ago. It was a pity that bad visibility and shortage of time prevented plane-tabling in this region, so that I was unable to supplement Sir Aurel Stein's map by fitting into it a traverse of our route, which except for 14 miles in the Chighmen and Suget Jilghas was one which had not previously been followed by Sir Aurel or any other explorer.

Leaving Yarkand on 2nd April we spent the night at Qaraul Jash, 15 miles to the south-west of the city, as the guests of the British Aqsaqal, who had estates in that neighbourhood. Next day we plunged into the barren foothills of the Qizil Tagh. A long and hot march brought us to the only water in the region, brackish but just drinkable, a spring called Achiq Yusuf Qadir Khan. Here we camped thirstily, leaving at an early hour next morning in order to reach sweet water as soon as possible. It was not till three in the afternoon, however, that we crossed the last range of hills and found ourselves quite suddenly in the Chighmen Jilgha, a long valley which comes down from the inmost fastnesses of the Red Mountains and eventually debouches near Qizil Bazar on the Yarkand-Kashgar road. What a treat it was to come suddenly on a crystal, ice-cold stream and a little mill among willows just showing their spring green! It was too early to halt and we filed up the valley, passing croft after croft of the Kirghiz' rough stone-built huts with steeply-terraced cornfields now just beginning to be ploughed with the help of water carried along the hill-side in narrow channels. For these were "farmer Kirghiz" as we called them, not the pastoral, *aq-oi*-inhabiting Kirghiz of the higher mountains. Here are no great flocks and herds as on the high pastures of the Pamirs or the Tien Shan; only a few sheep and goats nibbling the scanty weeds along the rocky banks of the stream, guarded by tawny, thick-furred dogs. We stopped at a croft slightly larger than the rest to talk to the local Qazi, a typical thin-bearded, high-cheek-boned old Kirghiz, who earnestly begged us to pitch our tents on one or other of his pocket-handkerchief fields and be his guests. We spared the old man and pushed on another mile and a half, camping on a sheltered patch of grass in a bend of the stream-bed, 7,000 feet up.

Next day we contented ourselves with a half-march of nine miles only and camped at the tiny Kirghiz settlement of Suget Ayaghi, near the outlet of the Suget Valley, an upper branch of the Chighmen. The first inhabitants we saw in this valley were four tiny tots of children whom we surprised

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000. 438

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty. 342

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does [374]

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes. [435]

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

342 duty as a chimney, open during heavy rain is solved in an ingenious fashion. The felt cover is pulled almost but not quite over it; the corner of the felt opposite to the direction from which the rain is coming is then lifted on the end of a forked pole away from the rim of the "chimney," thus making a kind of vertical ventilator facing away from the rain. The other end of the forked pole is held firmly in mid-air by means of guy-ropes attached to the sides of the tent. *Aq-ois* stand a gale very well, their shape being such that the higher the wind the more firmly the structure is pressed to the ground; I never heard of one being blown away. To make assurance doubly sure, however, a large stone is sometimes placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof anchored to it by a rope.

The putting together of the *aq-ois* is always done by the women, who are remarkably quick about it. I have seen a large one put up by two girls in half an hour. A middle-sized *aq-oi* forms three camel- or yak-loads when taken down. For short distances it can be moved bodily by ten or twelve men, who range themselves round the *inside* of the structure and lift it at a given signal. As they cannot see where they are going, they have to be steered by some one outside.

353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq-oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

[534] [411]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

137 The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

342 At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They 231 graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass 65 up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

SN
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
991 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

S N [792] [794]

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits, such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [991] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[614] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.
[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called ōy, or
[184] sometimes hānā, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[291]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352]
[353] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
563 customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
291 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
177 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
327 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
26 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
556
177

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We [206] were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. We were warned that at this season people were dying [132] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them- [342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better 3'12 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

told us that Great Old Father Ch'en, who had been for six years Magistrate of Khotan, was responsible for the edifice—a kind of mausoleum of his official ambitions. The inscription told of the mighty deeds of Ch'en, how he had built schools and temples and repaired roads, how he had girdled Khotan New City with walls and acted justly in the sight of men. Finally the names were given of those who had sent petitions to Urumchi praying for the retention at Khotan of the said Great Old Father. Within the building as we sat drinking ceremonial tea provided by our absent host in a room decorated with pleasing frescoes, Chu translated to us a Chinese poem which adorned one of the walls. It told how a certain Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty summoned his Prime Minister, one Hsü, and said to him, "Hsü, thou art the most faithful and the most honoured of my counsellors, yet there are men who speak ill of thee, and complaints have reached mine ears. How is this?" Hsü prostrated himself and replied (but in far more flowery terms), "Sire, the floods of spring are welcome to the farmers, but travellers speak many hard words of them; the moon of autumn is loved of lovers, but robbers like her not." The Emperor, understanding, bade his minister arise, and Hsü basked once more in the full radiance of the Imperial countenance.

I am told that Ch'en was a strong and severe Magistrate; he had a habit, among others, of hamstringing thieves which resulted, towards the end of his time, in the almost complete boycott of Khotan by the light-fingered fraternity. Officials of this type are unpopular the world over, not least among the very classes whose property they protect. Town walls, again, are not appreciated by the inhabitants of Sinkiang as they ought to be, owing to the fact that forced labour is used exclusively in their construction; they are in fact "public works" in the fullest sense, in that the public has to work, and work hard, to make them. One can guess that complaints began to reach the ears of the Governor at Urumchi and eventually resulted in the replacement of Ch'en, who has doubtless ever since regarded himself as the victim of intrigue—hence the little story which adorns the walls of his drawing-room.

Khotan, 25th November, 1922.

Khotan is not a large town, but it is busy and prosperous and makes the most of itself to the traveller. You come first to the "New" or Chinese city, which is square and measures about half a mile each way with massive walls in good repair and bastions crowned with pagodas along them. Here are the Yamens of the officials, the barracks and magazine, the Taoist temple and several streets of shops. Then, passing under a gateway in the walls in the middle of the main bazaar, you find yourself in the Old City, which, unlike Kashgar and Yarkand, consists of one long, winding, up-and-down bazaar, well-roofed throughout, with an irregular fringe of town on either side all mixed up with private gardens, mosques, cornfields, open market-places and cemeteries. Old Badruddin's house where we are staying is right in the middle of the most crowded part of the bazaar, and yet you can escape through the orchard into a lane among cornfields leading into the open country. I am ensconced in a grand room looking on to the garden, with numerous real glass windows and shutters to them, a fireplace and a Russian stove as well. D. chose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

343 a cosier and more private apartment; she has but one lattice window, but that looks down on to the roof of a carpenter's house, on which the women sit spinning and sewing in the sun all day long; cocks and hens peck about amid heaps of shavings, and children clad in long boots, greatcoat and nothing else peep over the edge into the street, tumble down the ladder into the shop and otherwise enjoy themselves without anyone minding. Children are cheap in this fat, easy-going land.

Khotan, 27th November, 1922.

574 We have just returned (8 p.m.) from an interesting but arctic dinner-party at the Yamen. Our hosts, the Amban and Commandant, had arranged a theatrical performance for the occasion, a great honour. D. and I were met within the Yamen by two parallel processions headed by our hosts and their wives respectively; I was led with much ceremony to one dinner-table and D. to another separated from the men by a low partition. The travelling company's stage was set in the open courtyard opposite us.

353 The prevailing note of the decorations was red; the walls of the Yamen building behind were covered with fine scarlet embroidery and scrolls of the same colour inscribed with Chinese characters in gold; under-foot were red Khotan carpets, while from the roof of the portico and the branches of the trees in the courtyard hung scores of red Chinese lanterns. Most of the latter were of paper, but several of them were of the beautiful and fantastic hexagonal pattern with panels of embroidered silk and long coloured tassels. Major Ma told me that most of the embroidery had been done by Turki women in Khotan, but he hastened to add that the Khotanis had learnt embroidery from the Chinese.

574 The dinner lasted some four hours, and the theatrical performance went on all the time.[1] After sunset the temperature sank to several degrees below freezing-point, and I nearly froze to death. The Chinese never mind how cold it is, for their winter clothes and boots, lined with fur throughout, are as admirably designed to withstand cold as their summer costume is to keep its wearers cool. D. says she was better off, thanks to large braziers which were kept under the table well stoked with wood-embers. She was charmed with the little Chinese [291] ladies, who wore the regulation black satin tunic and trousers and their hair scraped back and twisted into small buns lavishly decorated with ornaments of jade and precious stones. By far the loveliest of her hostesses, however, was a Turki girl from the Titai's household at Kashgar, who was married to one of the military officers. She had, according to D.—I missed this vision—a perfect profile and small oval face, a complexion like a wild rose and large limpid dark eyes; her voice, like those of the beauties of Kashgar, had a kind of uneven tone with long, full, liquid notes.

The ex-Amban's mother, with whom D. exchanged calls yesterday, was not at the dinner. She, according to D., might have stepped straight out of a fairy-story. She looks about a hundred and fifty, wears a black silk handkerchief tied round her head like a pirate, and owns an enormous woolly black cat which adores her and sits all the time licking her hands and face.

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[1] For a description of a Chinese theatrical performance, see pp. 245–7.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

661 that his army was mostly on paper and he had no real strength behind him.

574 Ma Titai's headquarters were at the New or Chinese city, six miles east of Old Kashgar, and here he kept up great state. Harding and I looked forward with much interest to seeing this ogre; nor were we disappointed, for there was something distinctly ogre-ish about our experiences. Half an hour's ride from the Consulate brought us within sight of the long massive walls of the Titai's citadel. Here we were met by a troop of well-mounted but untidy and apparently only quarter-disciplined Chinese cavalry, who escorted us in a thick cloud of dust through dirty, tumbledown bazaars thronged by a sinister-looking half-breed populace to a huge mud-brick gateway of the *lasciate ogni speranza* type. Here the smell which rose from the dry moat below nearly knocked us off our horses. Within, more gateways, skew-eyed like the first to keep out the devils (in China the devils can only fly straight, so a gateway with a kink in it defeats them) followed by a long street of shops rather more prosperous-looking than those outside. Here and there we had peeps up side-lanes of fantastically-shaped temples and other buildings, some half-ruined, others grotesquely painted and surmounted by symbolical wooden figures of birds and beasts.

• 344 At last we came to the Titai's *yamen* or palace and found ourselves in a vast square with a pagoda-roofed gateway in front of us and enormous figures of dragons on either side. Troops of soldiers dashed about presenting arms as they ran and fell hurriedly into line with much shouting of words of command, while the salute-guns banged their welcome and horses shied in all directions. Passing through huge painted doors we were welcomed in an inner courtyard by a short, grizzled, monkey-like old man with a long wispy moustache and fierce eyes, resplendently arrayed in a saxe-blue Chinese Field Marshal's uniform several sizes too large for him, complete with plumed hat, several rows of stars and medals and gold lace epaulettes the size of hassocks flapping from his shoulders. With the gold-encrusted tunic hanging about his wispy old frame like a frock-coat on a scarecrow, and the overalls, as usual in the Sinkiang Army, innocent of braces, he looked a regular Chinese Count Hedzoff of Paphlagonia; but there was a sinister feel behind the *opera-bouffe*—or was it only because we knew about the murders and torturings which went on somewhere behind the grim walls of his citadel?

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 He replied with a volley from the windows, killing an officer and two men. Captain Ma and his party dashed across the courtyard and up three flights of stairs fighting all the way, 669 until at last they forced an entrance into the old man's bedroom. The Titai fought like a tiger at bay, wounding one of the party, but Ma with a lucky pistol-shot in the right arm disabled him and took him prisoner. With the capture of their formidable "King" the soldiers of the Titai, who had meanwhile been fighting with Ma's men in the palace and town, broke and fled. Only four or five of them were killed, the whole affair having taken place in less than a quarter of an hour and having been a complete surprise. The wounded tyrant was bound and taken to an inn outside his citadel, while the invaders looted his palace, which was full of valuables, chiefly in the form of opium, silks and jade. Telegrams were exchanged with Urumchi, and next day the Titai paid the penalty for his crimes. He was put up against the main gateway of the citadel and riddled with bullets, on the very spot where the bodies of his victims, alive or dead, had so often been exposed *pour encourager les autres.* His corpse was left there for a couple of days tied up to a kind of cross for the people to insult and defile, which large numbers of them did with the utmost gusto.

•344 On the Tuesday I rode with a friend to the New City and returned the call which Captain Ma had courteously paid me the previous afternoon. The slayer of the Titai, a quiet easy-mannered little man with aquiline features and steady dark eyes, took me all over the fallen tyrant's palace. It was an immense wooden structure with four stories and a pagoda roof, painted dark red and covered with grotesque frescoes and wooden figures of symbolical birds and animals. I had heard much about this palace, which had only just been completed; more than once I had peeped through its outer gates with a slight shudder at the thought of the sinister power which had called it into being. It was a curious sensation to find myself climbing flight after flight of steep stairs and entering a large central bedroom lavishly decorated with crude paintings. The walls, the ceiling and the great bed-alcove were all splintered with rifle- and pistol-shots and littered with arms and accoutrements, piles of ammunition-boxes, great-coats, and so on, for Captain Ma's soldiers had taken possession of the place. From the new palace we were conducted to the Titai's old Yamen along a kind of raised way, carried on

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 AI Sinkiang AII

trestles, over the roofs of the houses and the streets of the bazaar; this was the Titai's "Royal Road," along which he had been wont to walk between his old and new residences without soiling his feet with the dust of the bazaar. Between thirty and forty ladies of the Titai's harem were still living at the old Yamen when the blow fell; I was told that they were being treated kindly by our old friend Mr. Wang, Magistrate of the New City, in whose charge they had been placed. A horrible, toothless old major-domo of the Titai's showed us, with ghoulish gusto, over the warren-like zenana, still odorous of its late fair occupants, but turned completely upside down, looted and violated. Carpets were ripped up, upholstery torn open, tables and cupboards smashed to pieces in the search for treasure; for it was well known that the late owner had invested a large part of his ill-gotten gains in diamonds and other jewellery, mostly Russian revolution loot, which he had bought cheap from across the frontier. And everywhere was jade, great blocks of it, half-polished slabs lying about, broken cups and half-turned bangles littering the ground; for one of the Titai's industrial enterprises had been the establishment of a jade-cutting factory in his yamen, by the simple process of moving half the Khotan artisans bodily to Kashgar and forcing them to work at starvation rates on the jade brought from his mines in the upper Yarkand River basin.

Throughout the whole of that week I was greatly impressed by the orderliness of the proceedings. By the evening of the Sunday on which the Titai was captured all was quiet, and there was no disorder on the part either of the conquerors or of the conquered, who in Chinese civil war are usually more dangerous to the civilian population than their rivals. If it had been the Persia of my Kerman days, every shop in the bazaar would have closed at the first hint of trouble and half the population would have been taking refuge (*bast*) against one side or the other. As it was, the only effect of the general excitement was an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in prices. This satisfactory state of affairs was entirely due to the thoroughness of Governor Yang's preparations and the efficiency of his lieutenants; for there is no doubt that if the dispositions of the Higher Command had been less skilful or the revenge-seeking Captain Ma less bold and swift in his movements, the course of events might have been very different. The Titai and his son, knowing that it was war to the death, were preparing to defend the New and Old Cities

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, formless, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The
344 Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.
205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters
206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the
471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished
1648 refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

363
346

Lattimore

The sun lays down patterns on a Kashgar street.

Lattimore

A Kashgar mosque where the faithful turn for rest and prayer.

The market place is important for the exchange of wares and gossip in Kashgar.

366

Lattimore

[p. 32 (F)]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[Face p.108]

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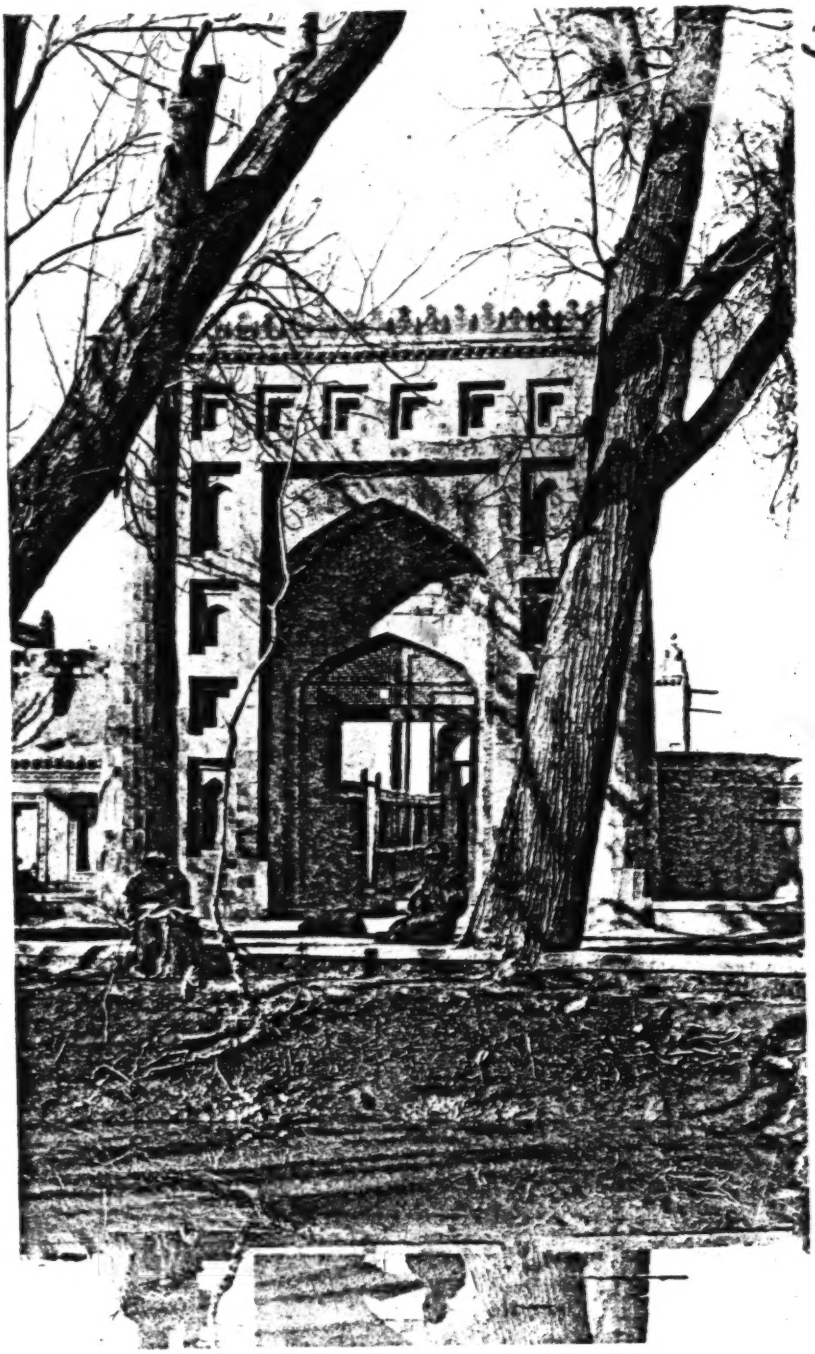

IN THE SHRINE OF HAZRAT PIR, YARKAND; GATEWAY OF MOSQUE SCHOOL

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IX

DESERT, RIVER AND MOUNTAIN

ABOUT the tenth of February the grip of frost upon the land began to relax noticeably, the surface of the ice on the skating-ponds became day by day more slushy and the sun's rays developed a hitting power which surprised us so early in the season. A fortnight later, amid general jubilation, the first muddy water appeared in the irrigation-channels, forerunner of the life-giving floods which in another two months would be sweeping down from the great ranges. Kashgar awoke and stretched itself after its winter sleep. All at once, it seemed, the poplars and willows put out their buds, the soil became soft and moist and the garden resounded with the chatter of starlings, the twitter of martens, the cooing of ring-doves and the hoo-hoo-hoo of the courting hoopoe. Spring was upon us, and at the Consulate our fancy lightly turned to thoughts of the Road. We planned a most attractive ten weeks' tour which would take us first to Merket, on the Yarkand River four marches to the east, thence down-river to Maralbashi and to fair Aqsu, 300 miles along the ancient Silk Road from Europe to Cathay, and back by Uch Turfan and the Mountains of Heaven. In the event, this programme had to be postponed to the autumn, except as regards Merket, but the spring tour that we did manage to carry out, though short, was interesting enough.

Sending our baggage-ponies and all our retinue except the indispensable Hafiz and Sangi Khan ahead the day before, we left Kashgar on 21st March and reached Yupogha, 51 miles east-south-east, the same evening. Our way at first led through a flat country of trees and reedy canals and old farms on the banks of quiet rivers; but the second day the cultivation became gradually more sparse and the country drier as we approached the Takla Makan. That night we slept at a thriving little market-village called Tarim Bazar, where

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

there is the much-frequented shrine of one of Kashgar's many lady-saints, Bu Mariam. It is a simple affair; a grove of ancient desert-poplars, two or three single-storied buildings on a little hill, a tall conical mound of faggots and sand surmounted by a bundle of long poles, and all round in serried ranks the tombs of the Faithful. Escaping with difficulty from the idly curious of Tarim Bazar we made tea for ourselves under a scented tamarisk-bush near the shrine. In a corner under the ancient poplars some families of pilgrims from Khotan were encamped with their ponies, donkeys and goats around them like a nomad tribe on the move; an incredibly old beggar in his elaborately-ragged, almost theatrical patchwork costume and mediæval sheepskin-rimmed extinguisher hat doddered about among the graves; and all the while, incongruously, every tree and every bush was loud with the chorus of Spring.

Next day we crossed the westernmost and narrowest section of the Takla Makan, 24 miles broad, to the tiny settlement of Langar among the first jungles of the Yarkand River. It was not a pleasant march. Though there were no high dunes to cross, the going was heavy throughout, the sun's heat trying and the endless vistas of tamarisk-cones inexpressibly monotonous. The tarantass had as usual been sent back after our first double march, and we both rode. But the worst was now over. Next morning an exhilarating two-mile canter brought us to the river, across the placid waters of which roomy flat-bottomed ferry-boats were plying to and fro with cargoes of fur-hatted carters, blue-hooded Chinese carts, gaily-decked horses tinkling with bells and villagers in costumes of many colours. Across the river, in a grove of trees from which last year's leaves had not yet fallen (so calm and windless is the winter here), we were met by an unexpectedly imposing cortège. Twenty horsemen escorted a landau drawn by three fine bays, harnessed troika-fashion and skilfully handled by an obviously Russian-trained Turki coachman. In the carriage sat a good-looking, clean-shaven young Chinese gentleman dressed in the regulation black silk coat and white skirt, and wearing the neat black cap of his country instead of the ridiculous bowler favoured by most of his colleagues. It was the Amban of Maralbashi, of which district Merket is a subdivision, and he was actually on tour—the first and last occasion during the whole of our time in Kashgaria on which we met a District Magistrate away from

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

were most friendly and hospitable, so that we felt quite at home in the so-called New City, which looked as if it dated at least from T'ang times. The bazaars were not as picturesque and interesting as those of the Turki town and were too full of Tungans to be pleasant, but the environs of the New City and the shady banks of the winding Qum Ariq were a continual delight.

A favourite haunt was the Chinese (Taoist) temple of the God of the White Cloud. It is not an old place, but its shady grove and quiet courtyards are wonderfully pleasant and peaceful. It was founded by a bygone Commandant of the Aqsu garrison and was repaired, improved and endowed a generation ago by a devout Tao Tai called Peng. The God of the White Cloud communicates with his followers, or did so until recently, by means of divine writing, which curiously enough used to be done by a sort of planchette. I was shown this by the friendly custodian of the shrine. It consists of a wooden board with one leg only, the place of the second and third legs of the planchette being taken by handles which are held on each side by the mediums. There is also a large square wooden tray on which is sprinkled the sacred sand in which the planchette writes, and big high-backed uncomfortable-looking chairs on which the God and his divine associates sit, invisible, at the séances. Facsimiles of the God's writings hang on the walls ; it was pointed out to me that the strength of many strokes was more than mortal, and certainly the piety of the sentiments translated to me from them was unexceptionable. It is a most unfortunate coincidence that since the departure twelve years ago of the two Tientsin merchants who acted as mediums, the God has vouchsafed no calligraphic messages to his flock. It would appear, indeed, as if he had no flock nowadays, for no worshipper seems ever to visit the temple except on the official holy days, when by order of the Governor the Taoyin and other officials attend service ; only the old priest potters about, dusting a joss-stick tray here and a painted-cloth lamp there, clanging the temple bell and beating the great drum at the appointed times and occasionally, with loving reverence, changing the written prayers in the frames which stand before the god. The courtyards are grass-grown, but clean ; the little square garden behind the temple is a tangle of vines and thick undergrowth of poplar, but the two picturesque wooden pavilions it conceals are in good repair and the shrines in them are care-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

346 771 fully tended; the "guest-room" off the middle courtyard is crudely decorated with aniline-dyed embroideries and rugs, but it is always kept ready for the mighty Visitor who never comes.

Though it is unfrequented, though it represents a dead faith, the shrine of the God of the White Cloud at Aqsu is an abode of peace and reverence, very different from the filthy, tawdry travesty of a temple which is all that Kashgar can boast.

* * * * *

Our farewell to Aqsu was perhaps the most trying and, in retrospect, comic of all our "public" departures from Central Asian towns. By way of acknowledgment of the hospitality we had received, I somewhat rashly presented the Tao Tai with a fine Wiltshire ham which had lately arrived from England. This put the coping-stone on our popularity, and word went round among the officials that we were to be "seen off" in proper Chinese style. Seeing a person off in China apparently means turning up to tea on the morning of his departure and delaying his start as long as you can. Next morning at 9.30, just as I was superintending the loading of our ten new baggage-ponies, a yamen runner arrived with the news that his master the Amban was coming to call. In vain my protests—two minutes later enter the Amban with the usual herd of Begs, interpreters, policemen and hangers-on of all kinds. D. leapt out of the back window just in time, with instructions from me to see the rest of the ponies loaded and escape when she could; I said I would follow as quickly as possible. Tea and cakes were produced from somewhere (by the gardener, I think), and I sat down to an hour's chat with the Amban. Half an hour later the ponies were all loaded and D. was just pushing them off down the narrow lane which led to the main road; suddenly, more cries and clatterings, a fanfare of bugles and the Tao Tai with a following twice as big as the Amban's came charging up the lane. A stampede ensued; half the loads came off, the ponies mixed themselves up in each other's ropes and the courtyard became pandemonium let loose. Smiling blandly, the Tao Tai passed through it unscathed in the midst of his henchmen and added himself to my tea-party within. It took D. and the servants another half-hour to restore order and refix the loads; then off they started down the lane once more. As they did so, another Chinese cart swung into it at the other end, followed

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 2. Patterns of living

563 342 171 a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 346

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N b. Food

563 262 184

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

N
*175 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual
*668 aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'un-chung
S jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership
175 in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby
668 consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

S Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political
175 organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the
668 Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points: (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people s political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

N Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions.
*175 In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams,
792 monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events
*668 and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas.
S Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation
175 meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to sup-
668 port the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A
793
• 346

175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[793] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[346] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Govern-
[795] ment, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter--revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI.
The Tomb of the Khans.

To face page 210.

[FACING P. 210]

346

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
501 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
501 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
178 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China,
668 showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 2. Patterns of living

563 342 171 a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N b. Food

563 262 184 S 563 262 184

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/The New Uighurs/

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2. Patterns of living

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq-oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

•352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. [534] [411] There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

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forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door. 352

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion. 161 [165] 164 [513] [356]

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns. 562

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic
291 gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese
482 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many
352 of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we were received were not unlike those of the Chinese,
576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 352 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or 353 Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The New Uighurs/

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The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
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The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
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563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
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[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
272 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined. 574

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very comfortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in 622 our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing 574 over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which [353] we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, 487 but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

343 a cosier and more private apartment; she has but one lattice window, but that looks down on to the roof of a carpenter's house, on which the women sit spinning and sewing in the sun all day long; cocks and hens peck about amid heaps of shavings, and children clad in long boots, greatcoat and nothing else peep over the edge into the street, tumble down the ladder into the shop and otherwise enjoy themselves without anyone minding. Children are cheap in this fat, easy-going land.

Khotan, 27th November, 1922.

574 We have just returned (8 p.m.) from an interesting but arctic dinner-party at the Yamen. Our hosts, the Amban and Commandant, had arranged a theatrical performance for the occasion, a great honour. D. and I were met within the Yamen by two parallel processions headed by our hosts and their wives respectively; I was led with much ceremony to one dinner-table and D. to another separated from the men by a low partition. The travelling company's stage was set in the open courtyard opposite us.

353 The prevailing note of the decorations was red; the walls of the Yamen building behind were covered with fine scarlet embroidery and scrolls of the same colour inscribed with Chinese characters in gold; under-foot were red Khotan carpets, while from the roof of the portico and the branches of the trees in the courtyard hung scores of red Chinese lanterns. Most of the latter were of paper, but several of them were of the beautiful and fantastic hexagonal pattern with panels of embroidered silk and long coloured tassels. Major Ma told me that most of the embroidery had been done by Turki women in Khotan, but he hastened to add that the Khotanis had learnt embroidery from the Chinese.

574 The dinner lasted some four hours, and the theatrical performance went on all the time.[1] After sunset the temperature sank to several degrees below freezing-point, and I nearly froze to death. The Chinese never mind how cold it is, for their winter clothes and boots, lined with fur throughout, are as admirably designed to withstand cold as their summer costume is to keep its wearers cool. D. says she was better off, thanks to large braziers which were kept under the table well stoked with wood-embers. She was charmed with the little Chinese [291] ladies, who wore the regulation black satin tunic and trousers and their hair scraped back and twisted into small buns lavishly decorated with ornaments of jade and precious stones. By far the loveliest of her hostesses, however, was a Turki girl from the Titai's household at Kashgar, who was married to one of the military officers. She had, according to D.—I missed this vision—a perfect profile and small oval face, a complexion like a wild rose and large limpid dark eyes; her voice, like those of the beauties of Kashgar, had a kind of uneven tone with long, full, liquid notes.

The ex-Amban's mother, with whom D. exchanged calls yesterday, was not at the dinner. She, according to D., might have stepped straight out of a fairy-story. She looks about a hundred and fifty, wears a black silk handkerchief tied round her head like a pirate, and owns an enormous woolly black cat which adores her and sits all the time licking her hands and face.

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[1] For a description of a Chinese theatrical performance, see pp. 245–7.

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S N
a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both

S N
feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China.
Sinkiang AI1

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[291]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352]

The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
323 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
267 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
556
177

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find 241
a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, 133
which is the most important stream in this part of 491
Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue 485
Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the 353
inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, [136]
still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, 233
covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian 221
nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was 000
beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[796] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[798] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hänä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[292] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[293] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-
291 fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq
563 women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved
372 toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is
354 the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came
167 running to see us. Accepting her invitation we
[574] entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his
[733] side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

494 While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door.

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion.

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns.

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

651 be commuted at 12 tengas (2s.) per *charak*, the market price being 4 tengas.[1]

356 Talking to the mountain people one occasionally gets amusing little side-lights on the difficulties of house-keeping in an *aq-oi*. Among the woods at Chikir Aghzi we came upon some families striking camp. They said they were moving to an open piece of ground only a mile lower down.

"What is wrong with this camping-ground?" we asked.

"The mice have found us out and eat our bread," was the reply.

"Why don't you keep cats to eat the mice?"

"Because the cats would drink our milk!"

This was unanswerable, as anyone who had seen the interior of an *aq-oi* and its carefully-guarded "dairy" ought to have realized.

487 We crossed the Arpa Bel on 13th September, after spending the night at a chilly camping-ground above the highest fir-woods on the north-side. On the way up, when I was behind trying to take photographs, D. saw a pretty sight while she was waiting for me to come up. A herd of great shaggy yaks, unattended by any herdsman, came trooping down through the forest to drink at the stream. They came with such a rush, bringing earth and stones with them, that for a moment she thought it was an avalanche. They stood about in the water and on the grassy banks of the torrent, exactly like Highland cattle. They were still there when I came up, but my cortège disturbed them and they bunched together in the stream-bed as if awaiting attack, spoiling the picture. The dust-haze was worse than ever at the top of the pass, which I found to be 13,350 feet above the sea, and nothing whatever was visible of what would have been an unrivalled view. Both from the surveying and from the photographic point of view it was one of the worst pieces of luck I have ever had; for according to the calendar it was, or ought to have been, autumn and the clearest time of the year.

The Arpa Bel is a decidedly stiff pass, 6,000 feet on either side without a break, but although nothing whatever has been done to the track it is not actually dangerous. Still, it was as well that we had hired from the Pilal people fifteen

[1] The object is to encourage cultivation, even in pastoral country, and thus increase the population. Similarly, the Chinese encourage the planting of trees in the plains by collecting the land revenue partly in the form of timber.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uighur

*563 186 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

*563 ●361 168 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan. North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

*563 197 212 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard.

000 The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

Uighur
The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

Kazakhs is indicated by the name "Kazakh," which is believed to mean "a fugitive or masterless man who has separated himself from his tribe" (or overlord). The same name, modified by Slavic pronunciation, was adopted by the Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians who became the Russian Cossacks. 563* 175

In the sixteenth century the newly formed Kazakh Khanate split into three hordes, forming a loose federation which united only rarely, under stress of war. This deterioration of the former unity was a result of the increased wealth of the Kazakhs, obtained by their conquest of some of the southern oasis regions from the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century, which made the individual tribal Sultans less dependent on the economic and political protection of the Khan. Of these three hordes, it was the easternmost, or the "Old Horde," whose grazing lands reached east of the present Soviet-Chinese border into Sinkiang.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Russians began to penetrate into the territory of the Kazakhs and by the end of the nineteenth century had succeeded in colonizing the territory of the three hordes, except for the easternmost part of the Old Horde which remained under Chinese domination. Even after the drawing of a border line between the bulk of the Kazakhs in the west and the small splinter group in Chinese territory, however, many aspects of the common historical development continued, since the nomads were no respecters of national boundaries and migrated back and forth across the frontier which cut through their tribal lines. 563* 131 361

The main grazing grounds of the Sinkiang Kazakhs are along the borders between Sinkiang and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic. From the Tekes and Kunguz Rivers in the Ili region they range northeastward to the Chuguchak region and then southeastward along the Mongolian Altai. There are even Kazakhs on the other side of this frontier, under the sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Kazakhs are pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle, horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but 000

Kazak

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361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

Kirghiz

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun*, at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony. 563* 131 174

The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains. 563* 161 221 361

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated. [231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Great Russians

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of technical training in the province, the Russians have been useful both in time of peace and in periods of internal strife. They have served as automobile drivers and mechanics, aided in the training of provincial military forces, and made use of their military experience in actual combat. Their participation in the military struggle on the side of Sheng Shih-ts'ai was an important factor in his victory over Ma Ch'ung-ying in 1934. On this and other occasions, travelers and reporters on the scene, not to mention writers thousands of miles away, have often suggested or flatly stated that these Russians were Soviet Russians rather than White Russians. Both the extent of Soviet influence in the province and the characteristics of Soviet methods of operation have been distorted by such reports.

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During the period of Yang Tseng-hsin the Russians in Sinkiang managed to get along fairly well. They encountered hard times in the interval from the death of Yang in 1928 to the establishment of Sheng's authority in 1933–1934, and again after his turnabout in policy in 1943. Normally, they lead an existence much like that of other Russian *émigré* communities in China — which means that they have their own organizations, publish their own newspapers, and otherwise attempt to preserve their cultural identity. In general they accommodate themselves to shifting political tides in so far as these do not threaten their very existence. It was a measure of their disquietude that so many of them threw their support behind the program of the Kulja group in opposition to the Chinese administration.

Although the Sinkiang Russian community owed its original formation to the anti-Soviet feeling of its members, this attitude has been considerably tempered with the passage of time, especially as a new generation, not directly involved in the struggles of the civil war period, has begun to assert itself. In line with changes in attitude taking place in many *émigré* communities throughout the world, a growing number of Russians in Sinkiang have taken advantage of the new Soviet policy toward expatriates to identify themselves with the U.S.S.R.

There is now a question whether the Russians in Sinkiang are

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Manchu

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
● 361 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
101 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite
871 their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services and rent in kind.

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, which means that in his election the locally influential families usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own homestead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
372 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

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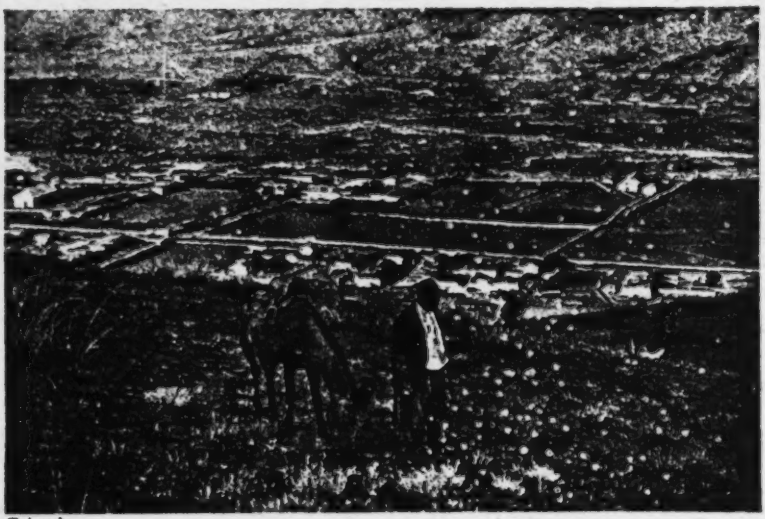

Triangle

Panoramic view of a typical settlement in the verdant Tekes valley, where cultivation is possible. For the rest there are the grasslands.

The houses in the valley are of log and mud. The summer grazing grounds are on the steep hill at the left.

Triangle

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[p. 32 (C)]

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER V

KASHGAR

ONE'S first impression on arrival at the Consulate General is of greenery and shade; of limes and acacias, willows and planes and fruit-trees of all kinds; of tall bushy poplars rising like a wall against the sun, and slender poplars with little white-backed leaves which flutter silently in the faintest breeze like the waving of fairies' hands; of confused gardens on three different levels, with an orchard and a vine-pergola and a little meadow and a dense thicket of Babylonian willow and a pond with lotuses in it and a carved Chinese summer-house, all mixed up with trees and an amazing riot of flowers and vegetables. The house itself is comfortable enough, expecially after the long pilgrimage over mountain and desert which leads to it; the bedrooms are perhaps a little inadequate, according to English ideas at any rate, compared with the magnificent hall, dining-room and drawing-room, but the latter certainly impress Chinese and Russian visitors with the dignity of the British Empire. So does the imposing gateway flanked by a long line of clerks' quarters on one side and by the office buildings on the other. But the glory of the Consulate-General is undoubtedly the terrace along its north-western side. The approaches and south-eastern façade of the house afford no inkling of the view of which a first glimpse is obtained through the French windows of the drawing-room. Stepping out on to the long terrace with its sundial and parapet of sun-dried brick, you find yourself on the top of a low bluff looking out over the wide shallow valley of the Tümen River. Immediately below you are the trees of the lower garden and its enclosing wall; then comes a narrow road-way with country people going to and from the busy town all day long; beyond it a patch of melon-beds and willow-fringed rice-fields, into which from the left juts a promontory of river-bluffs crowned with houses and

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

trees and at the very tip a small mud-built shrine. Then comes the winding river, brimming in summer with the melted snows of the Tien Shan. On the further bank more rice-fields and a line of loess bluffs, below which here and there nestle cottages and water-mills buried in willows; beyond, trees and farmsteads stretch away to the northern edge of the oasis five miles distant, where in stark contrast a great sweep of gravelly desert slopes down from the curiously-corrugated foothills of the Tien Shan.

What a joy that terrace was! The bedrooms all opened on it, or on a small verandah just above, in which I slept in all but the coldest weather. How pleasant it was, as one sipped one's early tea, to watch the sunlight flood the valley and listen to the various noises of the morning as they floated up from field and homestead, the harsher ones softened by distance; birds twittering, cocks crowing, women calling to one another, donkeys braying, boys singing, dogs barking, cart-wheels creaking and, on Wednesdays, the musical wailings of women worshippers at the little shrine of Sultan Buwam down by the river; best of all, that peculiar sound which for us seemed to hold the very essence of Kashgar's charm—the note of the millers' horns as they called to their customers to bring their grain for grinding. It is the horn of a mountain-goat that the miller of Kashgar winds for this purpose, and to us the gentle sounds which floated up in the morning from the little mills by the river were as the

> Horns of Elf-land faintly blowing.

In the evening, too, the terrace was a favourite haunt, when the river-bluffs opposite glowed with the sun's last rays and pearly clouds floated over the far-off Tien Shan; when the patter of ponies' and donkeys' feet and the voices of the villagers riding home from market came up from the road beyond the garden, and the call to prayer echoed along the valley from the mosques of the city. But if the view from the terrace was wide, that from the roof of the tower was, or could be, immense. Perfectly clear weather is, alas, rare in Kashgaria owing to the fine loess dust which almost always slightly thickens the atmosphere; but at two seasons of the year, early summer and late autumn, the atmosphere in the mornings could be as clear as crystal and the farthest mountains plainly visible from the top of the tower. And what a panorama they made, in November at least when the leaves were off the trees which

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very well, and the negatives of it which I took up with me to-day were most useful in enabling me to identify the various peaks. Again I spent three hours on the top, mapping and photographing, but this time there were no contretemps on the way down and we returned to camp before sunset. D. and Nazaroff have had a good day too. They went out shooting rock-pigeons this morning and got two each, and in the afternoon D. gave a tea-party to the Kirghiz women and children of the valley. This has caused great excitement. Seven women and two children came, all there are in the valley, bringing their own wooden bowls like school-children their mugs to a treat. D. had plenty of bread baked for the occasion in one of the *aq-ois* and had also made some drop-scones herself; she bought quantities of rich yaks' milk in the morning and used up in the tea most of our remaining supply of sugar, which the ladies with squeaks of delight scooped with their fingers out of the bottom of their bowls.

Khanterek, 21st October, 1922.

All the Kirghiz, including D.'s guests of yesterday, came to see us off this morning and seemed genuinely sorry to bid us adieu, begging us to come again next year. The Chopkana pass proved 11,500 feet high and fairly easy, though loaded camels could not have crossed it. At the top, under the crags of Kaying Beli, I went after a covey of snow-cock, which the Kirghiz call *ulai*, but they were far too wild. This bird seems to be the same as the *rām chikor* of the Himalayas, and is the size of a bustard; he is a true partridge and is marked like a chikor, but, living like the ptarmigan on or near the snow-line, he has more white about him. His bill is curved like a hawk's, very curious in a partridge. Just below the pass on the north side is the highest summer *yailāq* or camping-place of the Kirghiz, a pretty "alp" with firs; there was nobody there, but a mile further down at Ui-chi we found small crofts and tents and three or four families of Kirghiz. Two of the women wore most wonderful head-dresses, peaked fore and aft and garnished with red embroidery, quite different from the flat-topped turbans of the ladies of the Pamirs. Apparently only the richer ones wear this curious head-dress. All the Kirghiz crowded round D. for medicine; her daily "sick parade" has become quite an institution and is probably the chief reason of our popularity.

The Chopkana people have brought down an *aq-oi* for us to the little apricot grove by the bridge. We have come down 3,000 feet from Kaying and 5,000 from the top of the pass, and the warmth in this sheltered spot is delightful. To-morrow the caravan goes to Saman only, as we want to reconnoitre the Achiq Jilgha, a side-glen at the top of which I am told there is a pass leading over the Gez River and the main winter road between Kashgar and the Pamirs.

The problems of travel in the wilds have been enormously simplified for us on this pioneer trip by the admirable behaviour of our men, all of whom work splendidly so that everything runs with clockwork precision. Our programme on an average march is as follows. At seven Ahmad Bakhsh brings tea to our respective tents, shortly followed by Yakub and the tub. Yakub has had the bath-water simmering in its oil-tins on his own particular fire since the night before; the same tins provide the hot water required in the kitchen. By

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals, and the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of semi-stagnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

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told us that Great Old Father Ch'en, who had been for six years Magistrate of Khotan, was responsible for the edifice—a kind of mausoleum of his official ambitions. The inscription told of the mighty deeds of Ch'en, how he had built schools and temples and repaired roads, how he had girdled Khotan New City with walls and acted justly in the sight of men. Finally the names were given of those who had sent petitions to Urumchi praying for the retention at Khotan of the said Great Old Father. Within the building as we sat drinking ceremonial tea provided by our absent host in a room decorated with pleasing frescoes, Chu translated to us a Chinese poem which adorned one of the walls. It told how a certain Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty summoned his Prime Minister, one Hsü, and said to him, " Hsü, thou art the most faithful and the most honoured of my counsellors, yet there are men who speak ill of thee, and complaints have reached mine ears. How is this ? " Hsü prostrated himself and replied (but in far more flowery terms), " Sire, the floods of spring are welcome to the farmers, but travellers speak many hard words of them ; the moon of autumn is loved of lovers, but robbers like her not." The Emperor, understanding, bade his minister arise, and Hsü basked once more in the full radiance of the Imperial countenance.

I am told that Ch'en was a strong and severe Magistrate ; he had a habit, among others, of hamstringing thieves which resulted, towards the end of his time, in the almost complete boycott of Khotan by the light-fingered fraternity. Officials of this type are unpopular the world over, not least among the very classes whose property they protect. Town walls, again, are not appreciated by the inhabitants of Sinkiang as they ought to be, owing to the fact that forced labour is used exclusively in their construction ; they are in fact " public works " in the fullest sense, in that the public has to work, and work hard, to make them. One can guess that complaints began to reach the ears of the Governor at Urumchi and eventually resulted in the replacement of Ch'en, who has doubtless ever since regarded himself as the victim of intrigue—hence the little story which adorns the walls of his drawing-room.

Khotan, 25th November, 1922.

Khotan is not a large town, but it is busy and prosperous and makes the most of itself to the traveller. You come first to the " New " or Chinese city, which is square and measures about half a mile each way with massive walls in good repair and bastions crowned with pagodas along them. Here are the Yamens of the officials, the barracks and magazine, the Taoist temple and several streets of shops. Then, passing under a gateway in the walls in the middle of the main bazaar, you find yourself in the Old City, which, unlike Kashgar and Yarkand, consists of one long, winding, up-and-down bazaar, well-roofed throughout, with an irregular fringe of town on either side all mixed up with private gardens, mosques, cornfields, open market-places and cemeteries. Old Badruddin's house where we are staying is right in the middle of the most crowded part of the bazaar, and yet you can escape through the orchard into a lane among cornfields leading into the open country. I am ensconced in a grand room looking on to the garden, with numerous real glass windows and shutters to them, a fireplace and a Russian stove as well. D. chose

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Khotan, 28th November.

The name of Stein is well remembered in these parts among Turkis and British subjects alike, and all antiquities other than gold brought in by the "Taklamanchis" or treasure-seekers of the Takla Makan are regarded as his property and to be kept for him. I heard many stories about the great explorer; how in the dreaded Qaranghu Tagh or "Dark Mountains" south of Khotan he bridged an abyss with wire and thus pulled himself and his party across; how in the same mountains he was laid up with frost-bite and would have perished if help had not been obtained from the Leh road, and so on. One episode, probably trivial enough if it occurred, appears to have particularly impressed the Khotanis. It is related that a domed tomb was discovered by Stein completely buried in sand, only one small aperture giving access. This was too small for Stein himself to enter, so he called for volunteers, but none of his local men dared to go in. Finally the Indian surveyor, Ram Singh, stepped (literally) into the breach. He squeezed himself in, and when he came out again some time later he was blind!

Our journey from Khotan to Keriya and back was of the nature of a dash on business, and my letters contain little of interest to the general reader. The second time we visited this remote part of the world, in the spring of 1924, we were able to spare some time for seeing the country and studying its people; on this occasion we travelled straight to Keriya (103 miles) in four marches, stayed there three days and returned to Khotan in another four days. We used pony transport for this trip, the desert road being too sandy for carts. We marched the first day 35 miles to a lonely desert inn called Beshtoghraq Langar, or "The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars," passing, twenty miles from Khotan, through the headquarters of the flourishing new district of Lop.

The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars proved a grubby, desolate little collection of mud hovels islanded in the sand-dunes of a belt of desert 25 miles wide; but our next halt, Chira, was a pleasant township positively buried in orchards. At this half-way house between Khotan and Keriya we were met by the British Aqsaqal of the latter district, a charming, courtly Afghan of great local prestige and considerable substance called Ghulam Muhammad, who insisted on our staying in a comfortable house belonging to his Turki wife, a Chira lady. Next day, near Domoko, an amusing and instructive little incident occurred. We were hacking peacefully along with Murad Qari and a couple of orderlies, when we noticed a crowd of people in the fields a couple of hundred yards from the road, and thought we would go and see what was happening.

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his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

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487 of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha 162 seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, com- 181 bining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak [361] Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply- [291] sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

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487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly
609 impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

•361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus
[651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1½*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

[312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next
487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

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487 cypress-like poplars. A chain of curiously abrupt, craggy hills juts out from the black fantastically-fretted mountains of the Kelpin district, half-way across the broad valley. On an isolated spur of these, close to the town, is an old Chinese castle, still kept up and occupied by a small garrison; for Uch Turfan is a frontier post of some strategic importance, commanding the high and difficult but much-used Bedal Pass leading across the Tien Shan from Semirechia. The country 241 round Uch Turfan is closely cultivated, the soil being, if possible, 361 even more fertile than that of the great oases of the south. Here there are no villages, nothing but countless farms standing on their own "small holdings," with fields well laid out between rows of tall poplars and many timber-trees shading the farms. From the summit of one of the abrupt hills mentioned above the view on a clear autumn day is superb. At one's feet, gardens and vineyards, melon-fields and tobacco-plantations; in the middle distance, the town with its massive walls embowered in greenery, watched over by the old castle on its crag; all around, miles and miles of fields and trees and farmsteads in rich mosaic, almost perfectly flat, with rocky hills like islands rising out of the sea of green and autumn gold; in the background, from west right round to north-east, the Mountains of Heaven in full array, furrowed deep with glens and rising in the north to Pelion piled on Ossa of eternal snow; to the south and south-west, the fantastic dark-brown and black peaks and crags of the Kelpin mountains, tier beyond tier, each a little hazier and more mysterious than the last.

500 I dined one day with the Amban and other officials in the gardens of Toqquz Bulak ("Nine Springs"), a Chinese pleasaunce famous throughout Sinkiang. The springs from which the place takes its name gush from the foot of one of the rocky hills near the town; there are well-tended gardens round them and a square pond lined with willows, into the midst of which juts a wooden pier. Anchored at the end of the pier, surprisingly, is a houseboat of the regular Thames or Kashmir type, containing a room fitted up as a dining-room with a kitchen and pantry off it; above, to complete the illusion, awnings and chairs and flowers in pots. One dines either in the houseboat or, if it is warm, in a summer-house on a ledge of the cliff above the pond. The Magistrate who entertained me, a Chinese Mussulman whom we were to meet again at a dramatic moment before we left Kashgar,[1] was a great horti-

[1] See pp. 264-5.

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SHEEP-FARM OF YETIM DÖBE, CENTRAL TIEN SHAN

361

[Face p. 226]

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622 He was passionately fond of hawking and "eagling," if one
224 may coin the word; he used hawks for hares and other small game, eagles for antelopes and sometimes wolves. He told me he would not part with his favourite *qara qush* for a hundred taels, though it was very fierce and had more than once clawed him when hungry and rashly unhooded. I noticed that he held the string attached to its hood in his teeth, and that after unhooding it for a moment so that I could take a photograph of the two of them, he put the hood on again at once with his bridle hand. He pointed out to me the precipitous red sandstone cliffs above Abad where it had been netted as a fledgeling.

He also told me about his hawks, among which he prized most a white one from the Altai. All over Central Asia these white hawks,[1] which are exceedingly difficult to get, are highly prized, though their performances are not, I believe, in any way superior to those of ordinary falcons. They are occasionally brought from Ili to the Aqsu market, where they fetch from fifty to a hundred taels or more. Almost every year the Mehtar (Chief) of Chitral, the Mir of Nagar or some such potentate from the Indian frontier sends men up to Kashgar to try and buy a white hawk; as often as not the messenger returns empty-handed.

•361 Three days later we marched through the narrow and dirty but picturesque wood-and-mud-brick bazaars of Old Aqsu to the charming house and garden outside the western gate
000 which had been placed at our disposal. We were pleased to find that our host was the same Haji whose ranch at Yetim Döbe had been such a haven of refuge to us in the Tien Shan. Buried in trees, just far enough from the town to escape its noise and dust, the country house of Abdus Sattar Haji was a pleasant place indeed. A couple of hundred yards to the north ran the long line of perpendicular loess cliffs, forty or fifty feet high, which bound the city of Aqsu on the north and east and evidently mark an ancient channel of the Qum Ariq River. Under the level rays of the setting sun the place gave the impression of a marvellous piece of theatrical scene-painting; the tall white stems of the poplars and the rainbow-tinted autumn foliage blended perfectly with the warm grey-brown tones of the "drop-scene" of cliff in the background, and with the entirely mediæval walls and massive gates and bastions of the town.

[1] *Hierofalco altaiensis*, Turki *toighun*.

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of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361 •
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited 778
the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312]
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

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487 knew so well, four hundred miles to the north-west. At mid-day we were met by the friendly people of Polu who had pitched for us a tiny tent made of sacks on a cliff-top 800 feet above the river-bed. With the indefatigable hospitality of remoter Asia, they had brought all the way from Polu, several miles further up among the mountains, an enormous meal of boiled sheep, bread, tea and hard-boiled eggs dyed bright blue, the favourite colour of Khotan.[1]

•361 Polu is the largest of the hill-villages at the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a branch of the Kunlun stretching for a thousand miles to the E.N.E. until it merges
487 with the Nan Shan. The relative importance of Polu is due to the fact that it commands the only possible track leading up over the Kunlun to the northern plateau of Tibet and so to Ladakh and India. The defiles on the north side of the pass are exceedingly narrow and almost, if not quite, impossible for pack transport of any kind; but for a distance of 530 miles, from the Hindu Tash Pass (17,750 ft.) over the Sanju range in the west to the Qarasai gap above Cherchen in the east, there is no other path at all by which men can cross the
361 tremendous barrier of the Kunlun. Polu is picturesquely situated at a height of 8,500 feet on a ridge between two branches of the Keriya River's chief tributary. Its fields are lined with tall poplars and dotted with clumps of fine planes and walnuts. The village consists of closely-packed, flat-topped houses of wood and stone with curious raised skylights in the middle of the roof, and has a look of Baltistan or Tibet which differentiates it at once from the settlements of the hill
[563] "Sarts" and Kirghiz of the Kashgar Range and the Tien Shan. Stein thinks that there may be Tibetan blood in the people, and certainly they do not regard themselves as belonging to the same race as the people of Khotan and Keriya. Polu and neighbouring villages do not belong to Keriya district, as one would have expected; they are grouped with Imamlär, Chakar, Hasha, Nura and other oases of the great "bay"

[1] The word *kök* (blue) is often used in Khotan as a synonym for "beautiful," without conveying any particular colour. I heard a minstrel sing:

Sai buida tört tufak
Törtilärsi kök tufak.
Four heifers on the desert's edge
And all four of them blue (i.e. lovely) heifers.

The reason why the shells of presentation eggs are always coloured is because white is unlucky, being the colour of death and mourning.

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of the Kunlun into the "Begship of the Three Hundred Hill Families," which is under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Chira. The people of Polu complain of this arrangement, for Chira is twice as far from them as Keriya. They told me however, that whereas they have always been assessed at ten families only, they number about eighty, so that their cultivation is taxed very lightly.[1] They are industrious cultivators, raising crops of barley, millet and lucerne on every available yard; but the dryness of this part of Asia is such that even here, right under snowy mountains 21,000 feet high, crops have to be carefully irrigated. There are two methods of irrigation in use; where the slope is slight, the fields are terraced in the usual manner; where it is steeper, the entire surface is covered with a key-pattern of channels about six inches deep, down which the water trickles over the whole field, a most laborious business. The chief industry, however, is stock-raising; though they look barren enough, the uplands in this neighbourhood grow excellent grass, owing probably to the fertility of the aerially-deposited loess which is found at the very highest elevations and gives a slightly dirty tinge even to the eternal snow. An excellent type of hill-pony, shaggy but better-looking and with finer hair than the Kalmuck ponies, is found here together with a black and very woolly breed of donkey; I bought one of the former for 32 taels (£4 5s.) and it turned out one of the best hill-ponies I have ever ridden. "Polu pony" as we always called him, besides being strong and willing, was a remarkably intelligent little animal and took in everything that was going on. On the long bare plateaux of Poma Qir and Chata Qir west of Polu we saw herds of yaks and camels as well as the ubiquitous sheep and goats.

An industry which would be of greater importance locally than it is, if the Chinese did not strictly control it and limit the output, is gold-washing. There is no doubt that gold exists in large quantities throughout the length, not only of the Altun Tagh but of the whole Kunlun system. I heard of gold-washing high up among the almost inaccessible gorges of the Upper Yarkand River; Stein mentions it at Pisha in the Qaranghu Tagh (Central Kunlun),[2] and speaks feelingly of

[1] This agrees roughly with what Stein heard at Chakar ("Serindia," pp. 1320–21); that the number of families in the Begship was assessed at 221, but amounted in 1907 to 1,802.

[2] "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 210.

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
199 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in the group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

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V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

133 Tien-shan on the north and the Kun-lun Mountain range on the south. Generally speaking, this area can be divided into three sections: namely, the core desert area, the piedmont alluvial fans, and the isolated oases. In the core area of the Takla Makan Desert, the absence of moisture bars all animal and plant life. In the alluvial fans at the piedmonts of Tien-shan and the Kun-lun there are settlements and towns. However, they are rather widely separated. The alluvial fans are not all alike. In the higher plateaus of the southern fringe of the Takla-Makan near the Kun-lun ranges vegetation is to be found only at great elevations where the proximity of glaciers provides moisture and allows vegetation to grow for a few months of the year. It also is found in the extremely confined spaces that streams fed by these glaciers leave at the bottom of deep-cut, narrow gorges. Oases are strung singly like a chain, especially along the fringe of the southwestern corner of the Takla Makan desert. They are generally located between the hilly land and the desert and are of different sizes and conformations, depending upon the local relief.

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The basin itself is higher on the southwestern corner, near the massive mountain ranges of the Pamirs. The elevation of this part of the basin is around 4,500 to 4,800 feet. It inclines gently towards the east and northeast, where the elevation is around 3,600 feet. Tnus, the rivers run from the southwestern mountainous area, along the edge of the Takla Makan and toward the east. East of the Takla Makan is the oval depression of the Lop Nor where the Tarim River ends.

The structure of the basin is that of a depressed part of the Kun-lun range. The southern edge is higher than the northern edge, revealing that the southern edge of the basin was joined with the hilly land of the lower part of the Kun-lun range.

The Kun-lun Region: On the southern flank of the Tarim Basin the Kun-lun range extends in an unbroken line. It starts from the "roof of Asia" - the Pamirs - and forms a gigantic and massive feature of the southern border between Sinkiang and the Tibetan Plateau on the south. On this range lies the watershed between the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim Rivers. East of the Pamirs it separates into several high parallel ranges. These ranges are cut by the Yarkand River and its tributaries, the main feeders of the Tarim. At an elevation of some 16,500 feet above sea level there is the Karakoram pass, which is the only practicable means of access to Ladak and the uppermost Indus Valley. Farther to the east, the Kun-lun raises a practically impenetrable barrier to any sort of traffic. The two rivers which water the Khotan oasis break through the northernmost main range, but their passage ends largely through extremely deep-cut and generally quite

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133 inaccessible gorges. To the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor, the mountains resume an easterly bearing and sink to a lower level. Beyond the eastern extremity of the Tarim Basin, the Kun-lun imperceptibly merges with the Ch'i-lien-shan along the southern edge of the Kansu Corridor. In the western portion its northern slopes, with their aridity and far advanced erosion, closely reporduce the physical features already familiar to us from the Kun-lun. The other branch extends eastward to Chinghai Province, forming the divide of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers.

Examination of the topographical features of northwestern China reveals that mountains, plateaus, deserts, and gravels dominate the land forms of the whole area. Level land is present along the various river banks; notably, the Ili Plain, the E-min Plain, the Kara-Irtis Plain, the Urumchi Plain, and at certain portions of the Tarim River. Human activities are largely restricted and limited by the unfavorable topography
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[361] and land forms. Cities are located at the piedmonts of the mountains, and oases are situated along the outer fringes of
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[161] the deserts by the side of water. The population of Northwest China is sparsely distributed through the whole section .

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132 C. Climate

Particularly in Northwest China, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution, and its reliability. Temperature, which in winter absolutely stops outside activities with its cold and which destroys crops through untimely frosts in spring and fall is next in importance.

The inland provinces of Northwest China are least influenced by ocean winds from the southeast and east, and the continentality is very obvious. The climate of Northwest China undergoes sharp fluctuations of temperature in summer and in winter, and uneven and unpredictable precipitation throughout the year.

According to collected data on temperatures from a few stations in Northwest China, Chiu-ch'uan for instance, the average temperature of January is minus nine degrees Centigrade. Tun-huang is minus seven degrees Centigrade. Because of a lower elevation than Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang is relatively warmer even though farther west. In July, Chiu-ch'uan has 23.8 degrees Centigrade, whereas Tun-huang has 27.1 degrees Centigrade. The annual differences of each of the stations in Kansu are over thirty degrees Centigrade. Chiu-ch'uan is thirty-three degrees Centigrade; Tun-huang is

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5) Urianghai 4,000 people

4. The Indo-Europeans

The remainder are Indo-Europeans and are in two groups:

1) Russians about 14-15,000 people
2) Tajiks about 9,000 " (also called Sarikolis or simply Iranians)

5. The Manchus

The Manchus, with the subgroups Solons and Sibos, are a recently extinct racial group. They merged with neighbouring Turks or Chinese or were absorbed by them. They forgot their own language about 40 or 50 years ago. The main group, consisting of about 10,000 persons, used to live in the Ili valley and the town of Ili. The present regime still constantly lists these three groups.

6. Summary of population

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Number	Group	No. of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	New Uighur	3,000	In the area of Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Cherchen, Aksu, Kucha, Kuldja, Turfan, Barkul, Hami, Chuguchak.
2	Kazakhs	300	Along the Tekes River and Kunger River, in the area of Chuguchak, on the border of Sinkiang, and Kazakhstan, on the border of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang.
3	Kirghiz	70	On the border of Sinkiang and Kirghizistan, between the area of Tekes River, the mountains north of Aksu, Uch-Turfan, Yanigshahar, Tashkurgan.
4	Taranchi	43	In the Ili region.
5	Uzbeks	8	Mostly living in cities, especially in Kashgar, Yarkend, Kuldja and Chuguchak.
6	Tatars	5	Exclusively living in the cities of Yuldus, Urumchi, Kuldja and Chuguchak.

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 971 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[791] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[791] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[197]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

S 793 [692] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has S [794] no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [203] [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

S 563 829

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, [178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this (614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and (901) the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of [554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- [634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of [242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 829 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 [634] livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, [242] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present S N generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to [361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans 829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among *563 S 829 563

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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles required for temple worship. This shop was also the [205] post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which com- 485 [136] posed the village were built at the foot of a high, overhanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

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door the darkness is almost complete. Experience in travel, however, enables one to appreciate the fact that in this dark hole: 1. The rays of the sun being excluded, the traveller (whose only rest is taken by day) has a good chance of sleep; 2. The heat does not easily penetrate this earthen dwelling; 3. The darkness is so distasteful to flies that once the room is shut up they voluntarily leave by the hole in the roof; 4. The Gobi wind and swirling sand are as effectively excluded as possible; 5. The tired traveller may sleep as soundly as he pleases, there being no aperture through which a stealthy hand can introduce itself and abstract his goods while he slumbers. 485

We had been in bed for about three hours when we heard the sound of the derelict cart approaching the inn. It was quite unmistakable owing to the thud given each time when the injured portion of the wheel met the ground. There were a few deep groans from the driver; a brief conversation with the innkeeper; and then, silence while the exhausted men slept. 494 485

In the afternoon a council of war was held, and the Turki driver of our rescued conveyance was induced, for a moderate sum of money, to fill up his empty cart with the heavy luggage, which he undertook to deliver in Hami. There was no blacksmith nor wheelwright in the village, but a venerable Turki volunteered his amateur services, and by means of a length of rope, a few nails and the skilful use of an adze, before nightfall the wheel was so far repaired, that by letting the cart go empty we hoped to bring it in safety to Hami.

Our next night of travel brought us to the well-named oasis of Changliushui—'The Inexhaustible Spring.' As we approached by moonlight we suddenly caught sight of a tree, the first we had seen since leaving 485 361 312

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
563 dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese. 563

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volunteered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously. 262 137

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed 361 485 133 000

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst]

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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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485 exclusive use of a small kitchen, in which we cooked with our own utensils. Our word was accepted that no pork, lard or swine's flesh of any description would be used, nevertheless the members of this large Moslem clan preferred employing another kitchen rather than that contaminated by wandering Gentiles.

262 The landlord was on the spot to receive us, and at once we were served with a melon, which was entirely worthy of the reputation that Hami has gained for this fruit. An hour later we sat down to an abundant meal of rice and good Chantow bread, a dish of chopped mutton and egg-plant fried together, a plate of French beans *sautés* in mutton fat with sliced cucumber, and the whole accompanied by unlimited 'sweet water' tea, followed by slices of cantaloupe melon—truly a feast for the gods!

485 Before we had finished our meal Mr. Hunter arrived with an armful of our much accumulated mail, which kept us fully occupied for the remainder of the afternoon. The landlord meanwhile explained to us that his inn was only recently built, and was constructed to accommodate such merchants as might need to spend a considerable period in Hami. It was not yet officially opened, but when his old friend, Mr. Hunter, asked that we might be his first guests, he could not refuse him, especially in view of the long distance which we had come. This eventful day then closed with a hot sponge-bath, as, for the first time since leaving Suchow, we were able to obtain sufficient hot water for our use.

361 During the next few days we visited every portion of the three settlements which form the city of Hami.
134 There is a well-built, mud-walled town in which is situated the Palace of the Khan, known by the Chinese as Wang ye.

Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, bestowed

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361 this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never
634 ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little
361 distance stood another walled city which contained the
712 Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Out-
361 side, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business
[366] quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent
244 to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

592 As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

291 The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed. 487

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat. 484 312 133

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi 361 312 245 484 577

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dare to detain us, and the head of the firm had given notice of the day we should cross the frontier; but we never knew a moment's peace till we were out of the hands of that gang. How different from General Feng's soldiers! We passed right through their fighting lines, and they never seized even our little donkey! The officer said, "These men are honest apprentices; they have a long journey ahead; no one is to touch them, their goods or their donkey!" That's something like an army!' 486

The following morning we reached 'Third Halt,' which we found to be a torrid place, lying in a cup of the hills. Our inn rooms were intolerably hot, and after a brief rest we got up and sat under the trees, hoping to escape from the flies, and also seize the advantage of any passing breeze. While resting there we heard the sound of the familiar camel-bell, and looking up watched a string of sixty of these beasts cross the village stream. The banks were muddy, and the awkwardness of the camel when walking on slippery ground was evident. These beasts frequently come to grief when attempting to travel on other than sandy roads, and broken legs are not infrequent at a river's edge. The driver was a Barkul man, which city is colonised by Chinese, many of whom make their living by grazing camels. The Turki is of no use as a camel driver. He is too impetuous, and seems unable to give these animals the peculiar care which they need. Strong, long-lived, and enduring, as they are under good conditions, they easily lose heart, and once overdriven never recover. Rough treatment, hustle or untoward difficulties play havoc with these creatures, whose temperamental qualities seem to be as strange as their physical peculiarities. Once their spirit is broken they are of no further use, and lie down and die. 361 132 492

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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these
137 stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance,
[205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls
[487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which
[206] lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer.
[132] We were warned that at this season people were dying
[342] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected themselves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better
372 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As
491 we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance.
487 Geographically its position is notable, standing as it does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We
491 followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361 ●
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

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tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no ' pull ' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. ' It's temper is up ! ' they said, ' and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its ' face,' and went to work again ! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi.

We had been without the guiding telegraph wire ever since we parted from it at Tsikioking, but at Kucheng we met with it once more, and we were glad of its indication over the rolling steppes which we now so frequently crossed. A new feature of the road was the little Ili Valley cart, of a build unfamiliar to us. The fact that it had four wheels gave it a Western look, for all Chinese carts, large or small, are built on two wheels, and this new structure was unknown to most of our party, who were as delighted as children to see this departure from the agelong, traditional vehicle.

Leaving Santai, an hour's drive brought us to the site of the original town of that name, now a mass of crumbling ruins, one more reminder of the havoc and desolation wrought by the Moslem rebellion in 1862–1877. Ruined villages, hamlets and farmsteads, mark

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361 669 the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

485 Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it. [563] The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

000 Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

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CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
•361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'
[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

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439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, formless, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The
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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
437 but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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3; Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to
361 Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called
136 Behya—' The Town of Seagulls '—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically
[487] and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia
361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that ' the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. ' Certainly,' we said, ' show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, ' Here they come again! ' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To ' save face ' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

10: Tilman T-3 (1947) 1948 AUl Afghanistan AUl
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WAKHAN: OR HOW TO VARY A ROUTE

By MAJOR H. W. TILMAN, D.S.O., M.C.

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IT is a good many years since an Englishman crossed the Wakhjir Pass to follow the ancient route down the Oxus, so perhaps a brief note may be of interest. (Not that the lapse of time has effected many changes in Wakhan.) But before reaching Wakhan I should explain how I got there and in what circumstances.

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No traveller willingly follows a well-known route if there is a less known, so when returning last year from Kashgar to Gilgit I tried some slight variations. Between Kashgar and Tashkhurgan there is a choice of several routes, but all of them are moderately well known so that anyone with rooted objections to following the beaten track is not easily accommodated. One can reach the Little Kara Kul by three different ways and thence proceed west of the Muztagh Ata massif: or to the east of this there is the ordinary route by Yangi Hissar and the Chichiklik Pass, or a variation by way of the Karatash Valley which rejoins the ordinary route at Toile Bulung. But neither of these last two go near Muztagh Ata and since I much wanted to see the unexplored eastern side of the mountain I planned a roundabout deviation from the last-named route over the Karatash Pass and thence up the Tur Bulung nullah. At the head of this there is a pass marked on the map (Sheet 42 N, ¼ in.) with a query against it, which, if it could be crossed, would lead one down to rejoin the ordinary route at Chichiklik maidan.

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[361]

Accompanied by a Turki from Kashgar we crossed the Karatash Pass (16,338 feet) on ponies on September 17th in a fierce wind. The weather was, and continued to be, unsettled, so that I was disappointed of my principal hope of seeing Muztagh Ata close from the east. There were some yorts in the valley on the other side of the pass and to the south a glacier, covered with unblemished white névé, descended gradually from an easy-looking col. Had we been without baggage ponies it would have been tempting to embark on it to force a direct route to the south; instead, we went on down the valley past the Tur Bulung junction and as far as Kang Showar before we found any more yorts.

The Tur Bulung Pass was said to be unsuited to ponies so we sent them round by Little Kara Kul and Subashi, and ourselves, with a Kirghiz guide and a yak, went back up the Tur Bulung. Snow and heavy cloud prevented us from seeing anything but occasional glimpses of the 19,000-ft. eastern outlier of Muztagh Ata. Four miles up the Tur Bulung valley there is the snout of a big glacier of true debris-covered Himalayan type, quite unlike the clean white slabs of ice which spill over the gentle western slopes of Muztagh Ata like icing sugar on a bun. This glacier bore away south-west and then west into a wide bay, while the Tur Bulung stream, which we followed, comes down from the south-east from a wide upland valley—a hanging valley—a thousand feet or so above the glacier. Our guide called the glacier Kok Sel, which is also the name

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Lattimore

The sun lays down patterns on a Kashgar street.

Lattimore

A Kashgar mosque where the faithful turn for rest and prayer.

The market place is important for the exchange of wares and gossip in Kashgar.

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Lattimore

[p. 32 (F)]

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Lattimore

Travellers come into Yarkand at a fast trot.

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Lattimore

But life moves more slowly in the city itself.

[p. 32 (H)]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

however, he could not consider unless a companion were forthcoming who would stay with Mr. Hunter during his absence. A volunteer was found in Mr. Ridley, of Sining, in Kansu, who had, we knew, recently arrived in Urumchi to take over Mr. Mather's work, and thus release him for furlough; and this being so, we had mutually agreed to travel together from Urumchi to Europe. We had never yet met him, but five miles from the city both gentlemen appeared on horseback to greet us, Mr. Mather welcoming us as the first fellow-countrywomen he had seen for twelve years!

We soon came in sight of the city, which was well wooded, and arrived at the Outer Gate, where soldiers, as usual, demanded our passports. 'Have you met any lamas by the way?' they enquired. 'We have been expecting some for several days, and you must have seen them on the road.' No one ever gives any information when officially questioned, so we simply changed the subject, knowing, notwithstanding, that they must be referring to the party of Tibetans who left Hsinghsinghsia with us, and whom we had passed and repassed all the way. As we moved on, information was imparted to our servants that the guard were under orders to seize the whole party of priests, and conduct them to the prison, as they were accused of being undesirable characters; and two days later, to prison they went.

The streets of Urumchi impressed us as being irregular, narrow, lacking in architectural beauty, crowded and dirty. We had lost sight of Mr. Hunter several hours previously, but as we drew up to the Mission House, there he stood in the doorway to receive us. The white home-spun cotton had vanished and he now wore his best black suit, and a black soft felt hat, while the clumsy traveller's boots were replaced by well-polished

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier. 485

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the back-door of every house on the north side of the village, and 136 133 241 485 363 291

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to 105°. Another climatic feature arising from "continentality" is the fact that April is much hotter than October, which is the warmer month in other regions of the globe. 132

In winter the ground freezes to a depth of a foot and a half, and all irrigation water stops owing to the choking of the canals with ice between 15th November and the end of February. Yet the Kashgar winter is not at all a formidable affair. The skies indeed are sometimes grey with dust-haze, and for several days in January the thermometer does not rise above freezing-point. But the sun shines most of the time, while as for wind, that terror of cold lands, we had none worth mentioning. Ringed round on three sides by lofty ranges, Kashgar is mercifully windless in winter, so that in spite of the hard and prolonged frost the cold is not severe. We made ourselves very cosy in the evenings in front of roaring wood fires. One of the first things we did to the Consulate was to instal good British open fireplaces, not being content with the cheerless Russian stoves we found in the house: vast shiny black cylinders like the funnels of monstrous locomotives, which disfigured and either under- or over-heated every room. There are usually one or two light snowfalls during the winter, but the snow melts very quickly in the strong sun, except where there is underlying ice. In spring and early summer occasional storms with rain or dust or both vary the monotony of the eternal sunshine, and are also to be welcomed for the exquisite clearness of the air which follows them. At any time in July or August the weather may become, for short spells at a time, unpleasantly warm according to European though not to Indian standards; punkahs are unknown, though I must confess I should sometimes have been glad of one. But the nights are seldom oppressively hot, except occasionally just before a storm. Another fly—to use an appropriate metaphor—in the ointment of a Kashgar summer is the insect life. 136 Mosquitoes and sand-flies are a trial, though not to be compared with those of an Indian plains station; the former are smaller and less robust than those of Hindustan, and both can be effectively circumvented by a mixture of citronella oil and kerosene. At night muslin sand-fly curtains are advisable, unless one is sleeping in the open air and well away from walls.

One would have expected that the cities of Chinese Turkistan, where ideas regarding sanitation and hygiene are of the most primitive, would be hotbeds of disease and regularly 164 364

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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swept by all sorts of epidemics. In particular it might be supposed that towns which are dependent for their water-supply upon small rivers, canals and even ponds would be peculiarly liable to the scourge of cholera, as are those of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan where similar conditions prevail. But it is a remarkable fact that cholera, typhus and plague are alike unknown, though they appear regularly in Ferghana and Bokhara immediately to the west. Stranger still, though dogs both tame and semi-wild abound, and though they occasionally go mad and bite people, hydrophobia is unheard of, though common enough on the Russian side of the Tien Shan. The only serious infectious diseases are typhoid and smallpox, which appear to be endemic ; in neither case, however, is the mortality rate high, in spite of the lack of western-trained doctors and hospitals, nor have Europeans much to fear from them. The only ailment which seems to give Europeans much trouble is a comparatively mild form of malaria which is prevalent in the districts where there is much rice-cultivation. On the whole, Kashgaria may be said to be one of the healthiest countries in Asia. So, at any rate, we found it, for with the exception of a single chill which kept D. in bed for a week or two our first September neither of us had a day's illness during the whole of our time in Chinese Turkistan.

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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/The Chinese/

N
*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
364 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
S
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
[312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N
*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165] and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
[844] and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
S
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S
N Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
[165] deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S E. Efforts of the Government

N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

000 other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accom-
291 panied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

364 Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were [312] never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses
536 of the Chinese population is distinctly different from
636 that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accom-
636 plished in Shansi. The policy of this strong auto-
20 cratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

There is a controversy concerning the origin of the *kariz* which has a bearing on the ancient routes by which knowledge of various kinds was transmitted through Inner Asia into China and from China. Huntington asserted that the *kariz* was introduced into Sinkiang from Iran or Transcaspia, about 1780. Pelliot and Stein held almost the same view. On the other hand the eminent Chinese historian Wang Kuo-wei believes that it was first brought to Sinkiang from China after the opening up of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty. These references do not exhaust the problem, for the *kariz* principle was used by the Greeks on Samos, and by the Etruscans in Italy in the sixth century B.C. In Central Arabia it is known as *saqi*, and in Morocco as *foggara*. Subterranean irrigation canals were also built by the Incas in Peru. 312 171

Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. About 50 per cent of the water for irrigation in Komul comes from springs, as against 25 per cent each from *kariz* and rivers. In Kulja and several other large oases springs are used to irrigate rice fields, which require a very steady flow of water. In the miniature oasis of Kumish, south of Toksun, a spring with a discharge of only three cubic meters a day is the sole source of water for the irrigation of about eight acres of land. Closely related to springs are the streams which disappear in boulder fans and emerge again later in or beyond an oasis. The flow of such streams, which are called *sai*, is apt to be fluctuating; but except where they have been tapped by *kariz*, they are an important source of water which has not been fully utilized. 312 133

"Tanks" — as they are called in India — or small pits are used for the storage of drinking water in the towns of some oases, but not as reservoirs for irrigation water except in the dying oasis of Maralbashi. Most of the river water is taken off by oases lying upstream from Maralbashi, forcing the cultivators to store water when they can get it and keep it until they need to use it. Unfortunately the main reservoir has now silted up, so that unless a new one is dug the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned. 365 312

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Lattimore

The sun lays down patterns on a Kashgar street.

Lattimore

A Kashgar mosque where the faithful turn for rest and prayer.

The market place is important for the exchange of wares and gossip in Kashgar.

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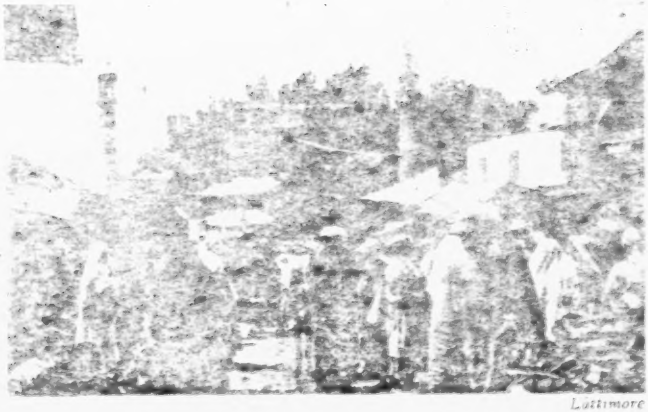

Lattimore

[p. 32 (F)]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles [205] required for temple worship. This shop was also the post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of 485 [136] medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which composed the village were built at the foot of a high, overhanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were 463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in 366 the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

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All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke of themselves as coming from Tientsin; the banks and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people; coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as to warrant an old name for Hami—'The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of 'Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

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We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

•366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted, but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though
437 he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
586 then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children [369] of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but [434] no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

184 562 583 Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, [586] girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When 563 584 a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[361] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
322 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
262
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[635]

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We [206] were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. We were warned that at this season people were dying [132] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them- [342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man: Tsikioking is better 372 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

372 qualities. Several of the desert plants and roots supply fuel of fair quality, but in most places the people are dependent on animal droppings, cow dung being the best variety since, well dried, it gives out a glowing heat.

647 A visit to the Official brought us once more into the tragic conditions of Yamen life. A young man, with signs of the opium habit upon him, received us with the usual Chinese courtesy, and introduced his wife, who was a nice-looking and self-respecting girl; but there were other women in the household of such a character as must have made existence in Tsikioking a living death to her.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THROUGH THE CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS

133 At Tsikioking we were within a few miles of the
491 outer foothills of the Tian Shan, which, on the next stage, we were to traverse from south to north. No sign of the Pass, however, was evident, and it was not until we had covered the first few miles of gently rising ground that we found the road took a sudden turn, and we then quickly entered the mouth of a narrowing gorge. At the entrance to the ravine the yellow sand was piled up on the windward side of the rocks to the height of several hundred feet, but as we advanced naked blackness met the eye on every side, and from here on, a rift through the black rocks sliced a road right across the Celestial Range to the plain of Dzungaria.

For nine hours we followed a narrow path, the gradient rising so evenly as to be scarcely noticeable. The high rocks on either side were absolutely denuded,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000. 438

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty. 342

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does [374]

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes. [435]

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity S [377] than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was S [377] recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning 377 commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by 653 building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

491 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] S N [433] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

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178 The totally new factor of
154 machine-powered industrialism is
now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and
[412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry,
[382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of
[133] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his
601 command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product
[313] of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kash-
[382] gar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

704 Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

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489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, N [433] Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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N With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and S the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found 135 useful. (See Tables V and VI.)

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter

1. [See p. 131--Analyst]

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*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

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[471] In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[433] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000 worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

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[288] In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

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*175 2. The cotton industry
288 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry
392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
• [392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

4 Sinkiang

473 175 177 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 175 315 473 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 288 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern 471 339 381 [327] [258] cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was expected to have its first stage of construction completed in 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 316 392 339 323 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory, and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

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N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [284] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

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N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

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(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

342 duty as a chimney, open during heavy rain is solved in an ingenious fashion. The felt cover is pulled almost but not quite over it; the corner of the felt opposite to the direction from which the rain is coming is then lifted on the end of a forked pole away from the rim of the "chimney," thus making a kind of vertical ventilator facing away from the rain. The other end of the forked pole is held firmly in mid-air by means of guy ropes attached to the sides of the tent. *Aq-ois* stand a gale very well, their shape being such that the higher the wind the more firmly the structure is pressed to the ground; I never heard of one being blown away. To make assurance doubly sure, however, a large stone is sometimes placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof anchored to it by a rope.

The putting together of the *aq-ois* is always done by the women, who are remarkably quick about it. I have seen a large one put up by two girls in half an hour. A middle-sized *aq-oi* forms three camel- or yak-loads when taken down. For short distances it can be moved bodily by ten or twelve men, who range themselves round the *inside* of the structure and lift it at a given signal. As they cannot see where they are going, they have to be steered by some one outside.

353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq-oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. [534] [411] There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

178 The totally new factor of

 machine-powered industrialism is

now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and [412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry, [382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of [133] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [971] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

/The Chinese/

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*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
364 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
S
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
[312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

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*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165] and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
[844] and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
S
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
N deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under
[165] control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
N of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the
744 Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

C 668 642 421 C [651] [461] other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'ih-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

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Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S 668 423

S [518] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[651] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
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563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

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792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

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[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

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[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N
563 The Salars:
794 *In the Chinese province of Kansu* are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

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[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
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[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
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563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. S [422] Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. S [592] An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain M 614 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a 622 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 177 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 178 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S N 563 233 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether [521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social [554] status is established by the possession of horses, camels, [422] and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he [342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the [352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand [353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to [476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 611 428 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each [425] one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration [592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. [622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. 621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 614 596 563 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people [829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 563 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

312 133 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 731 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome. It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 631 423 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

money capital, however, it is not surprising that the line at which work actually starts is still determined by the necessity for public labor, which must be assembled and directed by the exercise of public authority in some form. A typical recent example is the digging of an irrigation canal in the small oasis of Chira. As six villages were affected, three hundred men were assembled from these villages under the authority of their own village headmen. The village organization, however, can be superseded by the higher administrative authority of Chinese officials. The general rule is: local undertakings on a moderate scale are carried out within the limits of such co-operation as can be organized by village elders or headmen; enterprise on a large scale requires the intervention of a Chinese official.

At levels below the intervention of Chinese officials, traces of very ancient practices are found. Field investigation in a village in the oasis of Kucha revealed the survival of the "*ketman* of labor," a concept which combines units of labor, land, and water. The *ketman* is a broad-bladed mattock, the most ancient Inner Asian agricultural tool, which to this day is more widely used than the plow. A "*ketman* of labor" is the work of one man contributed throughout the digging of a canal, which entitles him to a "*ketman* of water," enough to irrigate from ten to fourteen acres.

In this village, however, the uniformity of the concept proved not to be reflected in uniformity of water rights. Of the total population about 8 per cent were landlords and rich peasants; but this 8 per cent owned about half of the total water supply. At the other end of the scale 17 per cent of the population had no water rights whatever, and were forced to purchase their water with a share of their crop. In between these two groups, one half of the water was owned by 75 per cent of the households. These families, classified as middle and poor peasants, had rights to an average of one third of a *ketman* of water for each household.

The shuffle which takes place between the contribution of labor and the allocation of water rights is accounted for in various ways. According to the Islamic principle of *mavat*, he who first

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setder. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

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566
households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the
cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the mainte- 691
nance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the
authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for
farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
244

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India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 487 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 174 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang. Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that
233 cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
62 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[582] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

563 The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
628 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
233 land from which they choose a part each summer and each winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

SN
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
991 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

K S 563 181

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
565 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high
554 status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Turks of Sinkiang/

815 668 177 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect, they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 668 177 [439] Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 668 177 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on ownership of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 668 177 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

000 purge took place.

N *668 798 In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

S 668 423 692 The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land reform began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shanshan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

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668 is our own people who are judging and sentencing people." But...
423 we must give the minority cadres concrete help and guidance."
692 The Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, no. 7, reported: "On March 14, 1955, the People's Court of Hsien-yang County in Shensi called a public accusation rally to punish Chao Chu-shih. It reclassified him as a landlord, and confiscated all his land, drafting animals, farming tools and houses, except the part his family deserves to have."

C IV. The Pledges and Practices Regarding Economic Rights
668 In view of this lack of personal security very few people dared
423 to defend their property rights. In the Common Program of 1949, Article 3 stated: "The People's Republic of China must abolish all the prerogatives of imperialist countries in China. It must confiscate bureaucratic capital and put it into the possession of the people's state. It must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership; it must protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives and must protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It must develop the people's economy of New Democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one." A number of terms in this article are vague; they are presumably to be kept this way to allow for a flexible interpretation.

It is hard to draw a definite line between the "bureaucratic capital" and "economic interests and private property of workers, farmers, the petty bourgeoisie class and the national bourgeoisie." Only after the loss of one's property, he would realize that he was a bureaucratic capitalist or feudal, or semi-feudal landowner. Those who kept their property would have to regard it as a favor rather than a right.

C The present Communist Constitution is more explicit. It has
668 quite a number of articles relating to economic system and rights.
642 These are articles four to fourteen. Besides, there are several
421 more articles to protect the citizens, namely 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, etc.

In these articles the constitution clearly states that the economic system in a socialist nation shall be built on state ownership, supplemented by cooperative ownership, (articles 6 and 7), while they are definitely going to eliminate "rich-peasant economy" (article 8) and "capitalist ownership" (article 10). The protection of the rights of ownership and inheritance (article 12), the property of the individual farmers (article 8) and workers (article 9) is subject to the regulations of law which will be adjusted from time to time to encourage the individual owners to organize cooperatives voluntarily. Protection of private income, savings, housing, and

C 668 642 421 C [651] [461] other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

S 668 423 N *668 423 The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'uh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S 668 423 Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S [518] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:
(1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who S 668 423 474 were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.
(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.
(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 472 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during N *668 666 the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.
Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:
"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.
Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.
Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."
Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

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B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers
563 1) "Comrade Editor:
423 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
423 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

668 but gave a certain degree of good care to the liberal-minded land-
423 lords during the procedure of confiscation. To those obedient landlords we only carried out confiscation but not the struggle. Besides land, other properties were left to them for a while before actual confiscation. Thus we isolated the stubborn landlords, reduced the resistance and increased help. Under the threat of the peasants, the majority of the landlords expressed willingness to be obedient.

"But there were still defects and mistakes...(1) We were not able to build up the poor farmers and hired hands to be the nucleus of the movement as we had planned....(On the contrary), it was the middle farmers who led the poor farmers, and the poor farmers who led the hired hands...(2) Some farmers...gave sympathy to the landlords during the confiscation and dared not accept the land in distribution...(3) During the distribution, there was illustrated a serious domination of the party cadres over the farmers...." (Yang Tseng-wen, "Victoriously concluded the work of the second stage of land reform in Shu-le County" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1953, April 3.)

Some basic facts in this statement can be summarized as follows:

(1) Natives were used to fight against the natives.

(2) Native workers were selected and built up through various devices.

(3) Enemy groups were divided and isolated by discriminating treatment.

(4) Only a few of the most stubborn enemies were selected as targets at one time. Thus most of the people were kept hopeful and cooperative.

(5) Religious groups and the local leaders with great influence among the minorities were handled with care.

668 The policy of controlling the minority groups through minority
563 cadres is further shown in the following report: "In the whole special district...of Ili, there originally were 3243 cadres at the hsiang, ch'ü, county and special district level. During 1952...the number increased to 4736. It was a 46.3% increase over that of 1951.... During the past one year,...more than 30,000 common workers and farmers became 'positive elements' who executed the policy and orders of the Communist Party and the People's Government....

"During the past year, 90% of the cadres of the special district received education and drill through the struggles of the suppression of the counter-revolutionists movement, the American Aid-Korea movement, the reduce-rent and anti-despot movement, the land reform movement, the 3-anti and 5-anti movement...and joined the Communist Party and Youth Corps. Some of them became leading workers. According to the incomplete statistics, in the whole special district there were 274 persons promoted from 'positive elements' to become new cadres; 88 persons promoted from cadres to leading

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through her children's eyes, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953, pp. 49-50.)

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2) In the 2nd district of P'i-shan County in Sinkiang, there were a large portion of the farmers thinking that since the land they received from the Communists before was taken back by the Communists for redistribution in the land reform, there is no guarantee that the land they received this time will not be taken away from them at a later date. Hence, quite a number of them were not anxious to prepare for the spring ploughing. After the propaganda work of the members of the Party and the Youth Corps, these peasants learned that the lands they had received before were only given on a temporary basis. The lands they got through land reform are really theirs now. This propaganda dissolved the peasants' mistaken thoughts and doubts.... For instance, before the doubts were dispelled, peasant T'u-ta-a-hung slept in his room all the day long instead of going out to cultivate the land. Now he is working hard on his land and even refuses to rest at noon time. (Sinkiang jih-pao, April 8, 1953.)

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B. Factors not Contributing to Success

1. Sporadic nature of campaigns

However, these successes do not indicate that the Communist propaganda program has been carried out without exceptions. As early as 1949, some writers who were responsible for manufacturing propaganda found it difficult to praise the new regime. Then when propaganda became a part of the huge Party machine in the newly-conquered mainland, it developed other problems. At first, the movements were sporadic and geared to deadlines. Whenever the Party leader decided to promote a certain program, the rank and file had to work day and night to promote the theme. Once the interest changed, the whole program would be abruptly dropped and a new program would be rushed to fit the new propaganda purpose. This was criticized by the Communists themselves:

"In September, 1953, Mr. Jen....wrote a short article ridiculing several bureaucratic persons who did not consider seriously letters sent in by the people. He mailed it to a newspaper... After one month, the newspaper editor returned his manuscript with the following comment:

'The central propaganda mission concerning the serious handling of people's letters is over now....Therefore we sent your honorable manuscript back to you...'

To the surprise of the editor, on November 4th, Jen-min jih-pao published an editorial: 'Push one step forward in the work of handling letters sent in by the people'. Then all of a sudden the editorial department of that newspaper wrote to comrade Jen,

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang.
248 It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

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556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each
[425] one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.
621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is
621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
596 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
563 declined clan may has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[586] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
[585] couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued. 175* 651

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent. 175* 426 655 661

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private 175* 426 661

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

•426 661 loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the complete withholding of government loans.[20]

*175 439 More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 652 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 436 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
[554] subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spir-
itualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[651] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[582] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

563 The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
628 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
233 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
423 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 611 428 [425] 621 563 [592] [233] [622] 621 563 614 422 614 563 614 619 563 621 614 596 563 [829] 614 563

A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bak, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the baks of the great auls. Several clans together form a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

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/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water consti-
tutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the
youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in
shaping the character of the community. As the representa-
tives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders
of the community, but they are also the administrators of
the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares
for all those persons of the community who are unable to make
a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It
is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Mos-
lems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities,
but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the
merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials
who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese adminis-
trators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials
aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often
assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against
the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent
the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the mer-
chants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an
economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the
fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and
therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the
sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are
held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

S N 131 635 161

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

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While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

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The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 563 43 N 369 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

[221] That night (14th July) we camped in wild and grand, but
[164] less green and flowery, country at Toilebulung, the winter headquarters of the Yambulak Kirghiz who grow their crops there and bury their dead in curious little domed mausolea. The elevation was only 9,650 feet, the first time we had been down to four figures since Gircha in the Hunza valley, sixteen days before. We mopped our brows and complained of the stuffiness of these low-lying valleys, until some one pointed out that we were still far higher up than the most elevated Indian hill-station.

432 Next day we bid adieu to the Yambulak Kirghiz with many
• [431] invitations and promises to visit them again one day. I had already given old Ibrahim Beg with much ceremony an official present in the shape of a watch. Just before leaving I discovered that he had already disposed of it to Hafiz for five taels (about 15s.). As it was only worth about four taels, and as I wanted to impress upon the Kirghiz the enormity of the insult to the British Empire, I publicly reproved Ibrahim, took back the watch, made him repay the 5 taels to Hafiz, and then gave him a cash present of 4 taels instead of the watch. I then, supposing that Hafiz really wanted a watch to tell the time by, sold him the Government watch for 4 taels. The following day one of the other orderlies told me that Ibrahim had bought back the watch from Hafiz for 4½ taels, evidently thinking that as there was such a to-do about the article, it must be a good investment. It was not till after we reached Kashgar, however, that I heard the sequel from Harding, who passed Yambulak two days after us. This was that Ibrahim Beg changed his mind once more about the watch and sold it to Harding's orderly for 3½ taels! Turkis and Kirghiz alike are born traders and would sell the noses off their faces if they could get good money for them.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

244 17½ lb. During the lamentably short season of about three weeks in August-September a Beshak of this size costs 3*d*. in the bazaar. Melons like a slightly salt soil, but must have a great deal of water; when we were making an orchard out of the lower garden, which had been under useless and insect-harbouring Babylonian willow, we first sowed melons in order to take the salt out of the soil, and the crop we obtained was a magnificent one. The Beshak Shirin of Kashgar is of the same kind, and probably just as good, as the famous melons of Hami in the extreme east of the province. The latter used
431 to be sent as presents to the Emperor in classical times, as any educated Chinamen will tell you. As the distance is 2,000 miles by road, and as the Beshak is a delicate melon and quickly goes bad, I often wondered how they did it; and I once questioned a Chinese official who had been posted at
[251] Hami on the subject. He told me that the reason why Hami melons are so much prized is because they retain their flavour even when dried. There is, or was, a regular trade in dried melons between Hami and China Proper. Presents of fresh melons were, however, sent to the Emperors of the late Ching Dynasty every year by special camel caravan across the Mongolian Desert. Ten times as many as the number intended for presentation used to be sent, each packed in a box separately with cotton wool, as only about ten per cent. of those sent used to be fit for the Emperor's table when they arrived.

244 We grew all our own vegetables in the garden, of which D. was in charge, except potatoes, which were good and cheap in the bazaar and took up too much room in the garden. Beginning with spinach in March we were well supplied throughout the season with asparagus, green peas, cabbages, red tomatoes, French beans, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts. D. also introduced broad beans, yellow "Golden Queen" tomatoes and *brinjal* or egg-plant (the French *aubergine*) from India; all did very well and were greatly appreciated by our Chinese guests.

251 As we had no greenhouses, owing to the prohibitive cost of glass, it was necessary to store vegetables throughout the winter by burying them in deep pits. Owing to the intense dryness it was possible to do this without first drying the vegetables, and we thus got cabbages, cauliflowers and Brussels sprouts fresh daily right through till March, when the spinach (sown the previous autumn) was ready. The mouths of the

S
N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[576] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N (798)

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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C
668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.
Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:
"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.
Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.
Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."
Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

S
B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers
563 1) "Comrade Editor:
423 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
431 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

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487 On each of the next two days we crossed passes, the Ter

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

According to recent field-survey figures, which make possible rough estimates rather than accurate statistical tabulation, the annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds. Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent. 433 439

In subsidiary production, melons are grown in all oases. Dried melon rind is exported by caravan from Komul to China, as a delicacy, and the raisins of Turfan rival the melons of Komul in reputation. In gorges in the hills at the edge of Turfan, and also of Khotan, the growing of grapes is a local specialty. 244

The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis. 314

Some peculiarities of Sinkiang agriculture are that winter wheat is grown north of the Tien Shan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by a cover of snow, but only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tien Shan, where lack of a snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields which are becoming alkalinized by irrigation. On the other hand the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant 243 242

N 315 S [315] new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most [illegible]tensive in China's history. Total Government investment [illegible]urveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more pro- S 315 mising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. [648] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foot- [433] hills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N. 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to [433] thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chin- [433] ese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.)[7]

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest 654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures, [1]. [See p. 129--Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined.
Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River,
S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot-
[433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik:
ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine
is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in
Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both
primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is
obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting
the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said
to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai
mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000
miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942
S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district
though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to
Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a
two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-
mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of
southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sin-
kiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden
N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning
and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province.
(See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in
Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam
Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content
S in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very
[316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih,
Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the
deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is
very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is
much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha
near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some
other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is
extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in
Sinkiang.

N 135 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China
are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily
rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide
the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia
province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

N 135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in S [135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

b. Borax:

N 317 Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang, S [317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine S [433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

c. Jade and other precious Stones.

S 135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern S [439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yueh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Résume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

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433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

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TABLE
III. Distribution of Oil Wells in Sinkiang.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Ssu-cha-kou, k5 km W of Urumchi	1934.	shallow	small	13, 51 x 87.16
Ching-shih-hsia (Kaiavusun) or Hsi-ho) 95 km SE of Tarbagatai	Not available	seepages	fair	46.04 x 83.34
Tu-shan-tzu, 25 km SE of Wu-su	1934-42	2,275	From few hundred bbls (1942) to 1000 bbls in 1946; now 10-30 tons a day.	44.18 x 84.54
Hung-tung-shan (Kolayalun)	Not available	seepages	50 tons a day from 6 uncapped wells (1944)	42.06 x 82.47
Nan-shan, 40 km. W of Shu-fu, to the W of Kashgar	Not Available	seepages	small	29.32 x 75.31
Taklak, along Kunalik Range 50 km NE of Wen-su	Not Available	seepages	small	41.40 x 80.12
Hung-kou and An-chiu, SE of Wu-kia (Urukhe-kiati)	Not Available	seepages	2-3 gal/day(1949)	38.04 x 74.50

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest: Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman: Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After
[668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old
[167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen-
[175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes
563 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

271 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 971 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

N
241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
*668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres them-
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
*668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

S
175 1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
474 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
241 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
668 and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with
[476] roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review. December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S
241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[474] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S
242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

175
242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output N [433] is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because

S 668 433 [288] [315] Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

N
*668 one of the most important industrial areas in China for three
433 reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown
S great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent
668 out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports
433 of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Com-
(135) munist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second,
the geographical location of this area is such that it would be
the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic
N point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it
S would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting
(177) technical aid from Russia.

S Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Com-
668 munists have paid special attention to the future development of
433 this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists
took over, there was very little industrial production. But in
1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to
New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts,
which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percent-
ages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production
accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts
accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of
1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be in-
creased to New JMP$292,758,500, ~~or~~ 749 percent of that of
1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will
account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and
handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned
total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

N
*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
189 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

N
*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AII

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
S this group.
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children [369] of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but [434] no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

184 562 583 [586] Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When 563 584 a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

312 varies from less than a mile to several miles. In addition to Turfan, there are a few *kariz* in the oases of Pichang and Guma, and some years ago they were tried, without much success, on the outer slopes of the extreme eastern Tien Shan, north of Barkul, using skilled workers from Turfan. A *kariz* may be very small: field notes show one in the Komul oasis irrigating only six and a half acres, which is close to the average for this oasis. The most recent figures show the following statistics:

	Number of *kariz*	Total acreage irrigated by *kariz*	Average irrigated acreage per *kariz*
Turfan[9]	370	28,000 acres	76 acres
Toksun	166	10,700 "	65 "
Komul[10]	495	3,700 "	7 "
TOTAL	1,031	42,400	

312 435 The construction of *kariz* involves a heavy capital expense. Stein, some forty years ago, estimated the cost of a single long *kariz* in Turfan at over 300 pounds.[11] A long *kariz* recently constructed cost 50,000 Sinkiang dollars. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a *kariz*, and construction is therefore usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when they are successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable [454] that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in *kariz*.[12]

[9] Ni Chao, "Report on Sinkiang's Irrigation," *Shui-li Wei-yuan-hui yueh-k'an* (monthly of the Conservation Administration), August 1945 (in Chinese).

[10] Huang Yu-hsien, "Irrigation in Hami," *Ching-chi chien-she chi-k'an* (*Quarterly Journal of Economic Reconstruction*) Vol. III, No. 1, July 1944 (in Chinese).

[11] Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 361.

[12] This capitalistic turn in the digging of *kariz* is probably a late development. It is likely that in the eighteenth century, when Turfan was ruled by the Khojas, *kariz* were built by exercising the feudal power to demand unpaid labor as an obligation to the lord.

L: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

[244] of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are
361 nearest to the bazaar and therefore receive the most night soil
241 form a zone of intensive garden cultivation producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the district city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produces apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one rice, corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang (sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disad-
[435] vantage in competition with the large farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

361 Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert
233 begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however,
312 there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edges of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation. Sheep are also pastured in a few places in the scrubby land where dying rivers reach the desert. The shepherds are the Dulani, a people of uncertain but probably nomad origin who live a gypsy-like life and keep apart from the settled Uighurs of the Tarim oases. Both Uighurs and Dulanis breed a sheep which is better for mutton than for wool.

433 Most food is consumed in the oasis where it is grown, though
262 some oases have a surplus for sale while others are not self-suffi-
146 cient. The diet of an Uighur villager is largely cereals. The consumption of sugar, fats, and meat is meager except among the wealthy, and there is practically no milk in the diet. The daily calory intake of an adult villager, as estimated in Khargalik in 1943, was 1215 calories of wheat flour, 1215 of corn flour, and 150 of mutton.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

439 into the economic life of Sinkiang. In the early 1930's it reached 82.5 per cent of Sinkiang's foreign trade. The most populous and productive areas lie closer to Russia than to any other market. The situation is one which is completely open to the manipulation of Soviet policy, but it was not created by Soviet policy.

439 Cotton has been the most important export to Russia from the
435 oases since 1890. In 1926–1927 the Soviet customs returns listed
248 2676 metric tons of cotton imported from Sinkiang. While cotton averages perhaps a little less than 10 per cent of the total value of exports to the Soviet Union, its relative importance is shown by the fact that more than half of the crop in the Turfan oasis, the largest producer, is normally sold to the Soviet Union, and when the Chinese authorities cut off trade in 1943, because of bad political relations, the effect of the resultant fall in prices was widespread.

439 From the pastoral regions, livestock are the most important export to the Soviet Union, followed by livestock products like wool and hides. Because the Soviet statistics do not give ad valorem figures, it is difficult to state the values of these exports, but it is evident that they greatly exceed the value of exports from the oases. Before the first World War and the Russian Revolution, in 1913, 300,000 head of sheep alone were sold to Russia, representing about 10 per cent of the total number of sheep in the Kulja and Chuguchak regions. Trade fell abruptly during the Revolution and civil war, and did not begin to recover until about 1925. In 1926, 90,000 sheep were exported. One Russian author states that in the first half of 1926 sheep alone accounted for 32 per cent of Russia's purchases from Sinkiang, while all livestock together accounted for 48 per cent.[24] Another Russian author states that between 1930 and 1933 livestock and livestock products provided from 79 to 93 per cent of Soviet purchases from Sinkiang.[25]

This trade is of benefit to both sides. From 1918 to 1924, when

[24] N. Stefanov, "The Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. in Central Asia," in *Planned Economy*, Moscow, Oct. 1926 (in Russian).

[25] P. M. Fesenko and others, *Iran, Afghanistan and Sinkiang*, Moscow, 1936, p. 346 (in Russian).

October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak 206
on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India 205
had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

The wartime fight against inflation and against serious jarring of 435
living conditions has met with considerable success. It is claimed that Price Control Commissions set up "everywhere" have made the Sinkiang price level the lowest in China. Yet wages, correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung has found, are high. Ch'en, walking by a 1942 Sinkiang road construction project about six miles outside of Tihwa, came across laborers who were receiving $12 Chinese a day. He indicates that skilled workers of the province were currently receiving even more.

Serious wage lags in the case of subordinate government salaried 465
employees have been one of China's serious problems in the inflationary years of her Resistance and Reconstruction. This may have been proving difficult for Sinkiang also since many of her government workers, for instance, still receive little more than $200 Chinese a month. But Sinkiang authorities have been meeting the situation for such workers with reductions of social and public expenses, with compensation in the way of reduced prices on commodities, and with small monthly subsidies in such staples as rice, flour, salt, sugar, matches, and oil.

Reports in October, 1943, of Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, 185
have been coupled with increasingly illuminating accounts of new Chinese migration to the province. This can promise a whole new vista of reconstruction developments in the province, and such developments deserve to be watched with keen interest. One of the most immediately noticeable effects has been the announcement on November 10, 1943, of an "ambitious plan" for the modernization of the Sinkiang capital. "During the past three months," the report states, "thousands

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

443 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to
511 be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his
571 lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of
•435 the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

262 Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*
Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.
Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*
Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.
Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.
Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.
Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*
Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.
Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000. 438

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty. 342

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does [374]

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes. [435]

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and emerged later with her portly form arrayed in a new white muslin dress and a green striped jacket. D. had as much difficulty in not witnessing her hostess' toilet as she had in keeping a straight face while making polite conversation to her host.

The fertility of the soil and the cheapness of living in Aqsu district are amazing. Agricultural labour costs 2½*d.* *per diem*, and the price of land is on an average less than a quarter of that at Kashgar. A *jing* (20 lbs.) of maize costs 4*d.*–5*d.*, wheat 6*d.* and rice 7*d.* Fruit and vegetables are as plentiful and cheap as the cereals. The grapes we had were the finest I have ever tasted; the two best kinds were an enormous "lady's finger" and a smaller seedless grape with a rose-red flush on it, sweet and strongly-flavoured. The former, which sold at 2½*d.* for a bunch weighing 1½ lbs., were so big that I took one at random from a bunch and measured it; its circumference lengthways was four inches, round the "waist" two and a third. In a field close to Abdus Sattar Haji's house I was astonished to find one day about half an acre of ground literally carpeted with fine melons; on inquiry I was told that there were 15,000 there, and that they were the larger part—not the whole—of the crop raised by a cultivating lessee of some of the Haji's land. The man told me afterwards that he had paid 100 taels (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*) rent for the land and water and had spent 80 taels (£10 13*s.* 4*d.*) on seed, labour, etc. He had already sold 5,000 in the Aqsu bazaar, and expected to retail the whole 20,000 at an average price which worked out at slightly less than a penny apiece, netting approximately 360 taels or 200 per cent. on his outlay! It must be confessed, however, that we found the Aqsu melons inferior to those of Kashgar, though succulent enough according to our English ideas. They had nothing at Aqsu to compare with the ambrosial "Beshak Shirin" of Kashgar.

The garden near the New City to which we moved on 23rd October belonged to the Russian Aqsaqal, another Andijani merchant; it contained an even finer show of fruit and flowers than Abdus Sattar Haji's. There were two immense pergolas measuring together about a hundred yards under which one strolled and munched the above-mentioned rose-pink seedless grapes almost without the trouble of putting one's hand up. The Tao Tai of Aqsu Circle[1] and other officials

[1] This includes Uch Turfan, Bai, Kucha, Shahyar, Bugur and other districts of the lower Tarim River valley with its tributaries, but not Maralbashi, which is in the Kashgar Taoyinship.

439 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In
491 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this high-
494 way, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest
175 highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average

439 Description	Value (yuan)	
435 A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp.88-90.

439 It is understood that there was also considerable trade be-
[487] tween Sinkiang, Lanchou and Sian, which, in fact, was the main trade route, but detailed information is not available.

According to a Japanese estimate, the Chinese goods were distributed to the various cities in Sinkiang in the following proportions, which also show the relative commercial importance of the different cities or areas:

Table VI: Distribution of Chinese Goods among Cities in Sinkiang

Place	Percentages of Goods Distributed
Urumchi (Tihua)	25.0
Ili (Huei-yüan)	20.0
South Sinkiang	18.0
Ta-ch'eng (Chuguchak)	15.0
Ku-ch'eng-tzu (Chitai)	12.0
Sharastime (Cheng-hua)	4.0
Hami (Qomul)	3.0
Khobdo (Jirgalantu)	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 534-35.

439 As to the direct foreign trade, the main country is Soviet
435 Russia. According to official Soviet reports, the value of the
175 Soviet-Sinkiang trade is as follows:

Table VII: Value of Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (unit: 1,000 rubles)

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1931	13,954	10,212	24,166
1932	15,698	12,305	28,003
1933	10,826	18,822	29,648
1934	4,730	5,945	10,675
1935	6,049	4,550	10,599
1936	36,145	25,671	61,816

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 8, p. 514.

439 The main exports of Sinkiang to Russia were grain, fruits,
175 wool, fur, meat, paper, cotton, silk, animal intestines and cattle; and the main imports of Sinkiang from Russia were textiles, sugar, metals and metal manufactures, glass and chinaware, oil and matches. The exports of Sinkiang constituted 1.01 per cent of the value of goods that Russia imported from East Asia in 1931, and 1.77 per cent of that in 1932. The imports of

439 175 Sinkiang from Russia constituted 1.58 per cent of the value of goods that Russia exported to East Asia in 1931, and 2.78 per cent of that in 1932.

Aside from Russia, Sinkiang has also entered a close trade relation with India and Afghanistan. According to 1927 statistics, the trade between Sinkiang and India amounted to 5,001,413 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

439 435 175 Table VIII: The Trade Between Sinkiang and India, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		1,186,848
European cotton goods	276,916	
leather goods	41,448	
dye	326,254	
hide (other than sheep)	61,663	
drugs	29,426	
pearls	71,335	
velvet	115,334	
Indian silk	24,876	
spice	36,562	
Indian black tea	27,386	
other black tea	23,098	
European woolen goods	42,000	
Russian metal goods	41,298	
B. Exports:		2,814,565
horses and ponies	101,235	
cotton cloth	35,698	
cankas	96,434	
iron and copper	742,654	
raw silk	31,294	
woolen goods	358,451	
felt carpet	25,524	
iron goods	66,789	
gold	72,631	
Russian metal goods	189,242	
silver	110,377	
leather goods	16,339	
wool	17,288	
woolen thread	16,037	
donkeys and mules	7,508	
jade	8,272	
Grand Total		5,001,413

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, pp. T.94-95.

S
439
435 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
175

Table IX. The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
*668 II. The Communist Period
43 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
[178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind

As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.

N
*668 The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
496 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in De-

N
*668 cember 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

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loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the complete withholding of government loans.[20]

*175 439 More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 652 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 436 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

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The maintenance of different exchange rates in different parts of the province enabled the Governor to keep a political check on remittances. The undue concentration of money in any one part of the province, possibly indicating preparations for a political move of some kind, would be detectable through the resulting pressure on exchange rates.

Until the Russian Revolution, Tsarist Russia had by treaty the right to maintain branches of the Russo-Asiatic bank at Urumchi, Ili, Chuguchak, and Kashgar. (After the Russian Revolution, these branches continued to operate for some years under French protection.) Like other foreign banks in China, the Russo-Asiatic bank had the right to issue its own paper currency. In 1916, under the stress of war financing in Russia, it suddenly increased its note circulation in Sinkiang from one million to five million rubles.[22] Then, when the Russian ruble fell, it dragged the Sinkiang tael with it, thus aggravating the inflation in Sinkiang. In that year the total provincial revenue was a little over 5,200,000 taels and the budget deficit amounted to more than 700,000 taels. The most important source of revenue was the tax on cultivated land, which then totaled 10,500,000 *mu*.[23] The gold mined in Sinkiang in that year, under government license or monopoly, was worth less than 5000 taels.

The Provincial Government at this period had no money for irrigation schemes which might have opened large areas for cultivation. Poor finance and inflation not only hindered economic improvement through public works but intensified corruption among officials. While in all fairness it must be repeated that Yang Tseng-hsin was both an honest and a competent official by old mandarin standards, it must also be admitted that economic and political conditions toward the end of his rule were shrewdly summed up by the Swiss traveler Bosshard:

[22] *Hsi Pei Yen Chiu* (*Northwest Research*), Peiping, 1932, Vol. 6, issue of April 15, pp. 55 and 129 (in Chinese).

[23] The *mu*, a traditional land measure, varies from place to place. Six *mu* to the acre is often taken as an average figure.

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*175 661 lambskins were collected at only a tenth of the market value. Monopolies of this kind, through collection at the source of supply by the assertion of official authority, were common in China — especially in the frontier provinces. A Russian observer estimated that in Urumchi only 12 per cent of trade capital belonged to local merchants, 37 per cent to agents of foreign firms, and as much as 51 per cent to Chinese officials.[34]

*175 436 While Governor Yang had issued paper currency to a total of 10,000,000 taels, Governor Chin increased the inflation by expanding the issue to 145,000,000 taels. Under Yang, the paper currency had a uniform face value of one tael (subject to an exchange differential between regions, as described previously); under Chin, notes were issued in denominations of one, three, five, eight, ten, thirty, and fifty taels. At one time, a tael of silver (about one and one-third ounces) could be bought for two paper taels; by the end of Chin's regime, it took 80 taels in paper to buy a tael of silver.[35]

*175 Both Yang and Chin could be described favorably as "cautious" or unfavorably as "suspicious" in their dealings with foreigners. According to Sven Hedin: "Chin hated foreigners. He took a cynical pleasure in tripping them up, in hindering or frustrating their endeavors. . . . Marshal Yang had decided that a house should be placed at the disposal of the expedition so long as it remained in Sinkiang, arguing that our work was of benefit to the development of the province. For this house Chin demanded an unreasonable rent, which he made retroactive. For that matter, the narrow-minded despot treated everyone with the same meanness."[36] On the other hand, my wife and I, when traveling through Sinkiang in 1927, met with the most cordial treatment from Chin Shu-jen, who was then administrator of Aksu oasis.[37]

The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close

[34] M. Nemchenko, "The Colonial Regime and Agrarian Relations in Sinkiang," as already cited, p. 187.

[35] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, p. 136. Chin frequently issued paper notes, the total of which amounted to 145,000,000 taels.

[36] Sven Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* New York, 1936, p. 3.

[37] Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, Boston, 1930, pp. 304–306.

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*175 178 648 ment as well as the Provincial Government. Under the Nanking-Moscow Nonaggression Agreement of 1937, a through air route had been stipulated. Under the Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreement of June 16, 1939, a Sino-Soviet Aviation Corporation was organized. By the terms of these agreements, Russia obtained priority over other countries in air traffic, jointly with China, over Sinkiang.

*175 648 185 436 In 1941 Sheng decreed a second three-year plan. The economic activities of the Provincial Government were expanded through "Foreign Trade and Local Resources Companies." Reconstruction bonds were issued; and the combined effects of inflation in China and a trade boom in Sinkiang raised the exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar from the low point of 4000 to one Chinese national dollar in 1934 to a rate of six to one national dollar in 1942. At the time Sheng left the province in 1944, the rate was five provincial dollars to one national dollar. The boom was largely promoted by an arbitrary linking of the "official" exchange rate between American dollars and Soviet rubles, which enabled Sinkiang to buy from the Soviet-operated Sinkiang Trading Corporation at artificially favorable rates. During this period many Russians entered the province as technicians, but — according to the British observer already quoted, who visited the province in 1940 — there was nothing to suggest that Soviet administrative control was being forced on Sinkiang.

*175 648 In retrospect, it is clear that Sheng Shih-ts'ai was guided throughout by opportunity rather than by principle. Even while carrying out reforms, which for some years were encouragingly successful, he did not lose his concern for his own interest. This concern led him into a policy of sudden shifts in his relations with Russia, in contrast with the policy of steady neutrality pursued so long and so successfully by Yang Tseng-hsin. From 1933 to 1940 he leaned toward the Soviet Union and away from the National Government of China. From 1941 to 1942 he cut off his relations with the Russians roughly and suddenly, and threw himself on the support of the National Government in a manner suggesting he had little confidence in his own power in his own

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*175 497 In addition to other minor demands, General Chang wanted the assent of the Sinkiang nationalist leaders to the building of a railway into Sinkiang. From the government point of view, this was a reasonable project for the linking of a frontier province to the main body of China. From the point of view of the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, railway communication meant the danger of being submerged by a flood of Chinese colonists.

*175 436 General Chang's final demand was that Sinkiang give up its separate provincial currency and adopt that of the National Government. From the Chinese point of view, this was a rational demand. From the Sinkiang point of view, it carried with it the danger that the wealth of Sinkiang would be freely pumped into China, without a compensating flow back from China into Sinkiang.[87]

*175 635 Before the deadlock could be broken General Chang gave up his post as Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. He retained, however, the post of Commander of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters, which gave him general supervisory powers in Northwest China and Sinkiang. He was succeeded as Chairman in May 1947 by Masud Sabri, the elderly representative of an Uighur family of rich landholders and merchants.

In 1904, at the age of seventeen, Masud Sabri had gone to Turkey to study. After eleven years, spent mostly in Istanbul, he returned to Sinkiang in 1915, strongly influenced by the Turkish nationalism of Kemal Atatürk. In 1934, after practicing medicine in Ili for several years, he traveled through Kashgar to India and then by sea to China, where he soon became associated politically with the C.C. Clique. Through the support of this clique, and not through any process of nomination by supporters in Sinkiang, he was made a delegate from Sinkiang to the Kuomintang National Conference of 1936 and subsequently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. During the war against Japan, the C.C. Clique placed him in the National Political Coun-

[87] The full text of Chang Chih-chung's speech was published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese). Note the long delay before publication, indicating the political tension during these months.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

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Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 233
1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these 131
are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial au- [651]
thorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding ani- 233
mals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the [436]
steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

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time buyers and users in Sinkiang admit not only the wearing quality of Soviet textiles but the ruggedness of Russian trucks, which truck drivers in Sinkiang and Northwest China consider superior to American trucks for rough work. 439

In recent years, the Soviet financial policy of enhancing the buying power of Sinkiang has taken the form of granting a 20 per cent premium in barter deals involving exchange of Sinkiang raw materials for Soviet manufactured goods. An actual example is a contract in which one package of Soviet-made cigarettes was made the unit of exchange for one catty (about 1.3 lbs.) of Sinkiang wool, at a time when the prevailing prices in Sinkiang were 8.40 Sinkiang dollars for a package of Soviet-made cigarettes and 7.00 Sinkiang dollars for a catty of wool.

In concluding this chapter, it should be said that in the year 1948 economic life in Sinkiang was in full crisis. Trade with the Soviet Union had practically ceased, and inflation within the province had become malignant. A little historical background must be sketched in to make the situation understandable. 436 457 458

The old Tsarist Russian ruble was formerly accepted in Sinkiang, and was in fact preferred to Chinese currencies. Branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank operated in Urumchi, Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak; they financed foreign trade, and provincial funds were placed on deposit with them. In 1913 the Russian ruble exchanged for eight Urumchi taels. In 1917, with the Russian Revolution, the ruble fell to .63 taels but did not collapse completely because all branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank outside of Russia were taken under French protection and managed to keep operating for some years. By 1919, however, the old ruble was worth only .10 taels. A year or two later it was utterly worthless, while the new Soviet currency was suspect and unwanted.

A multiple provincial currency, sponsored by the Chinese Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, then became the medium of trade and account, as described in Chapter III, by the Governor's policy of never issuing paper to the value of more than 20,000,000 taels. At the same time he allowed a number of taxes, including the land tax, to be paid in money instead of in kind. Money thus

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436 came back into the treasury as well as going out, and inflation was
457 avoided.
458 In this period the Governor allowed trade with the Soviet Union to be opened. It was carried on at first chiefly by Moslem traders, many of them Russian-born Tatars. They took goods across the Soviet frontier and sold them to the Soviet state purchasing agency, and then bought goods from state commercial agencies and returned with them to Sinkiang. Then, in 1926, the Governor allowed the Soviet-Sinkiang Trade Agency, or Sovsintorg, to begin business with offices of its own established in Sinkiang. Trade and prosperity recovered until the assassination of the conservative old Governor, who had been an able administrator, in 1928.

A new period then began, which lasted until 1934. This period was marked by the Moslem insurrections, the invasion of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, and finally the Soviet intervention — which have already been described in Chapter III. The important oases of Komul, Khotan, and Kashgar withheld their taxes from the provincial treasury, which thereupon resorted to the printing of money. The devaluation of Sinkiang currency was rapid. In 1928 it had taken only three Urumchi taels to buy a Chinese dollar; by 1934 it took forty.

In 1934 Sheng Shih-ts'ai, with Soviet support, became the successful contender in the provincial civil war. Trade with the Soviet Union was restored, but it took some years to stabilize the currency. Then, in 1939, a new inconvertible paper currency was issued by the Provincial Commercial Bank as the only legal tender in the province. It is generally believed in Sinkiang that the success of this monetary reform was made possible by loans without interest from the Soviet Union.

In 1942, however, Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union would either be defeated by Germany or would not recover its former power. Hitherto he had pursued a reform policy, both political and economic. From this time on, he began to combine printing-press inflation with trade monopoly and the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

ollection of the land tax and livestock taxes in kind, refusing for 436
.e receipt of taxes the money issued by his provincial treasury. 457
He had already set up a Provincial Trading Company, which was 458
is personal agent in business; but up to this time it had com-
eted with private trade. In Kashgar, for instance, it handled only about 28 per cent of the trade, less than the proportion handled by an Uighur firm called "Ittifatsherket." In 1942, however, a monopoly of provincial trade was granted to the Provincial Trading Company, which operated on a capital of 2,500,000 United States dollars. Through this company the Governor purchased wool, livestock, cotton, furs, and other products at compulsory prices lower than the market prices, transported them on his own trucks, and sold them to Sovsintorg in exchange for Soviet manufactures. Until 1943 raw materials, though bought at compulsory prices, were paid for in manufactured goods; but further inflationary pressure was then created by paying for such purchases only partly in goods and partly in paper money. The Khotan branch of the monopoly, for instance, paid only 15 per cent of the price of furs and 20 per cent of the price of silk and cocoons with manufactured goods. The abuses of this monopoly caused so much discontent that General Chang Chih-chung was compelled to liquidate the company in 1946.

A new period began in 1943. Governor Sheng, having miscalculated the strength of the Russians, was cold-shouldered by them and had to come to terms with the National Government. The already badly inflated currency of the National Government began to pour into the province, adding to the existing provincial inflation. In 1943 the Provincial Commercial Bank alone was receiving national currency notes at the rate of a million dollars a day. The price index of wheat flour, taking June 1940 as 100, had already increased to 865 by December 1942. In 1945 it jumped to 75,000 and by September 1947 it was 517,500.

Inflation was compounded with other critical developments, 178
some of which had been long maturing, to form an explosive situ- 458
ation. In the first place, there has been a large increase of popula- 47

873

SOME WORK OF THE CULTURAL PROGRESS SOCIETIES OF SINKIANG (1936)

Society	*Wei-wu-erh*	*Ha-sa-k'o*	*Hui*	*Totals*
Central Office	1	1	1	3
Regional Branches	8	5	3	16
County Branches	41	8	14	63
Village Branches	23	?	?	23+?
Total Educational Institutions	1,980	207	37	2,224
Total Students	129,649	10,194	2,700	142,543

Currency and Finance

652

For currency stabilization and a practicable operating budget, Sinkiang Province has persistently required outside financial help. Not only was this true in the old days of the Chinese Empire but it was particularly true in the period just before and during Sheng Shih-ts'ai's rise to power. In the 1934-1941 period Sheng met the situation mainly by internal reforms and aid from Soviet Russia. But he has not yet got the problem licked.

For decades after the province was established, Sinkiang operated on a substratum of financial subsidy. The first annual grant came from the Manchu government and amounted to 600,000 taels. This was gradually increased until in 1905 it had risen to 2,980,000 taels. With the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the old subsidies—one year excepted—were discontinued. Various measures were taken in an attempt to cope with the new situation, but the principal method used for many years thereafter was issuance of provincial notes. These notes in turn began to bring on Sinkiang inflation. By 1934 that inflation had become seriously disturbing to the provincial economy.

436

Sinkiang has had a wide variety of mediums of exchange. Formerly, in addition to paper notes, these included silver coins, stamped silver "shoes," irregular bullion, and at times tea or even sheep. Paper provincial notes were first circulated in 1899, and were backed by a Tihwa cash reserve. Later "oil cloth notes" (*yu-pu piao*) were also issued by provincial bureaus at Sui-ting and Kashgar. These had a

436 sixty per cent note and a forty per cent bullion backing. Yang Tseng-hsin, military governor immediately after abdication of the Manchus, 652 even permitted additional notes to be issued to make up for discon- 436 tinuance of the imperial subsidy. It was, however, during the governorship of Chin Shu-jen and the years of the Moslem revolt that the gradual devaluation in Sinkiang currency became most alarming. In the period, 1912-1929, three Sinkiang dollars (taels or *liang*) at the lowest would exchange for one dollar of Chinese Nationalist currency (*yüan*). Yet by 1934 the Sinkiang note issue had grown so excessive—it is said to have amounted to more than 1,200,000,000 taels—that one Chinese Nationalist dollar at times would buy more than 4,000 Sinkiang dollars. How well Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration met this serious predicament is suggested by the report that a Sinkiang Province dollar by 1942 had become worth six Chinese Nationalist dollars—although, to be sure, the Chinese Nationalist dollar had by then itself lost value through severe inflation.

Many Chinese writers attribute the change in the provincial monetary situation to Sheng's numerous reforms. Among such reforms, the 1939 reorganization of the Sinkiang Provincial Bank into a commercial [453] bank with an expanded field of operations is especially notable. This new Sinkiang Commercial Bank began to issue new notes, took steps to improve and to unify Sinkiang currency, and undertook to withdraw old notes from circulation. It has been remarkably successful in carrying out this program, and the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration does deserve praise in this connection. But it would be a mistake not to realize that the greater exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar is in part due to at least two other major factors: (1) Sinkiang's protected geographical position at the rear of the Chinese War of Resistance; and (2) Soviet Russian credits. Chao Lieh, a Chinese authority on Sinkiang to whom I have already referred, gives these credits particular emphasis. By 1941, he writes, Sinkiang is said to have borrowed a total of 15,000,000 rubles from Soviet Russia. Though this money went for many purposes, such as purchase of machinery and trucks, one of its most important functions was to serve as backing for Sinkiang currency. It is doubtful if Sheng could have come near stabilization of his province's monetary unit in the years 1933-1941 without such credits.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

Molly, and we left the Huei Huei city at a canter, pursued by a crowd of schoolboys offering higher prices than we had asked for the privilege of buying.

The next afternoon was spent in the Chinese city, where a quiet and respectful crowd stood around and conversed as we sat on benches, sipping tea, at the counter of the leading tradesman of the place. Our shopping expeditions have been infrequent during the years of our residence in China, it being more convenient for busy people who really want an article, to have a selection brought to the house for approval. On the few occasions, however, when we have visited a shop the expedition partook of the nature of a social event. On our arrival benches are drawn forward, tea served, and the master of the establishment, who converses on many topics, is flanked by a large group of apprentices, who are kept running to and fro fetching and carrying goods. On this occasion we wished to buy a few yards of silk and three face towels. The merchant, not loath to display his wide knowledge of the world before the admiring crowd, on hearing that we came from England, remarked: 'Ah! yes, the capital, London! A bigger city than Pekin. This is a good piece of silk. Is England a republic? Oh, a kingdom? I have heard that you are ruled by Upper and Lower Houses.' Meanwhile we examined every foot of the silk for uneven threads, while the crowd murmured: 'They know all about everything!' We had already impressed the multitude, by the fact that when our family names were asked for, one of us had answered: 'My name is Feng, with two drops of water,' by this means designating which of the many characters representing 'Feng' we indicated.

It seemed a pity to introduce business into such a social atmosphere, but when the silk had been weighed

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

and priced, and the face towels selected, with a good deal of advice from the crowd, well-mannered bargaining began. Our basic offer was about half of the price written on the tag attached to the goods. The courteous merchant then smiled and indicated a notice hanging outside his shop: 'No prices discussed here,' to which the Greek chorus again echoed: 'He does not discuss the prices!' We affably acquiesced, but assured him that our money was insufficient for such an expensive outlay. With a wave of the hand, he met us half-way, saying: 'You are guests from a far country. Have a little more tea!' thus subtly indicating that the bargain was concluded. A chit was produced by one of the apprentices, and another began to rub down the ink on his slab, being careful in our presence to observe the Confucian dictum that when the 'Princely Man' rubs down his ink, no sound is ever heard. While he was thus occupied in preparing the materials necessary to write out the account, we rapidly noted the amount in pencil on paper, and waited to see if his tallied. 'Did you see that?' said a man at our elbow. 'You'll find that they are right, too Reading, writing and arithmetic are all quite easy to them!' We rose to leave, but as we did so we handed a packet of Christian books to the merchant, which he accepted with evident pleasure, then with sharp orders he dispersed the assistants and escorted us to our carriage.

Early one morning the landlord appeared at our door in a state of great agitation. A young woman, married to a relative of his, had poisoned herself with strychnine, and they urged us to go and make an attempt to save her life. 'Our own remedy,' he said, 'is mare's milk, and her husband is scouring the city to get some.' We were taken to the house where a young woman lay on

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted, but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though
437 he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war. [438]

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement. 439 174

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodities of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap 438 [489]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

178 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure
631 of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy rep-
566 resents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization
566 in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal
438 characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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566
438

monopolists, sometimes locally and sometimes on a provincial scale. In this way the provincial revenue from trade was cut down, but individually the protected merchant got rich, and enriched the individual bureaucrat or the clique of associated bureaucrats to whom he paid a tribute for his protection.

At the bottom level the individual cultivator and herdsman collected tribute from none, and paid out — in rents and taxes, in forced labor for special projects and in "customary services" to his immediate rulers — the tribute which those above him divided according to their position in the stratification of privilege. Though no legislation declared them to be serfs, both cultivator and herdsman were in fact survivors of the feudal system of enserfment, having duties but no rights, and being prevented from selling their services in a free market by administrative enforcement of the rights of all those above them to collect tribute in kind, forced labor for the community or the province, and "customary services" to individuals. Even the nominal significance of private property in land or cattle, among the poor, was blurred by debt obligations which prevented them from acting as free agents.

When a society breaks up, it never breaks up at random. Every society has its own kind of cohesion, and usually its cohesiveness is unequally distributed over different parts of the society. Between the units of cohesion are lines of stress; and cleavages, when they take place, usually follow these lines of stress. In considering the influences coming from Russia now at work upon the societies of Sinkiang, and the influences that may be expected to develop rapidly from a China in which Communists are consolidating their power, we must take into account both the influences themselves and the balance between cohesion and cleavage already existing within the societies on which they work.

000 A Sinkiang pilgrim, so the story goes, set out from Ha-mi one day early in this century to see the wondrous iron bridge that an American company had built over the Yellow River near Lan-chou, Kansu. Midway on his journey out of the province and down the panhandle corridor of Western Kansu this Sinkiang man, Ma by name, came upon a Lan-chou countryman also named Ma. From early childhood this second Ma had heard such unbelievable stories about the Ha-mi melons grown in Sinkiang that he was at last setting out to see them for himself. Sipping tea at a roadside inn, the two passed the time of day and soon waxed friendly.

"So far as our Iron Bridge is concerned," stated the Ma of Lan-chou, "it is the highest yet. At this date last year a man fell over the side and, when I left, his body had not yet reached the water."

"H-m-m," murmured the Ma of Ha-mi. "Yes, that's high. But as far as our melons are concerned, you are wasting your time traveling all the way to Ha-mi to see them. They grow to such a size, you know, that by this time next year they will be with you in Lan-chou."

438 Sinkiang *(Hsin-chiang)* has often been called the "New Dominion," and to Chinese, exaggerations notwithstanding, this "new" frontier land has for centuries been full of the wonderful, the picturesque, the bizarre, the new. In the olden days one who brought Ha-mi melons to the capital of the Middle Kingdom would merit special favor, and even today the clippers that soar across Northwest China from Sinkiang to Szechwan inevitably carry a few, now and then, as rare delicacies for the people of Chungking. A rice kernel a half inch long is said to have been developed in the Sinkiang oasis of Aqsu during Manchu Dynasty times, the grapes of Turfan have long been considered unequaled in sweetness and perfection, and today it is the fabulous wealth of Sinkiang's undeveloped natural resources that is inspiring wondrous tales.

35 Like a legend, the news of riches in Sinkiang has run through China in the past decade—and not without reason. For the North Road and South Road are both plentifully supplied with mineral goods. Certain strategic materials are not present, it is true, but in the North Sinkiang triangle bounded by the three Regions of I-li, T'a Ch'eng, and Tihwa

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

• 438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:

4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000. 438

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty. 342

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does [374]

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes. [435]

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'

[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

426 loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the
661 complete withholding of government loans.[20]

More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's
*175 policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to
439 limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change
652 its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established
436 in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

According to recent field-survey figures, which make possible 433
rough estimates rather than accurate statistical tabulation, the 439
annual wheat crop of Sinkiang is about 253,000 tons, representing
about 44 per cent of the total crop of grains, beans, and seeds.
Corn reaches 331,000 tons, or 28 per cent. Rice is about 71,000 tons, or 6 per cent. Barley, kaoliang (sorghum millet), oats and peas are classed together because they are largely used as feed grains. In Jungaria they are grown, largely by rainfall farming, to sell for feed to the long-distance camel caravans which, when times are peaceful, trade into the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, through Inner Mongolia to North China, and across the desert gap into Northwest China. The total crop reaches about 119,000 tons, or 10 per cent. Millet, soy beans and green beans, often in alternate rows in the same field, reach 71,000 tons or 6 per cent. Sesame, rapeseed, and linseed account for 71,000 or 6 per cent.

In subsidiary production, melons are grown in all oases. Dried 244
melon rind is exported by caravan from Komul to China, as a delicacy, and the raisins of Turfan rival the melons of Komul in reputation. In gorges in the hills at the edge of Turfan, and also of Khotan, the growing of grapes is a local specialty.

The branches of willows growing along the banks of canals are 314
cropped regularly for fuel. Another form of fuel, the use of which decreases the supply of fertilizer, is animal dung collected by old men and children who follow animals at pasture and scour the roads. The most important source of fuel, however, is the desert tamarisk gathered beyond the oasis.

Some peculiarities of Sinkiang agriculture are that winter wheat 243
is grown north of the Tien Shan where, in spite of the cold, the 242
seeds are protected by a cover of snow, but only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tien Shan, where lack of a snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields which are becoming alkalinized by irrigation. On the other hand the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

243 the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. On the average, the
242 amount of labor expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China proper, but the yield is somewhat less.

Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It is
248 known to have been grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618–907). By 1750, it was used to pay taxes in Yarkand.[15] In 1776 it was described as ranking next to the wheat crop in importance,[16] and it has been one of the leading exports to Russia since 1890. The cotton belt lies south of the Tien Shan. Turfan and Merket (on the northern edge of the Yarkand oasis) lead in production, followed by Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, and Aksu.

Two varieties are grown, native and American. After failure in experimenting with Sea Island cotton in Tashkent in the 1870's, two Russian merchants named Belyakov and Lakhtin experimented very successfully with the Upland variety in 1883. After 1885 American species began to supplant the native type in Ferghana and Samarkand. A few years later Russian dealers set out to improve the quality grown in Sinkiang by distributing American seed.[17] Up to 1942 large quantities of seed were imported yearly from the Soviet Union, especially two varieties of American origin called "Shredder" and "Novrozkii." From American long-staple varieties of 25 to 29 mm., 32-count yarns can be spun, while the short-staple Inner Asian variety can be used only for 24-count yarns. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, 73 per cent with native cotton and 23 per cent with seed of the American varieties.

231 Silk is a second ancient crop of commercial importance. The
439 most noted silk oases have always been Khotan and Yarkand.
288 Part of the raw silk they produce is manufactured on the spot into fabrics which have greatly declined in value and beauty in recent years, and the rest is exported to the Soviet Union and

[15] Kuropatkin, p. 126.

[16] Chuan Yuan, *Geography of the Western Regions*, written 1776, published 1818, chuan 1, p. 1 (in Chinese).

[17] "Economy in Sinkiang," *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, pp. 16, 109, April 25, 1925.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 487 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 174 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang. Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, [438]
the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In 439
one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia 174
was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodi- 438
ties of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to [489]
Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

by 1750.[23] Sinkiang still imports tea from China, together with silk and the factory-made cotton goods which compete with homespun cotton, and profitable but inessential goods like porcelain, cigarettes, flashlights, and Western-style men's hats. Luxury exports to China are raisins, jade, and furs. Bulk exports are sheep's wool, camel's wool, and the intestines of sheep (for making sausage casings). The quantity exported to China is entirely dependent on the Russian market, because the much shorter distance to railhead in Soviet territory makes it impossible for China to compete when Russia is willing to buy. 439 489

Trade with the Mongolian People's Republic has always been of minor importance. Mongolia is a pastoral country, and it adjoins the pastoral regions of Sinkiang, so that all that Sinkiang can export is grain, which can be cheaply carried by camel caravan.

Trade with India, amounting in the early 1930's to 5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade, is limited by the fact that the main trade route, over the Karakoram to Leh, crosses five passes of more than 17,000 feet. The average loss in caravan animals is in the neighborhood of 40 per cent; and from Leh more passes have to be crossed on the way down to Kashmir. British policy has always encouraged trade between India and Sinkiang, but in the last fifty years the development reached has been anything but healthy. Indian merchants, settled in the southwestern oases, invest their profits partly in usury, which leads to lawsuits and ill-feeling. They also invested, until recently at least, in buying and growing *charas* or Indian hemp, a plant closely related to marijuana, which provided compact, high-value loads that could profitably be carried over the high passes to India. This trade in a dangerous narcotic, which in 1937–1938 represented 42 per cent of the total value of exports to India, was made the target of a political drive against British interests in Sinkiang during the "anti-imperialist" phase of the governorship of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in the late 1930's.

These limitations of trade in other directions make it plain why trade with Russia is the only mechanism which can pump vitality 439

[23] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

439 into the economic life of Sinkiang. In the early 1930's it reached 82.5 per cent of Sinkiang's foreign trade. The most populous and productive areas lie closer to Russia than to any other market. The situation is one which is completely open to the manipulation of Soviet policy, but it was not created by Soviet policy.

439 435 248 Cotton has been the most important export to Russia from the oases since 1890. In 1926–1927 the Soviet customs returns listed 2676 metric tons of cotton imported from Sinkiang. While cotton averages perhaps a little less than 10 per cent of the total value of exports to the Soviet Union, its relative importance is shown by the fact that more than half of the crop in the Turfan oasis, the largest producer, is normally sold to the Soviet Union, and when the Chinese authorities cut off trade in 1943, because of bad political relations, the effect of the resultant fall in prices was widespread.

439 From the pastoral regions, livestock are the most important export to the Soviet Union, followed by livestock products like wool and hides. Because the Soviet statistics do not give ad valorem figures, it is difficult to state the values of these exports, but it is evident that they greatly exceed the value of exports from the oases. Before the first World War and the Russian Revolution, in 1913, 300,000 head of sheep alone were sold to Russia, representing about 10 per cent of the total number of sheep in the Kulja and Chuguchak regions. Trade fell abruptly during the Revolution and civil war, and did not begin to recover until about 1925. In 1926, 90,000 sheep were exported. One Russian author states that in the first half of 1926 sheep alone accounted for 32 per cent of Russia's purchases from Sinkiang, while all livestock together accounted for 48 per cent.[24] Another Russian author states that between 1930 and 1933 livestock and livestock products provided from 79 to 93 per cent of Soviet purchases from Sinkiang.[25]

This trade is of benefit to both sides. From 1918 to 1924, when

[24] N. Stefanov, "The Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. in Central Asia," in *Planned Economy*, Moscow, Oct. 1926 (in Russian).

[25] P. M. Fesenko and others, *Iran, Afghanistan and Sinkiang*, Moscow, 1936, p. 346 (in Russian).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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trade with Russia was at its lowest, Sinkiang suffered severely. Cotton had to be sold at prices low enough to make possible caravan transport for at least 1500 miles from Turfan to railhead in Suiyuan, followed by rail carriage to Tientsin, and finally sea shipment to Shanghai, where it competed with American cotton. During this period of depression and low prices American and German firms and a few Chinese merchants from Tientsin set up plants in Sinkiang for processing sheep intestines which they exported, together with wool and furs, to the distant sea coast, importing in return Japanese textiles, American shoes, sugar, and other manufactured articles. As soon as trade with Russia began to revive, prices rose and these firms could no longer compete.

Russian writers state that the growth of large consuming cities in Soviet Inner Asia accounts for the increasing demand for meat from Sinkiang.[26] The cotton-growing Soviet regions are the chief purchasers.[27] Thus the shift from diversified farming to specialized farming, especially in Uzbekistan, accompanied by industrialization all over Soviet Inner Asia, has increased the demand for livestock from Sinkiang and thus in turn increased the degree of commercialization in the pastoral economy of the Sinkiang nomads.

The oases of Sinkiang, with their relatively large population and demand for consumer goods, buy more from the Soviet Union than they sell. Northern Sinkiang, on the other hand, with its small population and large production of livestock, sells more to the Soviet Union than it buys, and is therefore able to use some of its cash balance to buy from the oases. Soviet-Sinkiang trade as a whole, therefore, has a circular motion — out of Jungaria into the Soviet Union, out of Soviet territory into the oases, and out of the oases into Jungaria, completing the circle. As a consequence, whenever trade with the Soviet Union falls off, the internal trade of the province also suffers.

In normal times, the velocity of the circulation of trade is en-

[26] Stefanov, *op. cit.*

[27] O. Bukshtein, "The Trade of the U.S.S.R. with Sinkiang," *New East*, 1928, No. 10–21 (in Russian).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

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hanced by the fact that the balance is in the favor of Sinkiang. The amount of the favorable balance, unfortunately, cannot be determined. The Sinkiang provincial statistics have never been systematically kept, and the Soviet statistics lack some kinds of information. The ruble used in Soviet statistics has been more than once revalued, and in addition Soviet exports are valued f.o.b., expressing the amount received for them without the addition of freight charges, while imports are valued c.i.f., so that the cost of insurance and freight is added to the cost of the goods themselves.

In relative terms, Russia's frontier trade with Mongolia and Sinkiang as early as 1905 far exceeded trade with China proper,[28] and it is probable that the same situation exists today. By 1932, Mongolia and Iran were first and second in Soviet trade with countries in Asia, while Sinkiang stood third, followed by Turkey and Afghanistan.

Soviet trade with Sinkiang follows the typical "colonial" pattern of purchasing raw materials and selling manufactured goods. In 1932, cotton textiles accounted for 72 per cent of Soviet sales to Sinkiang, followed in importance by metals and ironware, sugar, electrical equipment, crockery and glass, petroleum, matches, and silkworms, Soviet financial policy, however, deliberately reverses the conventional pattern of draining wealth from the "colonial" market by buying cheap and selling dear. As early as the Second Conference of National Commissariats of Foreign Trade in 1923, the policy was adopted of rebating prices on Soviet manufactured goods destined for countries in Asia.[29]

Price, rather than quality, probably accounts for the boast of a Soviet writer in 1926 that "in Kashgar our textiles have driven British-Indian goods out of the market by their superior quality.[30] Twenty years ago no manufacturing country would concede the superior quality of Soviet goods; but it is true that at the present

[28] H. B. Morse, "Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs," *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports, 1905*, Shanghai, 1906, Part I, vii.

[29] Violet Conolly, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East*, London, 1933, p. 141.

[30] Stefanov, *op. cit.*

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

time buyers and users in Sinkiang admit not only the wearing quality of Soviet textiles but the ruggedness of Russian trucks, which truck drivers in Sinkiang and Northwest China consider superior to American trucks for rough work. 439

In recent years, the Soviet financial policy of enhancing the buying power of Sinkiang has taken the form of granting a 20 per cent premium in barter deals involving exchange of Sinkiang raw materials for Soviet manufactured goods. An actual example is a contract in which one package of Soviet-made cigarettes was made the unit of exchange for one catty (about 1.3 lbs.) of Sinkiang wool, at a time when the prevailing prices in Sinkiang were 8.40 Sinkiang dollars for a package of Soviet-made cigarettes and 7.00 Sinkiang dollars for a catty of wool.

In concluding this chapter, it should be said that in the year 1948 economic life in Sinkiang was in full crisis. Trade with the Soviet Union had practically ceased, and inflation within the province had become malignant. A little historical background must be sketched in to make the situation understandable. 436 457 458

The old Tsarist Russian ruble was formerly accepted in Sinkiang, and was in fact preferred to Chinese currencies. Branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank operated in Urumchi, Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak; they financed foreign trade, and provincial funds were placed on deposit with them. In 1913 the Russian ruble exchanged for eight Urumchi taels. In 1917, with the Russian Revolution, the ruble fell to .63 taels but did not collapse completely because all branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank outside of Russia were taken under French protection and managed to keep operating for some years. By 1919, however, the old ruble was worth only .10 taels. A year or two later it was utterly worthless, while the new Soviet currency was suspect and unwanted.

A multiple provincial currency, sponsored by the Chinese Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, then became the medium of trade and account, as described in Chapter III, by the Governor's policy of never issuing paper to the value of more than 20,000,000 taels. At the same time he allowed a number of taxes, including the land tax, to be paid in money instead of in kind. Money thus

648 175 then organized at Kashgar. The British felt their "preserve" in nearby India was being "threatened" and as a consequence "countered" Russian action both by recognizing the Beg and by taking a more active interest in "trade" with South Sinkiang.

Sinkiang-Indian trade had been under way for some time, but the British Government became officially committed to its furtherance in 1876. This policy, they found, could not be pursued satisfactorily without dispatch of an armed force to pacify the Northwest Frontier of India. In taking this step, they trespassed on what Chinese feel was and is their ground. Thereupon, say Chinese, when in 1884 a British force marched into "Kanjut" *(K'an-chü-t'i* or *Kan-chu-t'e)*—the site of the Gilgit Agency and Hunza Valley of modern Northwest India—outright English "aggression" against Sinkiang began. Subsequently a British agent and a British consul were established at Kashgar. This South Sinkiang metropolis became a focus for British activity which, under the aegis of the Indian trade agent, the British consul, and native *aqsaqals* (headmen), was carried on mainly as an intra-Mohammedan affair. It became, consequently, subject to a persistent suspicion on the part of Chinese non-Moslems.

Manchu Commercial Efforts

439 That the Russians and British were attempting to dominate Sinkiang trade became apparent to China by the closing years of Manchu rule. In a limited and tardy way the Manchus attempted to strengthen administration in the province, therefore, and to foster new development of intra-Chinese trade. New colonizing blood was poured into the veins of Sinkiang. At the same time went manufacturers and ideas; and from the province came jade, gold, furs, skins, and a number of other items. The avidity with which foreigners in Tientsin and Shanghai sought the furs, skins, and wool especially helped, and by the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese traders were bringing these goods out of Sinkiang in such amounts that she was beginning to experience a new prosperity. But the process of itself could not develop to satisfactory proportions, due to the then current weakness of the

Manchu position in China as a whole, as well as to the physical limitations set by the necessary journey. 439

The Convenience Factor

Traditional routes from China Proper into Sinkiang not only have always been fraught with danger and difficulty, but they have also been excessively long. Negotiation by primitive means of some 1,500 miles of hard travel over desert and mountain areas formerly was required for the journey from Pei-p'ing to Tihwa; there were, in addition, the following distances from Tihwa to selected outlying Sinkiang trade centers near the Russian and Indian frontiers: 487

Sui-ting (Kuldja)	360 miles
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	375 "
Aqsu	927 "
Kashgar	1,375 "
Khotan	1,644 "

Yet, compare those distances with the mileage along main trade routes by which there was travel from modern communication centers in Russia to key points in Sinkiang. A French writer, M. Castagné, has shown that from:

Andizhan to Kashgar by Irkeshtam through Terek Pass is	427 miles
Pishpek (Frunze) to Kashgar by Narinsk through Chatir Kōl is	346 "
Alma-Ata to Sui-ting (Kuldja) by Khorgos is	534 "
Semipalatinsk to Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng) by Sergiopol is	400 "
Zaisan to Sharasume is	160 "
Zaisan to Chuguchak is	160 "

M. Castagné also points out how the Russians were economically favored over even the British when he explains that from Leh, in Northwest India—along a customary British trade route—it is respectively 460, 530, and 619 miles to such key commercial points of South Sinkiang as Karghalik, Khotan, and Keriya. The British routes, besides, went over some of the most difficult mountain passes in the

487 world, some replete with blizzards and terrific heights; at least one over 18,000 feet.

These remarks show, without need of further elaboration, that the main centers of Sinkiang have been relatively much more convenient to centers of Russian Central Asia than to those of British India or, to a much greater extent, those of Eastern China. They also show how Russia's favored geographical position could shortly turn Sinkiang trade in her favor.

The Emergence of Tsarist Leadership

439 For a generation the Tsarist Government had wielded considerable commercial influence in the Kashgar region of South Sinkiang; and the proximity of the Russian Turkestan railways and highways was felt only less by degree in the Altai and T'ien Shan areas of North Sinkiang. According to Gabitov, a Soviet writer, a real shift toward Russia in Sinkiang trade came in the period immediately following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Up to then nearly all the wool of Tihwa and Tarbagatai (T'a Ch'eng) had gone into Tientsin across Su-chou and Lan-chou. But in 1905 the freight prices jumped, and Tientsin imports of Sinkiang wool were diminished. This started a shift which took the goods from Tihwa across the Chinese-Russian border to Semipalatinsk and on to the east coast of Asia via the Trans-Siberian Railway. This export route made good use of the relatively comfortable trek from Tihwa to the Russian border via the Manas River valley. In the early years of the twentieth century this avenue of trade became the most important for Sinkiang. Large and small livestock and raw materials for Russia herself also went this way, but some other Sinkiang products—cotton, silks, and a certain amount of wool from the Khotan, Keriya, and Yarkand areas farther south—entered Russia along the Kashgar-Irkeshtam-Osh road. In return Russia sent Sinkiang finished manufactures, silks, iron (including plated and rimmed iron), barred steel, earthenware, perfumes, and sugar. Henceforth, with the exception of the earliest period of Soviet government in Russia, Sinkiang-Russian economic bonds gradually grew stronger. By 1930 Soviet engineers had completed the Turksib Railway, which reached almost

to the Chinese frontier; thus Russia gained another great advantage over her rivals in the markets of Sinkiang. Total recorded Sinkiang-Soviet trade in 1930 had already jumped to over 32,000,000 rubles, and in 1931 Soviet Russia reportedly obtained new and considerable trade and communications privileges in the Chinese province. When the revolt of Sinkiang Moslems during 1930-1933 led to the emergence of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Soviet Russia extended him such substantial aid that he was able to institute sweeping changes in the territory under his administration. 439

The Soviet Position: One Chinese View

There are Chinese, such as the writer Chiang Chün-chang, who have intimated that the Soviet record in Sinkiang has been merely a continuation of old Tsarist imperial policy and who hint that Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been merely an instrument in the hands of Soviet Russia. Chiang, whose opinion does not necessarily represent that of most Chinese, appears to feel that Soviet as well as Tsarist Russia has been an "aggressor" in Sinkiang. His argument (in public print, 1937-1939) has been that Soviet Russia began to make great headway in Sinkiang after the assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin and after Chin Shu-jen (by specific agreement in October, 1931) had welcomed the importation of Soviet arms into the province. When Sheng Shih-ts'ai's influence had succeeded that of Chin Shu-jen, Sheng got Soviet help in overcoming provincial opposition, and relates Chiang, "has since then been one of the Soviet brood." "Sheng Shih-ts'ai has engaged Soviet advisers in his army," has not conferred "with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," and has not sent "duplicate copies of treaties for the Executive Yüan to keep on record," Chiang adds. Though information on the extent of the authority which is held by such Soviet advisers as have been in Sinkiang is not clear and is largely based on foreign reports, Chang Chün-chang continues, it is to be feared that Soviet Russia has been sending many Kazakhs across the Soviet border into Sinkiang and has planned to have part of Sinkiang enter Soviet Kazakhstan. At the same time, he says, she has reportedly prepared Sinkiang Moslems to form a "Moslem Soviet under Soviet Russia." 648

648 and even "radical" ideas as well as material advances for the populace. These changes came for a time almost in spite of what Chinese from China Proper, and probably others from abroad, could say or do; and they may largely be explained by a gradual drift in Sinkiang, dating from Tsarist days, toward close economic relations with Russia. Yet this evolution has not prevented the merging of the Sinkiang political program with that of Nationalist China.

The Difficulties of Early Soviet-Sinkiang Relations

It has been mentioned that, when Republican Chinese overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1911-1912, Sinkiang administration became the responsibility of Yang Tseng-hsin. In at least one sense the advent of his regime was fortunate. Yang's firm seizure of autocratic powers prevented political disintegration in the province, which, nominally at least, remained Chinese and did not fall into alien hands. Otherwise the old life of Sinkiang might have ended earlier in an even worse internal scramble than that of 1931—possibly Sinkiang might even have become openly a part of the Tsarist Empire. As events turned out, Yang watched the borders of his province closely and maintained cordial but not servile relations with Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, however, created a new situation.

Unrest within Russia had manifested itself in Turkestan as early as the Kirgiz insurrection of 1916, and by the next year the Sinkiang-
[439] Russian border was severely disturbed. Gabitov indicates that the first reaction was a swiftly increasing surplus of wool. This piled up on the Russian side of the frontier, because of a lack of transport facilities to send it on to Russian and third-party markets. By 1918 the oversupply had halted much of the Sinkiang trade with Russia, and by 1920 that trade had ceased almost completely. Chinese probably were secretly relieved that revolution had upset the Tsarist tendency toward expansion in the direction of Sinkiang, but Governor Yang at first pursued strictly a policy of watchfulness. He virtually closed the Sinkiang-Russian frontier; Nazaroff, a Russian "white" who tried to escape from Russian Turkestan to Kashgar, has given a clear account of the difficulties encountered by anyone attempting to cross into

648 is best that each claim be made the subject of friendly and direct arrangements between both governments. The Russian representatives nevertheless agree to bring before the Government at Tashkent a measure in accordance with Chinese claims.

The above stipulations, rendered in the Chinese and in the Russian languages, have been approved by the representatives of both parties each of whom is keeping a signed copy.

The most conspicuous points of this document are its local character, the new limitations on the type and extent of Russian representation in Sinkiang, the restriction of trade to one route, and the provisions stipulating return to Russia of refugees in China. Negotiations apparently were conducted between authorities of Sinkiang and Russian Turkestan, not between the Government of China and the Government of Soviet Russia. Instead of the former Tsarist right to seven consular establishments in Sinkiang, by the agreement Soviet authorities are only alloted offices for commerce and foreign affairs at Sui-ting (I-li) and nearby Ning-yüan (I-ning). Only trade via North Sinkiang is apparently provided for, and none via South Sinkiang. Finally the refugee problem, one which the White Russian-Bolshevik differences had been making difficult for Sinkiang authorities, is thrown back on the Soviets. The agreement does, however, open the way to a resumption of trade—of potential benefit to both sides. Moreover, irrespective of the restrictions in the treaty Russian agents appear to have transacted business in Sinkiang shortly afterwards from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak).

648 439 In 1921 Soviet authorities made a good beginning toward recouping the former Tsarist commercial position, only to lose the trust of Chinese tradesmen a year or so later. For instance, the Siberian foreign trade organization, Sibvneshtorg, opened offices at Semipalatinsk and sent an agent to T'a Ch'eng. According to Gabitov, 8,500 head of large cattle and around 169,000 sheep were successfully contracted for. The last payment on the contract was made by December of the same year, only two months after the last delivery of the cattle. This placed Sibvneshtorg on a strong basis in Sinkiang, and even livestock on credit became available to it rapidly. But in 1922 the Semipalatinsk division of Sibvneshtorg went under the control of what was then

called Kirkrai, whose name indicates a "Kirgiz regional" organization. Apparently weaker in resources and interested in local and temporary advantage more than long-range commerce, Kirkrai soon undermined this sound beginning. 648 439

In the fall of that same year the T'a Ch'eng representative of the local Soviet foreign trade agency, Kirvneshtorg (presumably a foreign trade subsidiary of Kirkrai), entered into five contracts with Sinkiang Chinese to purchase livestock. The price was one ruble twenty kopeks banked silver a pood, live weight, for both cattle and sheep. The account was carefully detailed and compensation was to be made in a barter-like fashion thus:

40% in manufactured goods (mostly cotton)
25% in silver
18% in iron and iron manufactures
7% in green tea (brick)
7% in various crockery
2% in sewing thread
1% in glass

The cattle were taken from the market and pastured for the winter in accordance with the agreements; but the Kirvneshtorg payments were held up long after the cattle were delivered. In fact several traders from China were not paid for their livestock until June, 1924; and then many of them received payment only because they themselves traveled all the way to Moscow to get it.

"Similar dealings," wrote Gabitov in 1925, ". . . undermined every trust in Kirvneshtorg . . ." There were other Soviet attempts to revive the trade between 1922 and 1924, but they had little success.

Trade Shifts and Advocated Reforms

While Soviet economic relations were thus muddling along in the north, the Soviet Government "was entirely unrepresented" in South Sinkiang. Considerable anti-Soviet political agitation even emanated from there. This, in turn, was accompanied by a striking shift in trade. A considerable amount was diverted from the Kashgar-Osh 439

439 route into Russian Turkestan to trails connecting Kashgar with India, especially that via Yarkand and Ladakh (Ladok). American, British, German, and Japanese firms busily began opening offices in Sinkiang, and some of these even got as far north as Tarbagatai (T'a Ch'eng). While the main point of origin for the new trade was British India, some commerce came from Tientsin. A British firm, apparently called Agrico, even entered into an arrangement with the Russian organization Sibsel'soius of Novo-Nikolaevsk to send goods in transit through Semipalatinsk and then by Russian railway to Tientsin. These western and Japanese firms had certain very real advantages over Soviet Russia in this period. They could pay without any considerable delay, and they could pay in cash; the Russian traders, on their part, were continually delaying payment, were hampered by the Red "red tape," and often broke their contracts.

Yet even in that early period farseeing Soviet students of Central Asian economics envisaged a day when Russian trade could surpass that of other powers in Sinkiang. Gabitov advocated a number of reforms and innovations which, he concluded, would restore Russian commercial prestige. His well-considered and now historically significant recommendations included the following:

1. The transfer of the local agent of the foreign trade office from Kirkrai to Turkkrai. (This change was intended to ensure impartiality as to which area of Russian Turkestan was to be allotted a specific item of Sinkiang business.)

2. More speedy completion of a railway line from Tashkent.

3. Punctual payment of all contracts, in any case for the next one or two years, until Russia had re-established her credit.

4. The production of manufactured goods of every sort so that Russians could compete with the Japanese in the sale of cheap items in Sinkiang.

5. Reduction of cartage rates from the borders.

6. Those dealing in the area to have full knowledge of the local border and of its commercial likes and dislikes, and to maintain friendly relations with the local Chinese population.

"Under the spur of these improvements," Gabitov concluded, "it is

safe to say that Russia will quickly regain her former place here in commercial relations. For, under such circumstances, English and Japanese competition with Russian goods should be exceedingly difficult." 439

A New Diplomatic Gain

Opportunity for Soviet Russia to regain standing in Sinkiang at last came with the opening of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union in May, 1924. Not only did the Soviet Government soon reopen consulates and establish a consulate-general in the province, but commercial relations became greatly improved. 648

The opening of the first Soviet consulate in Sinkiang, that at T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), took place in December, 1924. The red flag was raised in the presence of a number of persons, including the Chinese administrator of the circuit and the Soviet consul. Some months later another Soviet consulate was opened at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua), and a Soviet consulate-general established at Tihwa (Urumchi). By August, 1925, a Soviet consul had also taken up residence at Kashgar. China on her side utilized the new friendly relations to establish a consulate-general at Semipalatinsk, in Kazakhstan, and consulates at Tashkent, Andizhan, Zaisan, and Alma-Ata.

Though these events were a part of the increasing Chinese-Russian cordiality from 1924 to 1926, they were to have special meaning for Sinkiang-Soviet relations. For by August, 1927, bloody conflict had broken out between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists in Central China. This quickly put a strain on the friendship that had for such a short time existed between China and the U.S.S.R. Yet Sinkiang authorities, irrespective of Central China policy, appear to have desired to keep close ties with Russia. How strong those ties had become is suggested in the following commitment assertedly made on December 28, 1927, to the editor of a Semipalatinsk newspaper:

> The dark reaction in Central China has taken on frightful proportions in the unprecedented manifestations against Chinese workers and against the representatives and representations of the friendly republic of the U.S.S.R. This fact is grievous to us, for we are the official representatives of the Chinese Republic. In order to make known precisely

month . . . A struggle for the succession to power . . . would precipitate Russian control, if not formal Russian rule." 648

Re-establishment of formal Soviet political relations with Sinkiang under Yang Tseng-hsin had given Soviet foreign trade interests a grand new opportunity; and completion of the Turksib Railway, on the Soviet side of the frontier, in 1930 climaxed this. The new railway could bring Moscow's latest products to the doors of Sinkiang in but a few days, and therefore Soviet trade could successfully overcome all competition—including that from the Chinese and British. By 1930 Sinkiang was already falling economically into the hands of her Soviet neighbor; and the Ha-mi insurrection left Chin Shu-jen too weak to resist the trend.

When civil war came, it threw the province not only into military and political, but even into financial, chaos. Sinkiang money was then principally fiat paper currency, with little value once public confidence had been lost; and the civil war indeed destroyed public confidence in it. To a certain extent the evil might have been alleviated by shipment of real goods out of the province and by deposit of the foreign or Nationalist Chinese currency receipts in foreign banks or other banks elsewhere in China. But, since Soviet Russia had gained a near monopoly on Sinkiang trade, outside currency could be obtained for Sinkiang inhabitants practically only by Soviet sufferance. Through her control of Sinkiang trade Soviet Russia had gained a hold on Sinkiang finances as well. 648 652

Nor did Soviet Russia have reason to consider her favored position in Sinkiang lightly. Between 1923/24 and 1930 inclusive, Sinkiang annual exports into the U.S.S.R. had risen from 3,015,000 to 16,033,000 rubles; and annual imports into Sinkiang from the U.S.S.R. had leaped from 418,000 to 16,027,000 rubles. This meant a rise in the total annual trade from 3,433,000 to 32,060,000 rubles. Moreover, up to that date, in tonnage as well as in value of visible items of trade, Soviet Russia had continually received more from Sinkiang than she had returned. That situation even continued from 1931 to 1937 inclusive, so far as recorded bulk is concerned, though it altered at times in respect to recorded value. 648 439

It was not merely the rubles that could be realized from what Sin- 648

648 kiang had or would buy—not merely the wool, the cotton, sheep guts, livestock, and horses that came across the border—that made Sinkiang so valuable to the Soviet Union. Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 had upset the whole strategic orientation of Northeast Asia; and a new, dynamic Soviet interest in Sinkiang development was a logical counter. A new aggressive force had thrust herself upon the Asiatic continent and, from the Soviet point of view, had endangered not only the Soviet Maritime Province and Mongolia but the whole Russian strategic position in Northeastern and Central Asia. For Manchuria is but a part, the easternmost sector, of a vast and interrelated Inner Asian living space which includes Mongolia and Turkestan and which quickly reacts in each of its distinct parts to political changes in any other part. Specifically, from Manchuria there is in normal times relatively easy access to the caravan routes which cross into Sinkiang from Outer and Inner Mongolia. Should Japan master or influence those, Russia would be completely outflanked in Asia. Already by 1933 Japanese designs on Jehol and Inner Mongolia had been revealed, and they were thought to have been reflected in the Sinkiang war. Had China herself been able to consolidate Sinkiang strongly in opposition to Japanese intrigues, perhaps Soviet concern would have been less. But the flight of Chin Shu-jen in 1933 left instead a Sinkiang political chaos which Soviet Russia could ignore only at her own peril.

648 439 The specific technique by which Soviet aid was given Sheng Shih-ts'ai has not been adequately revealed. But without an attempt at too complicated an analysis, it can be indicated by a glance at the record of Soviet-Sinkiang commerce since 1923. The steady increase by bulk in total Soviet import-export trade with Sinkiang from 1923/24 continued till 1931 and 1932, when sharp drops were registered. After 1933 on trade again rose. The bulk rise in 1933, practically all of it, represents Sinkiang shipments to Soviet Russia; that in 1934 mostly Soviet shipments to Sinkiang. The trade figures after that show a steady rise by bulk on both sides. By 1936 and 1937 total import-export trade had jumped to over 60,000,000 rubles in value and to over 50,000 tons in bulk—in sharp contrast with the record of around 3,000,000 rubles and 13,000 tons in the year 1923/24.

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long
167 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen, the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

●439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. Theirs was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices, and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as of war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce, and was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Han-Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang-Occidental, commerce.

439 69. The following is a statement of Sinkiang-Soviet trade from the economic year 1923/24 to 1937 inclusive:

Date	Exports From Sinkiang To the U.S.S.R.		Imports Into Sinkiang From the U.S.S.R.		Total Trade	
	Th. Rubles	Tons	Th. Rubles	Tons	Th. Rubles	Tons
1923/24	3,015	12,215	418	839	3,433	13,054
1924/25	4,535	18,321	2,611	2,912	7,146	21,233
1925/26	10,331	27,925	6,092	4,659	16,423	32,584
1926/27	11,754	21,788	10,232	7,302	21,986	29,090
1927/28	13,528	24,575	10,647	7,800	24,175	32,375
1929	16,435	20,440	16,396	12,502	32,831	32,942
1930	16,033	27,232	16,027	10,957	32,060	38,189
1931	10,212	23,936	13,954	7,148	24,166	31,084
1932	12,305	21,838	15,698	8,006	28,003	29,844
1933	18,822	35,899	10,856	7,412	29,678	43,311
1934	5,945	22,630	4,730	18,894	10,675	41,524
1935	6,049	26,665	4,550	20,113	10,599	46,778
1936	25,671	28,498	26,145	22,786	61,816	51,284
1937	25,774	28,990	34,753	25,733	60,527	54,723

Figures to and including 1927/28 are from C. Zashchuk, "La situation économique de Sindsian," *Novyi Vostok*, No. 26-27 (1929), pp. 120-121; figures from and including 1929 to and including 1935 are from P. Vostokov, "L'U.R.S.S., la Mongolie extérieure et le Sin Kiang," *Le Monde Slave*, 1936, II (June), pp. 448 and 457; figures for 1936 and 1937 are from R. S. F. S. R., *Glavnoe Tamazhennoe Upravlenie Statistika Vneshnei Torgovli SSSR*, 1936, XII (December), p. 7; and 1937, XII (December), p. 7. From October of one year to September 30 of the next constituted an "economic year" up to 1929 for the Russian Customs. The statistics for 1930-1933 are particularly subject to question due to the existence of conflicting official Russian data. *Vide* Vostokov, *loc. cit.*, p. 456, n. (2). A 1941 Soviet source adds that the "annual trade turnover" of Sinkiang is "nearly 62,000,000 rubles." *Malaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia* (Second edition, *tom* IX, State Institute for the "Soviet Encyclopedia," Moscow, 1941), column 716.

An idea of the type of commodities exchanged between Soviet Russia and Sinkiang is seen in 1931 trade figures offered in the *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun* for November, 1942:

Important Items of 1931 Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang from Soviet Russia		Imports to Soviet Russia from Sinkiang	
Textile goods	11,361,000	Sheep wool	4,896,000
Petroleum products	144,000	Leather	2,009,000
Sugar	978,000	Livestock	2,891,000
Electrical products	850,000	Cotton	767,000

The same publication, for purposes of rough comparison, gives statements of commodity exchange between Sinkiang on the one hand and China Proper, India, and

Afghanistan respectively on the other. The pertinent figures are assertedly based upon a 1927 British Consulate report but, since the citations are offered by the Chinese source with certain internal inconsistencies, they ought not to be considered here as valuable for more than rough approximations of an actual situation. The figures, given below, make available a crude and very limited commodity yardstick for comparison of former Sinkiang trade relations with neighboring areas. Due to the above-mentioned inconsistencies, the Sinkiang-Indian import and export trade totals and the Sinkiang-Afghanistan import trade totals here are the author's own computation of the available *Ts'ai-* 439

Sinkiang Trade with China Proper (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
Red tea	770,000	Gold	475,000
Pearls	600,000	Cotton cloth	200,000
Japanese silk	256,000	Canvas	36,000
Cotton yarn	76,000	"High quality" cotton cloth	26,250
Coins and gold	69,750	Total	737,250
Total	1,771,750		

Sinkiang Trade with India (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
European cotton cloth	276,848	Horses and ponies	101,235
Drugs	29,426	Cotton cloth	35,698
Skins (not including sheep and goat skins)	61,663	Copper	742,654
Leather goods	41,448	Raw and waste silk	47,331
Paints and dyes	226,254	Woolen goods	358,451
Pearls (European)	71,335	Felt carpets	25,524
Down of the wild swan	115,334	Coins	26,789
Silk goods (Indian)	24,876	Gold, silver, and silver "shoes"	233,759
Spices	36,562	Leather goods	16,339
Red tea (Indian) ?	27,386	Sheep wool	17,288
Red tea (not including Indian)	23,098	Donkeys and horses	7,508
European woolen goods	42,000	Hard jade	8,272
Total	976,230	Total	1,620,848

Sinkiang Trade with Afghanistan (Rubles)

Imports to Sinkiang		Exports from Sinkiang	
Opium	675,000	Cotton cloth	167,500
Mountain goat gut	600,000	Sheep wool felt goods (carpets and blankets?)	80,000
Horses	45,000	Silk floss	75,000
No-tun (?) skin	10,000	Ceramics	21,200
Fox skin	24,000	Horse blankets	16,800
Mountain cat skin	4,350	Mules and horses	13,000
Foreign almonds	3,600	Khotan silk	12,500
Total	1,361,950	Total	386,000

439 *cheng P'ing-lun* commodity data. *Vide* Violet Conolly, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East: Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Tana Tuva, Sinkiang* (Oxford University Press, London, 1933) for additional basic discussion concerning related economic problems in the period previous to inception of the New Sinkiang.

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71. "Unity" in 1936: Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," article obtained by the author in Lan-chou, China, January 4, 1940. Sheng's desire to "revive" Sinkiang: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

71-72. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

72. The fact (1) that there are today varying interpretations within China of the Three People's Principles and of the direction which the Chinese National Revolution should take and (2) that China has been constantly revising her program of action to meet dire wartime necessities, indicates that Resistance and Reconstruction may have, for the immediate practicable purposes of prosecution of war against Japan, taken precedence over the Three People's Principles.

73. Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 88; *idem*, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, p. 201; Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 13, 246; Peter Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 253.

73-74. For the text of the Sino-Russian treaty see notes to pages 57-58 *supra*. For resolutions of the All-Sinkiang Congress *vide* "Hsin-chiang Ti-san-tz'u Ch'üan Sheng Tai-piao Ta-hui," *loc. cit.* Reference to the June 16, 1939 trade agreement is to be found in the *New York Times*, June 25, 1939.

74. An English language text of the Russo-German Pact of August, 1939, is to be found in the *New York Times*, August 24, 1939. The Chinese defensive measures were personally witnessed by the author. Final ratification of the Sino-Russian trade pact was announced as taking place January 5, 1940.

74-75. *Sinkiang Daily News*, December 17, 1939, and October 4, 1940; *Hsin Hua Jih-pao*, December 12, 1940; and *Ta Kung Pao*, January 28, 1941. An English language text of the Soviet-Japanese Non-Aggression agreement is to be found in the *New York Times*, April 14, 1941.

76. Wendell L. Willkie wrote in early 1943 that Sheng Shih-ts'ai had "shifted his allegiance to the Generalissimo." This might have been worded more fortunately, but it was nevertheless indicative even then of a subtle shift in Sinkiang affairs and is pertinent to some other comments in Willkie's book, *One World*. According to the latter, "the legends which pass as news in Asia have it that Russians were accused of complicity in" the "murder" of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's "brother" in June, 1942. In his book Willkie has emphasized the overt appearance of "cordial friendship between Russia and China" yet has spoken of Sheng Shih-ts'ai as having "once" been "sympathetic with the Communists." This would suggest that the switch in Sinkiang affairs away from "Kinship to Sovietism" was becoming noticeable even as early as 1942 when Willkie was traveling through the province en route to Chungking. The recently published information concerning Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, as well as the press dispatches mentioning the alleged Soviet-Chinese border incidents on the Sinkiang-Mongolian frontier, has exposed the shift even more. *Vide* Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (Paper edition, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1943), p. 47; "Report from Turkestan," *Time Magazine* (October 25, 1943), pp. 27-28; *New York Times*, October 16, 1943, April 3, 4, and 5, 1944.

77-78. For remarks in regard to the Sinkiang population, *vide* also the reference notes for page 32 *supra*. Tu Chung-yüan states that approximately eighty per cent of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

439 Hissar, Karghalik and elsewhere. Besides these there are colonies of Muhammadan British subjects in nearly all the districts, some of them purely agricultural immigrants from Northern Kashmir and Chitral, others (and these among the wealthiest in the land) merchants engaged in the Indian trade. Many of the latter have married Turki wives, own land and houses, and have a considerable stake in the country. 648 All these people[1] cling tenaciously to their British nationality and their right to the protection of the Consular court, which 692 under the existing arrangement exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction over them. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the extra-territorial system in general or the details of its application to Kashgaria. Suffice it to say that the Consul-General is kept very busy maintaining order among the British subjects of the various districts, settling their civil disputes, trying cases brought against them by Chinese subjects, helping them to obtain redress in the Chinese courts and generally watching over their interests. Although theoretically the Consul-General deals only with the Taoyin, the representative of the Governor of the province, in practice very few cases, and those only the most important ones of an "international" nature, are heard at Kashgar. The Consul-General works informally with the District Magistrates, either directly or through the British agents ("Aqsaqals") in the various towns. As the majority of the British subjects live from five to twenty marches from Kashgar, it can readily be understood that the most effective and expeditious method of dealing with their cases is regularly to visit the districts in which they reside and settle matters on the spot, either with the District Magistrates or among the British subjects themselves as the case may be. In fact, it was only by travelling once a year down each of the two main roads, Yarkand-Khotan-Keriya and Maralbashi-Aksu-Kucha, with halts varying from one to fifteen days at each district headquarters and with an occasional extra visit to the chief centre of the Indian trade, Yarkand, that I found it possible to keep in touch with the Indian colonies and (what is no less important) on friendly personal terms with the 484 Chinese magistrates. Nearly half of the two and a quarter years we were in Kashgaria was thus spent on tour, and D. and I covered, apart from holiday jaunts to the hills, some 3,400 miles, almost entirely on horseback with our baggage in Peking carts or on the back of pack-ponies. There was

1 [INDIAN MERCHANTS -- ANALYST]

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook
N appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.
[131] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones
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S of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
[439] tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined. Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River, S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot- [433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik: ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sin-kiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province. (See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content S in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very [316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih, Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in Sinkiang.

N 135 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

N 135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in S [135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

N 317 b. Borax:

Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang, S [317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine S [433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

S 135 c. Jade and other precious Stones.

Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern S [439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

/Turks of Sinkiang/

815 668 177 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect, they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 668 177 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the [439] products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 668 177 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on ownership of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 668 177 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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FOREIGN RELATIONS

I. Strategic Importance of Sinkiang

175 648 439 [487] Sinkiang has been one of the most strategic areas of China in imperial and modern times. Ever since the area first came under Chinese control during the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), it has been for China a key position for the control of central Asia. The two caravan routes to the north and south of the Tien-shan range linked China with the steppes of western Turkestan and with Europe and the Near East. The control of the oasis cities along these caravan routes gave China not only a dominant position in the trade, but also a check over the states of central Asia that profited from this trade. In the times of the empire the Chinese control over tribal groups in central Asia was strongest when the corridor of trade was safely in Chinese hands.

175 648 Full Chinese control over Eastern Turkestan was maintained, however, only over limited periods in imperial history. In the period of division and chaos that followed the Han period, Turkestan was lost to China and became a contested area between rival tribal states. Chinese control was reasserted in T'ang times by a Chinese dynasty which itself was partly of Central Asian origin. The area was included in the Mongol empire when the Mongols established their rule over China. Lost again under the Ming dynasty, Chinese Turkestan was finally reconquered by the Manchus in the eighteenth century and has been recognized as a part of China since the time when the modern West came in contact with the Chinese world.

The strategic role of Chinese Turkestan has become somewhat modified in modern times. When Czarist Russia expanded her frontiers across the Asiatic continent towards the Chinese border, the Inner Asiatic frontiers of China were threatened by a new type of attack by a modern Western state. The Russian expansion across Asia found its counterpart in the British conquest of India. From that time on the British regarded the high plateaus of Asia as potential basis for an attack on India through the mountain passes of the northwest. Chinese Turkestan became an area of conflicting British-Russian policies, and at the same time an anchor of the whole Chinese defense of Central Asia against Russian and British invasion.

Of the two powers, Russia was by far the more dangerous to Chinese control. Through her move into Asia, Russia became China's neighbor along a frontier of 3,000 miles. Her pressure was exerted in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in Turkestan. The British-Indian border with China was shorter and the high mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Karakorum provided a

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [284] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N [433] it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 473 288 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

N 439 435 ¥175 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 635 N 487 N 439 D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S 439 E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with S 439 487 491 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner S 439 491 Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

439 491 494 175 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this highway, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 439 435 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp.88-90.

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439 [487] It is understood that there was also considerable trade between Sinkiang, Lanchou and Sian, which, in fact, was the main trade route, but detailed information is not available.

According to a Japanese estimate, the Chinese goods were distributed to the various cities in Sinkiang in the following proportions, which also show the relative commercial importance of the different cities or areas:

Table VI: Distribution of Chinese Goods among Cities in Sinkiang

Place	Percentages of Goods Distributed
Urumchi (Tihua)	25.0
Ili (Huei-yüan)	20.0
South Sinkiang	18.0
Ta-ch'eng (Chuguchak)	15.0
Ku-ch'eng-tzu (Chitai)	12.0
Sharasüme (Cheng-hua)	4.0
Hami (Qomul)	3.0
Khobdo (Jirgalantu)	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 534-35.

439 435 175 As to the direct foreign trade, the main country is Soviet Russia. According to official Soviet reports, the value of the Soviet-Sinkiang trade is as follows:

Table VII: Value of Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (unit: 1,000 rubles)

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1931	13,954	10,212	24,166
1932	15,698	12,305	28,003
1933	10,826	18,822	29,648
1934	4,730	5,945	10,675
1935	6,049	4,550	10,599
1936	36,145	25,671	61,816

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 8, p. 514.

439 175 The main exports of Sinkiang to Russia were grain, fruits, wool, fur, meat, paper, cotton, silk, animal intestines and cattle; and the main imports of Sinkiang from Russia were textiles, sugar, metals and metal manufactures, glass and chinaware, oil and matches. The exports of Sinkiang constituted 1.01 per cent of the value of goods that Russia imported from East Asia in 1931, and 1.77 per cent of that in 1932. The imports of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

439 175 Sinkiang from Russia constituted 1.58 per cent of the value of goods that Russia exported to East Asia in 1931, and 2.78 per cent of that in 1932.

Aside from Russia, Sinkiang has also entered a close trade relation with India and Afghanistan. According to 1927 statistics, the trade between Sinkiang and India amounted to 5,001,413 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

439 435 175 Table VIII: The Trade Between Sinkiang and India, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		1,186,848
European cotton goods	276,916	
leather goods	41,448	
dye	326,254	
hide (other than sheep)	61,663	
drugs	29,426	
pearls	71,335	
velvet	115,334	
Indian silk	24,876	
spice	36,562	
Indian black tea	27,386	
other black tea	23,098	
European woolen goods	42,000	
Russian metal goods	41,298	
B. Exports:		2,814,565
horses and ponies	101,235	
cotton cloth	35,698	
cankas	96,434	
iron and copper	742,654	
raw silk	31,294	
woolen goods	358,451	
felt carpet	25,524	
iron goods	66,789	
gold	72,631	
Russian metal goods	189,242	
silver	110,377	
leather goods	16,339	
wool	17,288	
woolen thread	16,037	
donkeys and mules	7,508	
jade	8,272	
Grand Total		5,001,413

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, pp. T.94-95.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
439 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year
435 amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
175

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
*668 II. The Communist Period
43 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
[178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind
As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.

N
*668 The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
496 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which

N
*668 links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in December 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'

[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, formless, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material. The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

000 journey. It was hard for our driver to restrain his horses until we had taken leave, and no sooner was the 494 final word 'ping-an tsai'—'peace be with you'—spoken, than he scrambled to his seat, lashed his team, and instantly the horses sprang forward, breaking into a quick trot. They proved to be in good condition, and we found that travelling by tarantass was comfortable, and indeed far less wearying than by Chinese cart. Moreover we were able to cover six miles per hour at a steady pace, exactly doubling our former speed, the seven hundred miles to Chuguchak[1] being accomplished in a fortnight, whereas by Chinese cart it would have been [491] a journey of twenty-two days. The roads were good, and the jingling bells, the gaily-painted circus hoop, and the freely-harnessed, trotting horses made a cheerful *ensemble*, while at each half-stage there was a wayside inn where we could buy hot water and make tea.

000 Mr. Hunter had, at the last moment, decided also to come with us as far as Chuguchak. His little ammunition-cart was, therefore, like our own tarantass, laden to its uttermost capacity. Mr. Mather used his own horse, while Nimga rode by Mr. Hunter's cartside. 494 There was a great deal of traffic on the road, carts of merchandise from Russia and Ili constantly passing us. 439 On the first day we met twelve carts laden with tin and galvanised iron pails, such as are so popular on the Urumchi market, and without which no traveller moves; matches, sugar, and leather formed the cargo of many 485 others. It was long after dark when we reached the first inn at Changki. Every room was occupied, and the courtyard was full of vehicles laden with grain, cotton and water-melons. Each driver was sleeping near his merchandise, and the stalls were crowded with beasts that kicked, squealed, and bit at each other throughout the night. Seeing that there was no

[1] [From Urumchi -- Analyst]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Merchants from Tientsin have flourished as far north as the city of Kulja in the Ili Valley. Nearly twenty years ago a British observer remarked that "successful merchants at Kulja come from the towns of Tou Liu and Yang Liu Ch'ing near Tientsin; the commerce of Ili has been kept in the families for generations, and considering the numbers of relations and connections every Chinese has, it is not to be wondered at that Tientsin people form a whole community, ranging from barbers to landowners, at Kulja." [11] 441.

Ever since Sinkiang became a province a small Chinese minority has ruled it by the indirect methods which many colonial governments have found effective. The traditional Uighur and Kazakh and Mongol feudal structures have been left more or less undisturbed, with the existing Begs and princes used as instruments of Chinese rule. In Sinkiang, just as in Sikang and the southernmost parts of Yunnan, the result of this indirect rule is an administration with a Chinese upper stratum and an indigenous lower stratum. The chief defect of this system is that instead of promoting political and administrative progress, it fortifies and preserves the feudal system, and hinders the evolution of a more modern form of society. 631 648

While bribery, corruption and venality are almost endemic in the lower stratum of administration, the quality of the upper administration is naturally subject to the policy of the governor or the chairman of the provincial government. At this top level Chinese policy has passed through three distinct stages. From 1884 to 1933 there was a period of about half a century dominated by an old-fashioned feudal bureaucracy. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin and Governor Chin Shu-jen can best be described as the last of the old imperial bureaucrats, though both served under the Chinese Republic. Then followed a decade of war lord rule from 1933 to 1944, under General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whose policy was at first liberal and later harshly repressive. Finally, from 1944 until Sinkiang became enveloped by Chinese Communism on the east as well as Russian Communism on the west,

[11] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Jan. 1931, Vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 140.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 Otherwise it would be difficult to avoid internal conflicts and to ward off aggression from without.[17]

He was also fully aware of the underlying weakness of Chinese rule in this distant frontier province. In the same memorial he wrote:

> It is a pity that what is called five races in one family [Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans] has been only nominal and has not become a reality. Chinese officials, without a sense of moral obligation but full of ideas for selfish gain, are rarely talented in administration. There are too many bad officials and too few good ones. This is why there have been more days of trouble and fewer of tranquillity. This is true of all provinces, but it is worse on the frontier. It will be impossible for the Chinese officials to control the Moslems permanently unless administration is greatly improved.[18]

*175 231 441 In keeping with the ideas expressed in his own memorial, Yang Tseng-hsin made certain attempts to improve the economic situation in Sinkiang. As early as 1915 he put an end to the monopolization of the trade in silkworm eggs. In Yarkand, Khargalik, Guma Bazar, Khotan, Lob, and Keriya especially Chinese magistrates had been accustomed to import silkworm eggs from Russia and India. These they sold to the peasants, charging over three taels and sometimes as much as five taels for a case of eggs that cost one tael at most.[19]

*175 651 In 1916, Yang made an attempt to end the special form of *corvée*, known by the Manchu term *wula*, widely prevailing in such frontier provinces as Sikang, Szechuan, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, under which officials and travelers with official authority can requisition food, lodging, and transport. The requisitioning is done through local officials, and is a source of abuse because of the extra requisitioning which the officials exact on their own be-

[17] Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, p. 599.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 595–596.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441 ●

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

36

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20.

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 793 [871] 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 [423] This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as [428] equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In [562] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women occupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
[586] a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
erable number of women without family attachments are present
[589] in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
[181] means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

566 households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312 and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312 of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624 have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578 return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691 authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661 which means that in his election the locally influential families 423 usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361 structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443 city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463 These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361 stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241 244

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village " general shops " at home.

Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers.

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can inport the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

443 511 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

571 435 262

Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*

Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.

Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*

Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.

Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.

Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.

Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*

Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.

Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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KASHGAR ON BAZAR-DAY

[Face p.80]

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563 leaders from every five-tent group meet [illegible] problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

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792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

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563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

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[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

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563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

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[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

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The Salars:

563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

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[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

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[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

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563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang-AI-1

during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for
several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

000 planted in these tracts.

668 185 241 We have cited some of the achievements that have taken place and the general direction of agricultural development. We must be careful about accepting all figures and recognize that many targets are not met but often revised midway through the year until they can be met. When one looks at the entire scheme of development taking place it is important to remember that each group in this scheme has certain commitments to meet as set by the plan for that year. Survey teams are supposed to provide definite information about the amount of land to be reclaimed each year. If their information is not accurate, (and there have been complaints to this effect) then those units which reclaim the land are put off schedule, the proper cultivation and sowing cannot be done, and the intended output is not realized. Such intricate planning can lead to grievous bottlenecks in the attainment of planned goals.

Further defects that have been reported are as follows: there has been inadequate hydrographic and meteorological data for farming and animal husbandry. There has not been the correct coordinated activity between State and commercial enterprises to supply the necessary producer and consumer goods for the agricultural and pastoral co-ops. The People's Bank has been [452] unable to give the needed credit and credit cooperatives and credit [453] groups still have to absorb idle capital and halt usurious practices among the peasants, which still seem to prevail six years after "liberation." The Communists report that rich peasants, and so-called counter-revolutionary elements are still causing trouble by "sabotage" and the spreading of rumors which obstruct Communist policy.

According to observations made by some agricultural stations in Sha-ya County the peasants in many districts placed emphasis only on the summer harvest, and neglected the cotton, mazie and rice crops that are reaped in autumn. This meant that the peasants were devoting more of their attention to harvesting a wheat crop, a food item, and neglecting other farm crops that the state was so urgently emphasizing. In Kuerhlei County there were complaints that the peasants were not picking the cotton at the appropriate time and their delay in doing so had allowed much of the ripe cotton to fall to the ground and rot. This occurred in many of the villages throughout the county. Again the Communists complained of the peasants' lack of care for their farming tools and that damage frequently resulted from mechanical troubles and carelessness.

668 241 The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

436 sixty per cent note and a forty per cent bullion backing. Yang Tseng-hsin, military governor immediately after abdication of the Manchus, 652 even permitted additional notes to be issued to make up for discon- 436 tinuance of the imperial subsidy. It was, however, during the governorship of Chin Shu-jen and the years of the Moslem revolt that the gradual devaluation in Sinkiang currency became most alarming. In the period, 1912-1929, three Sinkiang dollars (taels or *liang*) at the lowest would exchange for one dollar of Chinese Nationalist currency (*yüan*). Yet by 1934 the Sinkiang note issue had grown so excessive—it is said to have amounted to more than 1,200,000,000 taels—that one Chinese Nationalist dollar at times would buy more than 4,000 Sinkiang dollars. How well Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration met this serious predicament is suggested by the report that a Sinkiang Province dollar by 1942 had become worth six Chinese Nationalist dollars—although, to be sure, the Chinese Nationalist dollar had by then itself lost value through severe inflation.

Many Chinese writers attribute the change in the provincial monetary situation to Sheng's numerous reforms. Among such reforms, the 1939 reorganization of the Sinkiang Provincial Bank into a commercial [453] bank with an expanded field of operations is especially notable. This new Sinkiang Commercial Bank began to issue new notes, took steps to improve and to unify Sinkiang currency, and undertook to withdraw old notes from circulation. It has been remarkably successful in carrying out this program, and the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration does deserve praise in this connection. But it would be a mistake not to realize that the greater exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar is in part due to at least two other major factors: (1) Sinkiang's protected geographical position at the rear of the Chinese War of Resistance; and (2) Soviet Russian credits. Chao Lieh, a Chinese authority on Sinkiang to whom I have already referred, gives these credits particular emphasis. By 1941, he writes, Sinkiang is said to have borrowed a total of 15,000,000 rubles from Soviet Russia. Though this money went for many purposes, such as purchase of machinery and trucks, one of its most important functions was to serve as backing for Sinkiang currency. It is doubtful if Sheng could have come near stabilization of his province's monetary unit in the years 1933-1941 without such credits.

000 planted in these tracts.

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668 241 The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

312 varies from less than a mile to several miles. In addition to Turfan, there are a few *kariz* in the oases of Pichang and Guma, and some years ago they were tried, without much success, on the outer slopes of the extreme eastern Tien Shan, north of Barkul, using skilled workers from Turfan. A *kariz* may be very small: field notes show one in the Komul oasis irrigating only six and a half acres, which is close to the average for this oasis. The most recent figures show the following statistics:

	Number of *kariz*	Total acreage irrigated by *kariz*	Average irrigated acreage per *kariz*
Turfan[9]	370	28,000 acres	76 acres
Toksun	166	10,700 "	65 "
Komul[10]	495	3,700 "	7 "
TOTAL	1,031	42,400	

312 435 The construction of *kariz* involves a heavy capital expense. Stein, some forty years ago, estimated the cost of a single long *kariz* in Turfan at over 300 pounds.[11] A long *kariz* recently constructed cost 50,000 Sinkiang dollars. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a *kariz*, and construction is therefore usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when they are successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable [454] that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in *kariz*.[12]

[9] Ni Chao, "Report on Sinkiang's Irrigation," *Shui-li Wei-yuan-hui yueh-k'an* (monthly of the Conservation Administration), August 1945 (in Chinese).

[10] Huang Yu-hsien, "Irrigation in Hami," *Ching-chi chien-she chi-k'an* (*Quarterly Journal of Economic Reconstruction*) Vol. III, No. 1, July 1944 (in Chinese).

[11] Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 361.

[12] This capitalistic turn in the digging of *kariz* is probably a late development. It is likely that in the eighteenth century, when Turfan was ruled by the Khojas, *kariz* were built by exercising the feudal power to demand unpaid labor as an obligation to the lord.

316 Interesting is the claim that a two and a half pound gold nugget once was mined from the Altai Hou Kou field. The richest of the South Sinkiang gold deposits are in the vicinity of Cherchen and Keriya. Local villagers have contracted for extraction of ore from these deposits, and each year over 3,500 taels are said to be paid for the mining privileges. These are the best known gold fields of the New Sinkiang:

GOLD FIELDS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Field*	*Comment*
A Shan (Altai)	Tung Kou	
	Hsi Kou	
	Ch'ien Kou	
	Hou Kou	
	Chung Kou	
	Ha-hsiung Kou	
	Pan-tang Kou	2½ lb. nugget mined; "Highest" qual.
Barkol (Chen-hsi)	Hsiao Liu Kou	
Cherchen (Ch'ieh-mo)	Unnamed	
Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu)	Unnamed	
Sui-ting (I-li)	Ch'iao-li-k'o R.	
Keriya (Yü-t'ien)	A-ha-t'a-k'o Shan	
	Ch'ia-pa Shan	
	Tsao-li-ya-k'o	
	Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung (?Sui-ting or I-li?)	Unnamed	
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	Ha-t'u Shan	Placer. Between T'a-erh-ta-mu-t'u and Su-erh-t'u Rivers
Tihwa	Unnamed	

[454] According to rumor, gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden away; many of these are individually of unimportant amount, but the sum total is supposed to be large, and some of the caches are said to be "several thousands of taels." One can understand, therefore, why the Sinkiang gold reserve and annual production have been enthusiastically estimated at 31,300,000

241 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second
312 should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense.
312 Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single
471 long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz,
454 and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of
241 water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is
312 determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the
241 oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

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time buyers and users in Sinkiang admit not only the wearing quality of Soviet textiles but the ruggedness of Russian trucks, which truck drivers in Sinkiang and Northwest China consider superior to American trucks for rough work. 439

In recent years, the Soviet financial policy of enhancing the buying power of Sinkiang has taken the form of granting a 20 per cent premium in barter deals involving exchange of Sinkiang raw materials for Soviet manufactured goods. An actual example is a contract in which one package of Soviet-made cigarettes was made the unit of exchange for one catty (about 1.3 lbs.) of Sinkiang wool, at a time when the prevailing prices in Sinkiang were 8.40 Sinkiang dollars for a package of Soviet-made cigarettes and 7.00 Sinkiang dollars for a catty of wool.

In concluding this chapter, it should be said that in the year 1948 economic life in Sinkiang was in full crisis. Trade with the Soviet Union had practically ceased, and inflation within the province had become malignant. A little historical background must be sketched in to make the situation understandable. 436 457 458

The old Tsarist Russian ruble was formerly accepted in Sinkiang, and was in fact preferred to Chinese currencies. Branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank operated in Urumchi, Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak; they financed foreign trade, and provincial funds were placed on deposit with them. In 1913 the Russian ruble exchanged for eight Urumchi taels. In 1917, with the Russian Revolution, the ruble fell to .53 taels but did not collapse completely because all branches of the Russo-Asiatic Bank outside of Russia were taken under French protection and managed to keep operating for some years. By 1919, however, the old ruble was worth only .10 taels. A year or two later it was utterly worthless, while the new Soviet currency was suspect and unwanted.

A multiple provincial currency, sponsored by the Chinese Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, then became the medium of trade and account, as described in Chapter III, by the Governor's policy of never issuing paper to the value of more than 20,000,000 taels. At the same time he allowed a number of taxes, including the land tax, to be paid in money instead of in kind. Money thus

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436 came back into the treasury as well as going out, and inflation was
457 avoided.
458 In this period the Governor allowed trade with the Soviet Union to be opened. It was carried on at first chiefly by Moslem traders, many of them Russian-born Tatars. They took goods across the Soviet frontier and sold them to the Soviet state purchasing agency, and then bought goods from state commercial agencies and returned with them to Sinkiang. Then, in 1926, the Governor allowed the Soviet-Sinkiang Trade Agency, or Sovsintorg, to begin business with offices of its own established in Sinkiang. Trade and prosperity recovered until the assassination of the conservative old Governor, who had been an able administrator, in 1928.

A new period then began, which lasted until 1934. This period was marked by the Moslem insurrections, the invasion of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, and finally the Soviet intervention — which have already been described in Chapter III. The important oases of Komul, Khotan, and Kashgar withheld their taxes from the provincial treasury, which thereupon resorted to the printing of money. The devaluation of Sinkiang currency was rapid. In 1928 it had taken only three Urumchi taels to buy a Chinese dollar; by 1934 it took forty.

In 1934 Sheng Shih-ts'ai, with Soviet support, became the successful contender in the provincial civil war. Trade with the Soviet Union was restored, but it took some years to stabilize the currency. Then, in 1939, a new inconvertible paper currency was issued by the Provincial Commercial Bank as the only legal tender in the province. It is generally believed in Sinkiang that the success of this monetary reform was made possible by loans without interest from the Soviet Union.

In 1942, however, Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union would either be defeated by Germany or would not recover its former power. Hitherto he had pursued a reform policy, both political and economic. From this time on, he began to combine printing-press inflation with trade monopoly and the

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A new period began in 1943. Governor Sheng, having miscalculated the strength of the Russians, was cold-shouldered by them and had to come to terms with the National Government. The already badly inflated currency of the National Government began to pour into the province, adding to the existing provincial inflation. In 1943 the Provincial Commercial Bank alone was receiving national currency notes at the rate of a million dollars a day. The price index of wheat flour, taking June 1940 as 100, had already increased to 865 by December 1942. In 1945 it jumped to 75,000 and by September 1947 it was 517,500.

Inflation was compounded with other critical developments, 178
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[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in • 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

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of things, such as the obligation to render labor services to his landlord. In money values, it was calculated in 1943 that the earnings of an agricultural laborer in Khotan for a full year were equivalent only to the value of one twelfth of an acre of medium-grade land. Share rents, however, dominate the lives of most peasants. If the landlord supplies only the irrigation water, the peasant must deliver to him half of the crop. If the landlord also supplies working animals, seed, and implements, he receives two thirds or more of the crop. As, in addition, taxes and other assessments sometimes amount to as much as one third of the crop; the peasant not infrequently has no legal claim to anything whatever at the end of the year, and is dependent on what the landlord thinks it necessary to leave him to keep him alive. This dependence of the peasant on the landlord takes the form of a debt which gives the landlord full control.

The economic crisis in Sinkiang is, in fact, a crisis of interacting and steadily mounting pressures, with no safety valves to give a margin for adjustment.

The exploitation of mines and of industry based on minerals would not automatically solve the agrarian problem. The experience of China has shown that if there is no agrarian reform the agrarian crisis gets worse, not better, in the near neighborhood of industrial centers like Shanghai; and at the same time urban labor, instead of creating a higher standard of living, finds its standards undermined by the rural unemployed. In Sinkiang, as everywhere else in Asia, a higher standard of living on the farm could improve buying power and give an impetus to industrialization; but industrialization alone cannot put an end to the agrarian crisis.

S
159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had

S
[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.

S
159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
631 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

N
In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
* [668] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist gen-
[669] eral, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

562 the exception rather than the rule, and most of them simply treat the men as their equals, though perhaps finding them a little stupid!"

In the Chopkana Jilgha there was a Turki girl from Yangi Hissar married to a Kirghiz. D. noticed at once how different she was from the others, more sophisticated and not nearly so efficient. She was a fish out of water, poor girl, and not at all happy. The only specimen of a Turki-Kirghiz hybrid we came across was a youngish, unhealthy-looking little man called Tash Mulla who attached himself to us in the Yapchan Jilgha. He was rather too clever and pushing, and we did not like him as well as some of the pure Kirghiz.

•462 The strength and hardiness of the women are astonishing. They are splendid workers, not only doing all the household work but milking the yaks, cows, sheep and goats, weaving the rugs and other woollen articles, making the rope, pitching and striking the *aq-ois* and performing many other duties. The men are inclined to be lazy and are fond of twanging the guitar until a late hour and lying abed of a morning. But they are wiry and capable of great exertions, and they do not by any means leave all the work to the women, as is usually said of the men in other Kirghiz communities. They are responsible for the cultivation of the barley-fields, as well as for the safety of the flocks and herds on the mountain-side. Anyone who thinks that Kirghiz men enjoy a sinecure can try looking after thirty self-willed yaks or a couple of hundred sheep on a grazing-ground 5,000 feet from top to bottom and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

136 There could be no more interesting hunting-ground for the naturalist than these narrow but well-watered and sheltered valleys, islanded between the belt of utterly barren foothills on one side and the snowy wastes of the great ranges on the other. There must have been many interesting local variations, possibly even new species, among the plentiful fauna of the Kaying Valley alone, had we but possessed the knowledge and skill to collect them. Snow leopards exist, but fortunately for the Kirghiz are uncommon; one killed a yak calf and ten sheep just before we arrived in June 1923. I saw several herds of ibex; it was hard not to be able to go after them, but a man cannot serve two masters and I had to choose between the delights of the chase and the sterner but more fruitful cult of the plane-table. Wolves exist in some of the valleys, but the Kirghiz had cleared Kaying of them. Red foxes, as I have already mentioned, are occasionally trapped,

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

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161 ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

463 The population is divided, economically, between those who live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry.
771 Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

144 Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

Uighur
The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
● 463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Great Russians

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of technical training in the province, the Russians have been useful both in time of peace and in periods of internal strife. They have served as automobile drivers and mechanics, aided in the training of provincial military forces, and made use of their military experience in actual combat. Their participation in the military struggle on the side of Sheng Shih-ts'ai was an important factor in his victory over Ma Ch'ung-ying in 1934. On this and other occasions, travelers and reporters on the scene, not to mention writers thousands of miles away, have often suggested or flatly stated that these Russians were Soviet Russians rather than White Russians. Both the extent of Soviet influence in the province and the characteristics of Soviet methods of operation have been distorted by such reports.

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During the period of Yang Tseng-hsin the Russians in Sinkiang managed to get along fairly well. They encountered hard times in the interval from the death of Yang in 1928 to the establishment of Sheng's authority in 1933–1934, and again after his turnabout in policy in 1943. Normally, they lead an existence much like that of other Russian *émigré* communities in China — which means that they have their own organizations, publish their own newspapers, and otherwise attempt to preserve their cultural identity. In general they accommodate themselves to shifting political tides in so far as these do not threaten their very existence. It was a measure of their disquietude that so many of them threw their support behind the program of the Kulja group in opposition to the Chinese administration.

Although the Sinkiang Russian community owed its original formation to the anti-Soviet feeling of its members, this attitude has been considerably tempered with the passage of time, especially as a new generation, not directly involved in the struggles of the civil war period, has begun to assert itself. In line with changes in attitude taking place in many *émigré* communities throughout the world, a growing number of Russians in Sinkiang have taken advantage of the new Soviet policy toward expatriates to identify themselves with the U.S.S.R.

There is now a question whether the Russians in Sinkiang are

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

566 households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312 and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312 of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624 have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578 return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691 authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661 which means that in his election the locally influential families 423 usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361 structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443 city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463 These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361 stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241 244

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long
167 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen, the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. Theirs was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices, and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as of war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce, and was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Han-Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang-Occidental, commerce.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
[141] europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

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N In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N S 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] S N [433] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were
• 463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in
366 the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke of themselves as coming from Tientsin; the banks and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people; coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as to warrant an old name for Hami—'The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of 'Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

of soldiers and workers have been working day and night on part of the public works scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. This includes the building of four asphalt roads of over 1000 meters, several macadamized roads of 1500 meters and the modernization of buildings. . . . Over 1,000 old and dilapidated houses are to be torn down and rebuilt, and some 1,800 new houses put up in the new civic center."

The Sinkiang representative on China's National Political Council, Sheng Shih-chi, pointed out during the fall of 1942 that there are no beggars in Sinkiang; I heard the same thing from Chinese Moslems when I was in Kansu Province in 1940. At that time one Moslem, a Lan-chou vendor of Sinkiang raisins and Soviet lump sugar, made pointed examples of one of the city's numerous ragged and grimy child indigents and of a nearby beggar cripple, both whining with hands outstretched. "*Tsai Hsin-chiang mei-yu-liao*" ("That doesn't happen in Sinkiang"), he commented with a shake of the head. Tales that filtered through to Lan-chou in 1939 and 1940 painted Sinkiang in a favorable light indeed. The shortage of labor, the abundance of land and resources, the crying reconstruction needs, and the progressive point of view of the administration in Sinkiang all tend to corroborate Sheng Shih-chi's assertion.

Sinkiang's transformation in the past decade may not appear miraculous in terms of superficial material measurements. The task of domestic reconstruction is not nearly complete; and at least partial credit for what has been accomplished is due to outside aid. Yet, with all this, unswerving and successful application of her Six Great Policies has put the New Sinkiang and the interfusion of frontier races inhabiting the region among the major phenomena of this age. In the years between 1937 and 1943 the province cast aside five centuries of decadence and began to play a unique and vigorous part in modern living. Now, in the midst of a magnificently intermingled old and new—the Sinkiang newspaper hawked in a native bazaar, the phone call to Chungking from a picturesque yamen, an airplane flight over the old Silk Road—the Sinkiang people have shown their eagerness to join in the fashioning of a better world life.

N 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form.
[596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members'
[241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture
[438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct.
S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never
[233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays
[464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese
S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows,
S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly
S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy
S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The
[422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

M 233 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and
241 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect,
198 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest
[177] that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the
N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as
M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows,
[554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally
[603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy
[421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S 563 178 [31] S [464] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bük (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] N [342] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

464 701 708 668 177 241 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 653 312 668 177 503 464 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 241 668 177 464 [248] A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 708 464 466 668 177 000 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).

III. Conscript Labor

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
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[162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More-
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[871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively
N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.
464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[66] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

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464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

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464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
199 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
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[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
199 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
177

464 466 315 297 298 668 197 648 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.

After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 464 697 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo) of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review, Dec. 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*175
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October 23, 1942. He has reported that even though reception was weak on the other side, he could hear Chungking clearly. Another sign of the times was the announcement by Chungking postal circles on May 28, 1943, that direct mail service between Sinkiang Province and India had been inaugurated. According to the published report, "After the loss of Burma, all the mail destined for countries by the overland route was sent to Russia where it was re-directed to its various destinations. The opening of the new service has speeded up mail delivery to foreign lands. Arrangements are being made for the opening of parcel service on this overland route."

The wartime fight against inflation and against serious jarring of living conditions has met with considerable success. It is claimed that Price Control Commissions set up "everywhere" have made the Sinkiang price level the lowest in China. Yet wages, correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung has found, are high. Ch'en, walking by a 1942 Sinkiang road construction project about six miles outside of Tihwa, came across laborers who were receiving $12 Chinese a day. He indicates that skilled workers of the province were currently receiving even more.

Serious wage lags in the case of subordinate government salaried employees have been one of China's serious problems in the inflationary years of her Resistance and Reconstruction. This may have been proving difficult for Sinkiang also since many of her government workers, for instance, still receive little more than $200 Chinese a month. But Sinkiang authorities have been meeting the situation for such workers with reductions of social and public expenses, with compensation in the way of reduced prices on commodities, and with small monthly subsidies in such staples as rice, flour, salt, sugar, matches, and oil.

Reports in October, 1943, of Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang, have been coupled with increasingly illuminating accounts of new Chinese migration to the province. This can promise a whole new vista of reconstruction developments in the province, and such developments deserve to be watched with keen interest. One of the most immediately noticeable effects has been the announcement on November 10, 1943, of an "ambitious plan" for the modernization of the Sinkiang capital. "During the past three months," the report states, "thousands

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

443 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to
511 be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his
571 lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of
435 the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

262 Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*
Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.
Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*
Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.
Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.
Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.
Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*
Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.
Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
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[p. 138]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

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2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S
167 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
708 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
466 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S
642 "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
668 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
177 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yueh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has
464 been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
466 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

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466 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor sup was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi Khotan "New Khotan":

In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen, former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and landowners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there. The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
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464 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town
466 Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the
315 Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.
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648 After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo)
424 of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who
697 are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

X

WAR REOPENS SINKIANG

648 SHENG SHIH-TS'AI'S TECHNIQUE, which favored guidance and help from Soviet Russia, had at first required as strict and selective control as possible over all other contact with Sinkiang from the outside. This in the main kept knowledge of what was happening in Sinkiang from the rest of China as well as from the rest of the world. The province, for most purposes, became autonomous and isolated, and with Soviet help Sheng Shih-ts'ai kept it so.

648 468 Open warfare between China and Japan in 1937, however, made it necessary for Sheng to allow a limited relaxation of his policy. He permitted Soviet military supplies to come into Eastern China and allowed Chinese wool, skins, tea, and bristles to get out in repayment to Soviet Russia over tightly controlled truck highways running through his province. By 1939 the outbreak of European war also made it advisable and possible to open Chinese-Russian air communications via Sinkiang. But a large measure of the provincial seclusion was strictly maintained. A rigid watch was kept over what strangers went in and out of the province, and strict penalties were invoked by government authorities on trespass of transit privileges.

Now, however, the policy of extreme Sinkiang seclusion has at last been discarded. By the spring of 1942, Japanese pressure on Yünnan Province had forced Chinese attention to the Northwest, and especially to Sinkiang. Soviet Russia, in contrast, was less able to provide the personnel and resources that had been earlier available. Since there is doubt that Sinkiang can longer count on Soviet Russia's direct help, she has turned for assistance to the Chinese National Government and to other United Nations powers.

Nationalist China has already acted dynamically to replace the aid which Soviet Russia gave to Tihwa for almost a decade. In so doing she has initiated a sweeping program of reconstruction in the Chinese Northwest, has emphasized new ties with India and the Middle East, and has shown new co-operation with the United States and the United

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Mongol

*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] 566 *563 In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of con- [792] stituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar*, "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

178 The totally new factor of
154 machine-powered industrialism is
now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and
[412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry,
[382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of
[133] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

• 41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

1: ' attimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

ollection of the land tax and livestock taxes in kind, refusing for 436
.e receipt of taxes the money issued by his provincial treasury. 457
He had already set up a Provincial Trading Company, which was 458
is personal agent in business; but up to this time it had com-
.eted with private trade. In Kashgar, for instance, it handled only about 28 per cent of the trade, less than the proportion handled by an Uighur firm called "Ittifatsherket." In 1942, however, a monopoly of provincial trade was granted to the Provincial Trading Company, which operated on a capital of 2,500,000 United States dollars. Through this company the Governor purchased wool, livestock, cotton, furs, and other products at compulsory prices lower than the market prices, transported them on his own trucks, and sold them to Sovsintorg in exchange for Soviet manufactures. Until 1943 raw materials, though bought at compulsory prices, were paid for in manufactured goods; but further inflationary pressure was then created by paying for such purchases only partly in goods and partly in paper money. The Khotan branch of the monopoly, for instance, paid only 15 per cent of the price of furs and 20 per cent of the price of silk and cocoons with manufactured goods. The abuses of this monopoly caused so much discontent that General Chang Chih-chung was compelled to liquidate the company in 1946.

A new period began in 1943. Governor Sheng, having miscalculated the strength of the Russians, was cold-shouldered by them and had to come to terms with the National Government. The already badly inflated currency of the National Government began to pour into the province, adding to the existing provincial inflation. In 1943 the Provincial Commercial Bank alone was receiving national currency notes at the rate of a million dollars a day. The price index of wheat flour, taking June 1940 as 100, had already increased to 865 by December 1942. In 1945 it jumped to 75,000 and by September 1947 it was 517,500.

Inflation was compounded with other critical developments, 178
some of which had been long maturing, to form an explosive situ- 458
ation. In the first place, there has been a large increase of popula- 47

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

of things, such as the obligation to render labor services to his landlord. In money values, it was calculated in 1943 that the earnings of an agricultural laborer in Khotan for a full year were equivalent only to the value of one twelfth of an acre of medium-grade land. Share rents, however, dominate the lives of most peasants. If the landlord supplies only the irrigation water, the peasant must deliver to him half of the crop. If the landlord also supplies working animals, seed, and implements, he receives two thirds or more of the crop. As, in addition, taxes and other assessments sometimes amount to as much as one third of the crop; the peasant not infrequently has no legal claim to anything whatever at the end of the year, and is dependent on what the landlord thinks it necessary to leave him to keep him alive. This dependence of the peasant on the landlord takes the form of a debt which gives the landlord full control.

The economic crisis in Sinkiang is, in fact, a crisis of interacting and steadily mounting pressures, with no safety valves to give a margin for adjustment.

The exploitation of mines and of industry based on minerals would not automatically solve the agrarian problem. The experience of China has shown that if there is no agrarian reform the agrarian crisis gets worse, not better, in the near neighborhood of industrial centers like Shanghai; and at the same time urban labor, instead of creating a higher standard of living, finds its standards undermined by the rural unemployed. In Sinkiang, as everywhere else in Asia, a higher standard of living on the farm could improve buying power and give an impetus to industrialization; but industrialization alone cannot put an end to the agrarian crisis.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

and 50,000 ounces respectively. With all due allowance for exaggeration, there seems little question that if the gold latent in this province can be brought forth into the public markets many of China's, let alone Sinkiang's, financial worries will be eradicated. 316

Copper and other minerals. There are also considerable finds of copper, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrate, and common salt in Sinkiang. Of these the 40 per cent pure copper ore that has been extracted from one of two great mines near Kashgar, and the copper deposits at K'ang-shan, Pai Ch'eng, Kucha, Tihwa, I-ning, and Sui-ting are notable. These are some of the recently publicized workings of the province:

COPPER DEPOSITS IN SINKIANG

Locale	*Deposit*	*Comment*
Sui-ting (I-li)	Wu-ts'ung-tao Shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-t'u Shan	
K'ang-shan	Unnamed	
Karashahr	K'u-erh-tai Shan	
Kashgar (Su-fu)	Wu-lan-wu-su R.	20% pure ore
	Su-hun Shan	40% pure ore
Kucha	New Copper Works	
	Old Copper Works	
	Su-pa-shih Copper Works	
Pai Ch'eng	Ho-se-erh Copper Works	
	K'o-t'a Copper Works	
	Kung Po Copper Works	
	Upper Copper Works	
	Lower Copper Works	
T'a-pan Ch'eng	San-chio Shan	
Tihwa	Chai-o-pao	

Industry

Though possibly microscopic in American eyes, the "industries" of Sinkiang deserve, and have been receiving, encouragement. The province has long been known for her handicraft talents in rug-making and silk-weaving, and recently primitive establishments of older days like those for wool-washing and leather-tanning have been improved 471

471 and supplemented. Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, and Sui-ting have become principal "industrial" centers boasting of leather tanneries, flour mills, and auto repair and small parts shops. Concentration has, where possible, been put upon the installation of utilities in these and other major cities, and electricity, telephone, and telegraph facilities are now well established. In 1939 it was reported that there were twenty Sinkiang factories of various kinds, including tanneries and mills and a soap factory.

By the close of 1942 a new textile mill capitalized at one million taels was in operation in Tihwa, the province had a sizable iron and steel plant, and new sugar-refining and canning factories were in process of [377] construction. With the aid of a large hydraulic plant the electric power of the province had been increased by this date to 28,000 kilowatts. [214] [204] Public printing offices have been opened at such widely separated points as Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Kashgar, Sui-ting, Aqsu, and A Shan, and the *Sinkiang Daily News* is being published in Tihwa.

Communications

206 Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. Telegraph services were opened between 1893 and 1896 when Emperor Kuang Hsü appropriated 240,000 Chinese taels to construct the initial lines and offices. In the period 1903 to 1913 lines were completed which brought the service to Tihwa, Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu), and the Altai region. Successful experiments were made with a radio station at Kashgar and Tihwa in 1921, and a 250-watt station was installed at the capital in 1930. By 1939 radio stations were located at such important towns as Tihwa, Kashgar, Ch'i-t'ai, Ha-mi, T'a Ch'eng, Barkol, Karashahr, Sui-ting, Kucha, and Aqsu. Under the Sheng Shih-ts'ai regime fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations are said to have been set up. Under his first three-year plan Sheng put through the rigging up of 672 miles of telegraph wire, the repair of 1,379 miles of old lines, and the construction of 1,350 miles of telephone lines. Through these facilities the Chinese and Russian official news services, Central News and Tass, bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital.

241 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second
312 should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense.
312 Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to
• 471 find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz,
454 and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of
241 water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is
312 determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive
241 most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
199 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
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339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, form-
344 less, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.

205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters

206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the

471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished

[648] refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

S 668 423 474 (1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 472 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated

N *668 666 their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households		Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams		Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
		Number	Percentage of total farming households		Number	Percentage of Total No. of Teams		
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

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[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

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175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
• 474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45,62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

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175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors.
578 As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and
578 by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[794] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and
[575] the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have
[474] been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations
*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
N
*668 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
575 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad
*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee
N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
231 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
433 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
175 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.)
668 The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

N
2. Chinghai

*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*175
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

SN 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) SN plays an important role.

[342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time SN from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, SN the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to [476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite SN a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both SN feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [923] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

K S 563 181

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

N 563 792

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
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	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households		Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams		Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
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Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

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[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

S
175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45,62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

N 241 *668 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres themselves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now examine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

N 121 241 *668

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

1. Sinkiang

S 175 474 241 668 [476] By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis) and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S 241 433 668 175 [474] Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of further consolidation and development of the cooperative movement. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S 242 668 433 175 The government has established agricultural stations, in order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese 291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei • 482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we 352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese, 576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

484

Lattimore

Travellers must often ford the Tekes and other rivers when the spring thaws come and there is no bridge.

Cantilever bridge across the Tekes River. Deep and swift-flowing mountain streams such as the Tekes makes travelling dangerous as well as difficult.

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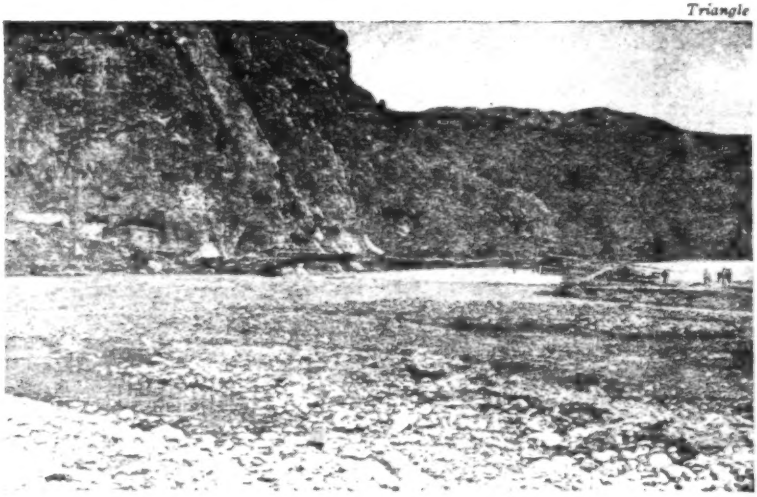
Triangle



[p. 32 (D)]

484

Lattimore

Travellers come into Yarkand at a fast trot.

363

Lattimore

But life moves more slowly in the city itself.

[p. 32 (H)]

574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 563 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from 522 their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour. I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

439 Hissar, Karghalik and elsewhere. Besides these there are colonies of Muhammadan British subjects in nearly all the districts, some of them purely agricultural immigrants from Northern Kashmir and Chitral, others (and these among the wealthiest in the land) merchants engaged in the Indian trade. Many of the latter have married Turki wives, own land and houses, and have a considerable stake in the country. 648 All these people[1] cling tenaciously to their British nationality and their right to the protection of the Consular court, which 692 under the existing arrangement exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction over them. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the extra-territorial system in general or the details of its application to Kashgaria. Suffice it to say that the Consul-General is kept very busy maintaining order among the British subjects of the various districts, settling their civil disputes, trying cases brought against them by Chinese subjects, helping them to obtain redress in the Chinese courts and generally watching over their interests. Although theoretically the Consul-General deals only with the Taoyin, the representative of the Governor of the province, in practice very few cases, and those only the most important ones of an "international" nature, are heard at Kashgar. The Consul-General works informally with the District Magistrates, either directly or through the British agents ("Aqsaqals") in the various towns. As the majority of the British subjects live from five to twenty marches from Kashgar, it can readily be understood that the most effective and expeditious method of dealing with their cases is regularly to visit the districts in which they reside and settle matters on the spot, either with the District Magistrates or among the British subjects themselves as the case may be. In fact, it was only by travelling once a year down each of the two main roads, Yarkand-Khotan-Keriya and Maralbashi-Aksu-Kucha, with halts varying from one to fifteen days at each district headquarters and with an occasional extra visit to the chief centre of the Indian trade, Yarkand, that I found it possible to keep in touch with the Indian colonies and (what is no less important) on friendly personal terms with the Chinese magistrates. Nearly half of the two and a quarter • 484 years we were in Kashgaria was thus spent on tour, and D. and I covered, apart from holiday jaunts to the hills, some 3,400 miles, almost entirely on horseback with our baggage in Peking carts or on the back of pack-ponies. There was

1 [Indian merchants -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

no difficulty or hardship about any of these journeys among the oases of the plains, for, apart from being looked after very well by our own people, we were not only assisted and escorted everywhere we went by the local authorities, but actually treated as guests, having frequently the utmost difficulty in getting payment accepted for the loads of flour, vegetables, rice, fruit, fodder for horses, etc., which met us at every town. Either the Chinese official rest-house or a private residence was placed at our disposal at most stages, though in the larger centres the Aqsaqal or some other influential British subject usually insisted on putting us up. Escorts were provided everywhere, whether we wanted them or not; the troops, at any rate down the Khotan road, were invariably turned out in our honour. Last but not least, at every town we visited except two or three in the remoter northern districts, the officials not only came out to meet us and to see us off with the peculiar roadside tea-drinkings which are *de rigueur* on these occasions, but also gave special dinner-parties in our honour. As will be seen later, these attentions were sometimes rather embarrassing than otherwise, but one could not help appreciating the goodwill that prompted them. Altogether, the friendliness and courtesy with which we were received practically everywhere by the Chinese authorities were most cheering, and testified eloquently to the popularity and respect gained for the British Consulate-General by its founder, Sir George Macartney, as a result of twenty-eight years of able and single-minded service.

Life at Kashgar itself was physically less strenuous than on tour, when work and long marches had to be combined, but I was always kept very busy, especially after I was deprived in July, 1923, of the valuable assistance of the Vice-Consul, Mr. Harding, whose post was afterwards left vacant. The number of different languages in which we carried on our work indicates the variety and interest of our daily routine, On any one of our files there might be, and often were, papers in six different languages: English, Chinese, Turki, Persian, Urdu and Russian. As for the "spoken word," Turki, Urdu and Persian were all in regular use with visitors, litigants and witnesses during office hours. Some of the more cosmopolitan of my friends, indeed, used all these three languages in the same conversation, switching from one to the other in a most disconcerting manner. The Consulate staff, whom I must now introduce, were as follows: the Mir Munshi (Head

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Khotan, 28th November.

The name of Stein is well remembered in these parts among Turkis and British subjects alike, and all antiquities other than gold brought in by the "Taklamanchis" or treasure-seekers of the Takla Makan are regarded as his property and to be kept for him. I heard many stories about the great explorer; how in the dreaded Qaranghu Tagh or "Dark Mountains" south of Khotan he bridged an abyss with wire and thus pulled himself and his party across; how in the same mountains he was laid up with frost-bite and would have perished if help had not been obtained from the Leh road, and so on. One episode, probably trivial enough if it occurred, appears to have particularly impressed the Khotanis. It is related that a domed tomb was discovered by Stein completely buried in sand, only one small aperture giving access. This was too small for Stein himself to enter, so he called for volunteers, but none of his local men dared to go in. Finally the Indian surveyor, Ram Singh, stepped (literally) into the breach. He squeezed himself in, and when he came out again some time later he was blind!

Our journey from Khotan to Keriya and back was of the nature of a dash on business, and my letters contain little of interest to the general reader. The second time we visited this remote part of the world, in the spring of 1924, we were able to spare some time for seeing the country and studying its people; on this occasion we travelled straight to Keriya (103 miles) in four marches, stayed there three days and returned to Khotan in another four days. We used pony transport for this trip, the desert road being too sandy for carts. We marched the first day 35 miles to a lonely desert inn called Beshtoghraq Langar, or "The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars," passing, twenty miles from Khotan, through the headquarters of the flourishing new district of Lop.

The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars proved a grubby, desolate little collection of mud hovels islanded in the sand-dunes of a belt of desert 25 miles wide; but our next halt, Chira, was a pleasant township positively buried in orchards. At this half-way house between Khotan and Keriya we were met by the British Aqsaqal of the latter district, a charming, courtly Afghan of great local prestige and considerable substance called Ghulam Muhammad, who insisted on our staying in a comfortable house belonging to his Turki wife, a Chira lady. Next day, near Domoko, an amusing and instructive little incident occurred. We were hacking peacefully along with Murad Qari and a couple of orderlies, when we noticed a crowd of people in the fields a couple of hundred yards from the road, and thought we would go and see what was happening.

000 Sunset in September 12,000 feet up—must have been freezing hard. Of course the oil froze and clogged your bolt. Wonder the rifle went off at all."

563 233 We were surprised to find a family of "Sarts" or ordinary Turkis sharing this small valley[1] with the Kirghiz. Coming down from the ibex-ground one day I overtook them trekking down from their summer grazings, a pretty sight. On the opposite side of the stream a lean-visaged Sart shepherded a couple of hundred sheep and goats up an almost perpendicular cliff and along narrow ledges literally overhanging the torrent; this was necessary because the current was too strong for short-legged muttons to cross. Behind, a quaint procession came filing down the track and splashed across the stream; half a dozen mares with their foals, a man and two boys perched on masses of bedding on top of ponies, a neat smiling Sart woman with her baby and another man leading a camel piled high with the framework and felts of the family mansion.

• 484 Descending to the plains once more, we camped two glorious days on wide meadows near the long yellow loess bluffs of the Taushkan River. A hundred and fifty miles of the snowy Mountains of Heaven sparkled in the sky to west and north and north-east of us. It was advisable to give the baggage ponies (we had hired new ones at Uch Turfan) and our own animals a day or two in clover before the next lap of our journey; for we were to march 164 miles across the southern face of the Central Tien Shan and down the lower Muzart Valley to Bai on the Kucha road.

000 We were sorry to leave the Uch Turfan neighbourhood and the lovely valley of the "Hare River." We found the people delightful and quite unspoilt, especially the women. The latter, poor dears, seemed to be even more at a discount than at Kashgar; not one in five appeared to have a husband to herself, and they complained bitterly to D. of their hard lot. They came in streams to our camp among the meadows to "salaam" D. and beg medicines for blind, crippled, tuberculous and otherwise incurable relations. And not one of them came empty-handed. All tried to pay D. for her medicine or advice in peaches, eggs, melons, cream, corn-cobs or some such agricultural product. And when she not only made them take back most of their "widow's mites" but distributed (as she always did wherever we went) little presents of buttons, imitation jewellery, safety-pins, pieces of muslin, beads and

1 [The Yangi Ard Jilgha — Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

by a troop of cavalry at a smart amble; it was the Commandant of the Garrison, also coming to see me off. The carriers tried to turn the ponies back, but D.'s patience had long been exhausted and she would have none of it; urged by her cries the ponies and our mounted servants charged down the lane and after a short tussle bore back the Commandant's carriage, escort and all, out into the dusty high-road. Fortunately the gallant officer was too much under the influence of opium to be quite aware of what was happening; fortunately also, no other dignitaries came to see me off and I escaped an hour later after the most cordial adieux.

D. had quite recovered her equanimity when I caught her up after a sharp ten miles' canter. She had been lucky enough to witness a most picturesque spectacle on the road. A caravan of some two hundred camels carrying raw wool from Kucha to Kashgar happened to leave Aqsu the same morning as ourselves and to be crossing the Qum Ariq River just as D. overtook it. The huge, shaggy animals with their bulky loads were tied in strings of eight, each string as usual led by a man on a donkey [1] and the whole caravan chiming with a regular carillon of bells. At the ford the Qum Ariq runs in four broad channels of varying depth; it was as good as a play, D. said, to watch the strings of camels, each guided by a yelling carrier perched on the top of the leading animal's load, zigzagging painfully across one channel after another. The donkeys, cool and sensible as ever (nobody who has travelled in the Lands of the Sun makes the mistake of thinking the donkey a stupid animal) swam across by themselves without fuss, while the big fierce-looking Kalmuck watch-dogs barked furiously as they splashed around. To complete the picture, three big Chinese travelling carts coming from Maralbashi with a minor official and his household on board met the camels in mid-stream and made confusion worse confounded. I had a talk with the carriers later in the day. They told me that the wool belonged to Kucha sheep-farmers; the camels came from the Bai district, and had been hired at the rate of 8 taels (21*s.* 4*d.*) each; fifty days had been allowed them under the terms of their contract for the whole journey,

[1] Mongolian and "Bactrian" camels travel more steadily if they are led by a pony or donkey; the latter animal is more commonly used for the purpose as its pace is practically the same as a camel's. I did not notice this custom in South Persia, where the single-humped Arabian camel is used.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

492 and they expected to reach Kashgar within a month from Aqsu.

For 112 miles after leaving Aqsu we traversed the perfectly 487 flat plain to the north of the Tarim River jungles, within sight of, though not actually along, the famous "Silk Road" first organized by the Han Emperor Wu-ti in the second century B.C., for the transport of Chinese fabrics to the Far West.[1] At an average interval of 15 miles there are halting places with poky little native serais and sometimes a slightly better Chinese rest-house. Each place has a small bazaar of shanties and stalls in which the people of the settlement, or of the nearest oasis, sell food for man and beast. At Chilan, 57 miles from Aqsu, we found ourselves in Kelpin district again; we noticed here a remarkable improvement in the facial type of the people, the women being remarkably handsome with regular, almost Greek, features.

The two Chinese troopers deputed by the O.C. Aqsu to escort our caravan as far as Maralbashi caused us much innocent amusement. One of them was comparatively bright and helpful; indeed, except for the fact that he could not fire his carbine, the bolt of which was tied on with a red handkerchief, and that he never mounted his horse without the assistance of a wall at least three feet high, he was quite a useful cavalryman. He had obviously never heard a shot fired in anger; whenever I shot a bird in his presence, or even fired my gun, he became wildly excited, laughing and clapping his hands like a child. But he was at any rate alive; his brother in arms, on the other hand, was the most miserable, opium-sodden wretch I ever saw, even in the Titai's army. We stood him as long as we could, for the sake of the O.C. Aqsu's "face," but the limit was reached the night we came to Yaka Kuduk. The march from Chilan was a moderately long one, and D. and I cantered ahead in the afternoon so as to arrive before dark, expecting the caravan to come in about seven o'clock. To our discomfort, it did not arrive till half-past eight. We questioned Hafiz. "Sahib," he replied, with an apologetic grin, "it was the opium-smoking *chirik*. Last night he finished all the opium he brought with him, and this afternoon he asked us for some. We had none, and he became very angry. Just after sunset he fell off his horse, and we

[1] The Chinese military road ran along the foot of the Kelpin Tagh a few miles to the north-west of the present route (Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 427).

/The Kirghiz/

563 262 [484] When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds on the mountainsides.

[735] Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 291 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate. Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 583 562 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their 563 584 583 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been 563 585 [582] paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 585 591 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may [606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

S 668 708 208 545 4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

668 648 545

N *668 208 IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

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N *668 791 *[563] [791] [651] A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opp;rtunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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484 once in five years. An unwritten law exacts that the journey south be taken in a cart with every appearance
577 of affluence, lest fellow-townsmen should scoff and say: 'They went to "Kow Wai" to make a fortune, and have come back penniless vagrants!' A subtle appreciation of the ethics of filial piety has made it customary for the whole party when leaving home again to do so on foot, the suggestion being that every available dollar has been left with aged parents, and that the son starts out again a poor man to seek his fortune. The band was composed of eighteen youths, and one boy of fifteen who was nephew to the manager of the firm and had been entrusted by his uncle to the care of the older men. They had one donkey which carried a few bundles, and on which the lad was able to get a lift. Each one carried across his shoulder a flexible pole with a basket slung to either end, in one of which was his wadded quilt and a change of clothes, in the other a sack of flour and his bowl and chopsticks, while from the pole was also attached a little water can to carry a drink for the way. These men had tramped for over seventy days by track roads from central Shansi to the Yellow River, and from thence by the 'long grass route' to Ansi. This shortcut brought them across the north of Shensi and direct to the North-West territory, avoiding Lanchow. For several days we met them at each stage, and on the strength of being fellow-provincials we became exceedingly friendly. They told us that each man was allowed eighteen dollars (about £2) for road expenses, and by travelling very quickly and economically they were just able to do it for that amount.

486 'How did you get through Hsinghsinghsia?' we asked.

'We had return passports from the Governor when we left Kucheng last year,' they said, 'so they did not

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When we were about one mile from the gate of Kucheng, 494
a yell was heard, and our men hastily drew up, saying, '*Kwai che lai liao*'—the Express is coming! and in a swirl of dust, and with a wild jingle of many harness bells, three long-limbed, bony horses galloped madly past under the lash of the driver, who, having just caught sight of the town entrance, was bringing his team through the city gate and up the main street at a pace calculated to impress the populace! It was then that we saw the body of the cart was simply made of long poles lashed together, on which two passengers, clinging to the framework, were being hurled from side to side by the violence of the jolting. One glance at the 'Express' quickly satisfied us that such a mode of travel, while excellent for postal parcels, would be hideous torture to ordinary human beings if nerves formed any part of their anatomy, while some might scarcely survive the fifty-four hours of this frenzied mode of dispatch.

From Kucheng onwards it was no longer necessary to 484
make night stages. Hot as it was, the animals stood it 312
well, as each midday brought us to a wayside foodshop, where we were able to get something for ourselves and water for the mules, and the nights were now spent in towns of some importance. The direction of the road was south-west, as we had reached our most northerly point at Kucheng, and we were now following the line of the Tian Shan towards the dip which marks the position of Urumchi. The highest peak of this part of 133
the Tian Shan was now coming into sight, the great Bogdo-ola—'The Mount of God'—which rises twenty thousand feet, and is seen from a great distance. This summit, with its surrounding peaks, is of a grand and rugged shape, and lends distinction to the country which would be insignificant were it not for this arresting

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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[133] feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at
486 Tsimusa—' The City of Everlasting Trust '—and seeing a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no ' foreign devil ' should again darken his doors ! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the ' Inn of the Cursing Landlord ' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—' The Third Stage.'
133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes,
241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as : ' Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself.
499 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

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000 melted his hard heart, and his good opinion of us was strengthened when he came to know that we as scrupulously abstained from swine's flesh as did any follower of the prophet. 'Huda ti ren'—'People of God'—he often said, when speaking of us to bystanders. At fixed periods he would stop the cart, spread his coat, and recite his prayers. He had a remarkable capacity for finding lost property, and this no doubt accounted for the voluminous bag which always hung by his side in the cart. Once, he found a length of rope dropped by another carter; a small bundle of cotton, camel's hair, or an apple fallen from a basket on other occasions were collected. But one day he picked up a good straw hat, and his delight was so great that he celebrated the event by cutting up a melon and giving each of us a slice, after which he chuckled audibly, until we reached the next stage. Part of the time he wore the hat, but later on he slung it to the matting-cover, and this was his downfall, for at the inn a gentleman walking past stopped and stared, and then sent his servant to tell our man that this was his master's hat, and must be returned. In the early morning he was always alert, and as soon as the carts of merchandise had moved on brought a small brush from the recesses of his hold-all with which he swept up the fodder left in the troughs, and put it carefully into his bag, a satisfactory haul insuring good temper for the day. It was such proceedings that secured for him the nickname of Sandy Macnab! As we neared the end of the journey he became so friendly as to condescend to borrow our teapot, and before he left us at Chuguchak he bade us an affectionate farewell, saying: 'You are *good* people; just one family; father, brother and sisters!'

484 As we proceeded on our long journey, we realised how well-advised we had been in the choice of the season

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 Ever hopeful, the populace took up positions on the surrounding roofs, waiting for us to show our noses outside. It is absurd to complain of the "bad manners" of the inhabitants, as some travellers do in similar circumstances; their curiosity is perfectly natural, and must be put up with. What Londoner would not stare, if he saw a Keriya Beg strolling down Piccadilly in full costume with an eagle on his wrist and the ladies of his harem following him at a respectful distance?

Winter was now upon us, and I was far behind my original tour-programme. Leaving Keriya on 5th December, we accomplished the return journey to Kashgar with almost undignified rapidity under the stimulus of icy winds from the desert. In spite of halts of two days at Khotan, three at Karghalik and four at Yarkand we were back in the Consulate by 27th December, in time to give belated Christmas parties and the official New Year dinner. Except for pilgrimages to two of Sir Aurel Stein's sites, at Khadalik near Domoko and Yotkan, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Khotan, we had little time for anything but travelling and official business.

•485 As on the outward journey, we slept each night either (at the larger centres) in private houses, or in the Chinese timber-and-mud-brick rest-houses reserved for officials. Whereas the native *serais* are often very dirty, these *langars* are usually fairly clean, though bare and dusty, as they are seldom used. The buildings generally consist of a gateway of the Chinese type, with a wall built across the front to keep the devils out, and a courtyard on three sides of which are servants' quarters, kitchen, store-rooms and stables, while on the fourth, opposite the gate, are the *chambres de maître*. These are either three or five in number and open into one another, all except the middle one being provided with fire-places. Their windows are not glazed, but consist of light wooden lattice-work frames pasted over with white mulberry-bark paper.

000 The day we double-marched from Karghalik to Yarkand was one of the most strenuous I have ever spent. D. started with the caravan at nine, in the tarantass, while I proceeded to the Yamen, intending to finish off my business with the Amban in two or three hours and catch D. up in time for lunch somewhere about Posgam. Alas for my optimistic programme! I might have known my Manchu Amban. So many and knotty were the points he raised as a *bonne bouche* to our lively and prolonged discussions, and so loath was he (so he said) to part with me, that although I parried all his attempts to keep me

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is

S N 485 795 114 798 somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus

S N 795 554 485 114 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

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Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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486 [13] [778] site but marked by a shrine flanked with two high poles. A stake roughly carved to suggest the form of a man was driven into the ground, and its rounded knob was thick with the oil which generations of carters have poured over it as a libation.

We hastened on, and before nightfall came in sight of the Pass, which bears the strange name of 'The Ravine of Baboons.' It was not encouraging to catch sight of a group of soldiers watching us through field-glasses from an eminence. At the entrance to the Ravine we found a military tent pitched, and the guards waiting to question us. The N.C.O. was none too well-mannered. He scoffed at the idea of our carrying so heavy a load of books, and said: 'If you tell me stories like that I'll search your baggage through!' We then produced our passports, which he scrutinised. They were important-looking documents, and evidently impressed him, perhaps the more so because he was wholly illiterate, as we discovered next day. The mere sight of them, however, had a wholesome effect upon him, for he handed them back with an apology for not being able to offer us tea in his tent. We continued our way through the narrow Pass for another two miles, and at every turn of the road soldiers appeared. When we reached the little village we were at once surrounded by a crowd of military, and an officer coming on the scene told us we could not proceed until such a time as the Governor, by telegram, should have indicated his
• 485 willingness for us to do so. He directed us then to the only vacant room in the place, which was situated in an inn court so small that the carts had to stand in the road outside. The room itself was wretched beyond description. It had no door, while a hole in the wall served as window, so that we were unable for a moment to escape the inspection of the crowd of soldiers. The

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kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.' 485

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court[I] was again crowded, [525] and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted [681] our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and we signified to him our desire to move on that day. 486 He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it.

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G.

I [inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

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[FACING P. 196]

THE INN OF LOST ILLUSIONS.

"This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose your hotels are all better than this."

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486 702 am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

[681] A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

• 485 On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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485 mud floor was transformed into a series of mud pits so treacherously slippery that we had to move about with the greatest care. During a fine spell between two storms the Commanding Officer appeared at our door to return our call. We were not sorry that he should see our plight, but his only comment was: 'This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose that in England your hotels are all better than this?'

486 Though we suffered so much discomfort from the rain, 712 we were secretly rejoicing, because news was brought to us that a number of young men had escaped that night, and thanks to the rain had not yet been recaptured. [312] Hsinghsinghsia has the only spring of water in an immense area, and the patrols found it sufficient to watch the next springs on either side in order to take deserters. As the hunted man crept stealthily to the water's edge to slake his thirst under cover of darkness, the mounted soldiers seized him, bound him and drove him back to the camp, where many had died from the severity of the flogging received. After the rains, however, little pools of water collected in the hollows of the granite rocks, and thus enabled the fugitives to leave the main road and so reach freedom. Many deaths had occurred through pedestrians, or mounted travellers, trying to cross the frontier without passing the camp. One day six riderless mules were captured, the men having, doubtless, died of thirst in the sands.

000 It was very touching to see the delight with which groups of these poor men would gather around us and talk for long hours. We had travelled so much in North China that we knew the localities from which several of them had come. Some from Shansi found that we actually knew the very villages where their parents lived, and in some cases we had even visited the homes of relatives. One youth was the son of the

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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles [505] required for temple worship. This shop was also the post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of 485 medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which com- [136] posed the village were built at the foot of a high, overhanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

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door the darkness is almost complete. Experience in travel, however, enables one to appreciate the fact that in this dark hole: 1. The rays of the sun being excluded, the traveller (whose only rest is taken by day) has a good chance of sleep; 2. The heat does not easily penetrate this earthen dwelling; 3. The darkness is so distasteful to flies that once the room is shut up they voluntarily leave by the hole in the roof; 4. The Gobi wind and swirling sand are as effectively excluded as possible; 5. The tired traveller may sleep as soundly as he pleases, there being no aperture through which a stealthy hand can introduce itself and abstract his goods while he slumbers. 485

We had been in bed for about three hours when we heard the sound of the derelict cart approaching the inn. It was quite unmistakable owing to the thud given each time when the injured portion of the wheel met the ground. There were a few deep groans from the driver; a brief conversation with the innkeeper; and then, silence while the exhausted men slept. 494 485

In the afternoon a council of war was held, and the Turki driver of our rescued conveyance was induced, for a moderate sum of money, to fill up his empty cart with the heavy luggage, which he undertook to deliver in Hami. There was no blacksmith nor wheelwright in the village, but a venerable Turki volunteered his amateur services, and by means of a length of rope, a few nails and the skilful use of an adze, before nightfall the wheel was so far repaired, that by letting the cart go empty we hoped to bring it in safety to Hami.

Our next night of travel brought us to the well-named oasis of Changliushui—'The Inexhaustible Spring.' As we approached by moonlight we suddenly caught sight of a tree, the first we had seen since leaving 485 361 312

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
●485 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained:
312 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
494 for the normal conditions of travel and business to
312 obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
563 dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volunteered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

[1] [Changliushui -- Analyst]

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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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485 exclusive use of a small kitchen, in which we cooked with our own utensils. Our word was accepted that no pork, lard or swine's flesh of any description would be used, nevertheless the members of this large Moslem clan preferred employing another kitchen rather than that contaminated by wandering Gentiles.

262 The landlord was on the spot to receive us, and at once we were served with a melon, which was entirely worthy of the reputation that Hami has gained for this fruit. An hour later we sat down to an abundant meal of rice and good Chantow bread, a dish of chopped mutton and egg-plant fried together, a plate of French beans *sautés* in mutton fat with sliced cucumber, and the whole accompanied by unlimited 'sweet water' tea, followed by slices of cantaloupe melon—truly a feast for the gods!

485 Before we had finished our meal Mr. Hunter arrived with an armful of our much accumulated mail, which kept us fully occupied for the remainder of the afternoon. The landlord meanwhile explained to us that his inn was only recently built, and was constructed to accommodate such merchants as might need to spend a considerable period in Hami. It was not yet officially opened, but when his old friend, Mr. Hunter, asked that we might be his first guests, he could not refuse him, especially in view of the long distance which we had come. This eventful day then closed with a hot sponge-bath, as, for the first time since leaving Suchow, we were able to obtain sufficient hot water for our use.

361 During the next few days we visited every portion of the three settlements which form the city of Hami.
634 There is a well-built, mud-walled town in which is situated the Palace of the Khan, known by the Chinese as Wang ye.

Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, bestowed

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133 The next dawn found us at a beautiful spot called
312 Yatzchüan—'The Duck Pond.' It held a 'living spring,' that is to say, one in which the water is in constant motion, welling up from the sandy bed, sometimes with such force as to set the whole pond in ebullition. Every few minutes the depths were strongly disturbed, and a trembling column of sand would rise to the surface and then break in large bubbles. The oases through which we were passing were fed by the same water supply as that which irrigated the fields of Hami. It has been pointed out that the traveller must not allow himself to be deceived by the long, continuous blue line, indicating the flow of imaginary rivers connecting the ranges of the Barkul mountains and Karlik Tagh with visionary lakes. As a matter of fact, the water from the melted snows is lost in the gravel soil at the foot of these ranges, but reappears many miles away in such living springs as that by which we rested, or in a saline well in some depression of the desert. The Khan of Hami owns a house at this place, in which he stays when travelling on official business, and the caretaker allowed us the use of his rooms. They were clean and comfortable, but as bare as an inn. Near the front gate was his private mosque, decorated with a picture of Mecca. These buildings were throughout of mud, but the outer walls were yellow-washed, with a view of giving to the whole an imperial aspect.

133 On leaving the 'Duck Pond' we drove for twelve hours on a long, arid, stony, uphill stage, and shortly
• [185] after sunrise arrived at an isolated inn. For several days each stage had brought us nearer to the foothills of the Barkul Range, and here we were so close that only three days' journey north-east divided us from the
133 town and lake of Barkul, both of which lie on the other
136 side of the Range. In these mountains are herds of wild

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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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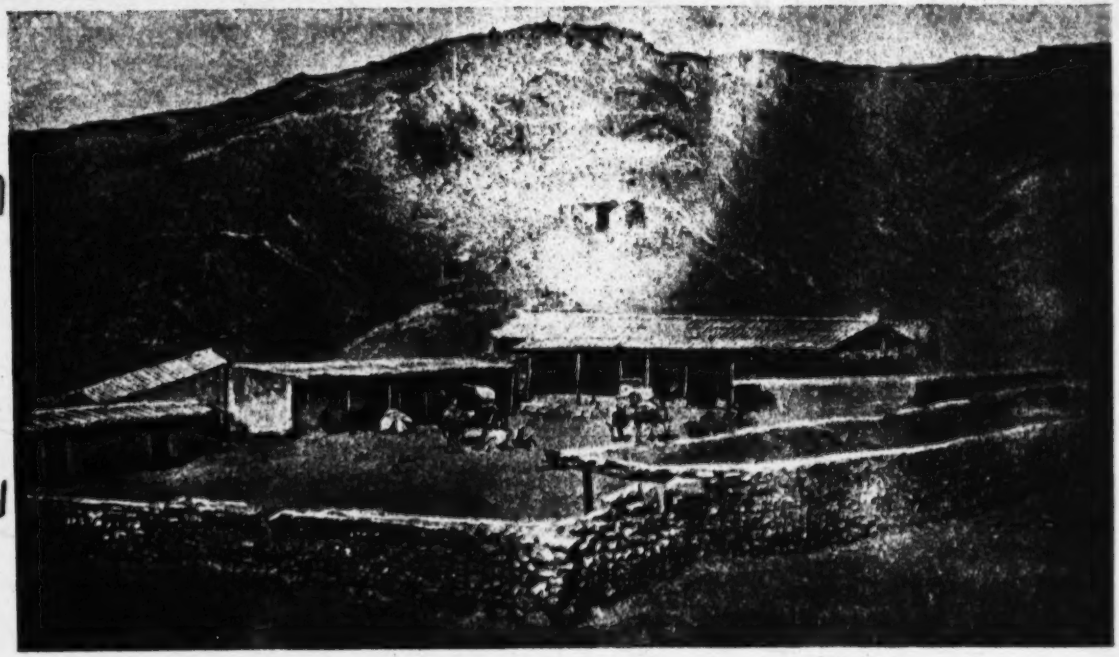

A Gobi Inn.

"There was a foreigner here once who said he had come to Chekulu to measure the distance to the sun. A likely tale!"

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and of perpendicular strata. Great naked crags towered above us, and in some parts the side of the mountain was cut clean through as with a gigantic knife. Our previous experience of mountain passes had led us to expect a road which must rise and fall with the course of the mountain, and we were greatly astonished when, hour after hour, we still pursued a course with no semblance of a hill. The rugged grandeur of the scene was most impressive. On either side the loose boulders were flung in wild confusion, though never blocking the path so as to make it impassable to the carts. 133 491

As the night wore on the constant winding of the Pass, in which we could never see more than a few hundred feet ahead owing to its tortuous nature, made the stage seem interminable. It appeared as though, after so many hours, the next turn *must* bring an opening to view, but once again the road twisted and vanished round yet another corner. Suddenly, without warning, we emerged, and saw in the brilliant moonlight the inn of Towshui—' Head Spring '—which was a welcome sight indeed. [485]

During the winter months this gorge is closed by the snow, and many travellers have been lost in the drifts caused by the sweeping of the winds round the sharp corners ; the optional road via Turfan has then to be taken. The only signs of life in these desolate, barren, stony chasms were the birds of prey which hovered overhead. A Chinese traveller told us that once, when eating a wayside lunch in the gorge, he turned his head aside for an instant, and like lightning an eagle swept past, taking the bread from his hand. [136]

From Towshui to the next inn, which is Tashitow—' The Great Stone '—the road led over the watershed dividing Chinese Turkestan from Dzungaria. We drove over undulating downs, and as we descended the other [485]

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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As
491 we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance.
487 Geographically its position is notable, standing as it does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We
491 followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

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361 the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as
669 they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

485 Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it.
[563] The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

000 Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

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000 journey. It was hard for our driver to restrain his horses until we had taken leave, and no sooner was the 494 final word 'ping-an tsai'—'peace be with you'—spoken, than he scrambled to his seat, lashed his team, and instantly the horses sprang forward, breaking into a quick trot. They proved to be in good condition, and we found that travelling by tarantass was comfortable, and indeed far less wearying than by Chinese cart. Moreover we were able to cover six miles per hour at a steady pace, exactly doubling our former speed, the seven hundred miles to Chuguchak[1] being accomplished in a fortnight, whereas by Chinese cart it would have been [491] a journey of twenty-two days. The roads were good, and the jingling bells, the gaily-painted circus hoop, and the freely-harnessed, trotting horses made a cheerful *ensemble*, while at each half-stage there was a wayside inn where we could buy hot water and make tea.

000 Mr. Hunter had, at the last moment, decided also to come with us as far as Chuguchak. His little ammunition-cart was, therefore, like our own tarantass, laden to its uttermost capacity. Mr. Mather used his own horse, while Nimga rode by Mr. Hunter's cartside. 494 There was a great deal of traffic on the road, carts of merchandise from Russia and Ili constantly passing us. 439 On the first day we met twelve carts laden with tin and galvanised iron pails, such as are so popular on the Urumchi market, and without which no traveller moves; matches, sugar, and leather formed the cargo of many • 485 others. It was long after dark when we reached the first inn at Changki. Every room was occupied, and the courtyard was full of vehicles laden with grain, cotton and water-melons. Each driver was sleeping near his merchandise, and the stalls were crowded with beasts that kicked, squealed, and bit at each other throughout the night. Seeing that there was no

[1] [From Urumchi -- Analyst]

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the back-door of every house on the north side of the village, and

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As soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,

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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, which is the most important stream in this part of Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

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when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that : ' Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits ; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

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486 [131] [178] site but marked by a shrine flanked with two high poles. A stake roughly carved to suggest the form of a man was driven into the ground, and its rounded knob was thick with the oil which generations of carters have poured over it as a libation.

We hastened on, and before nightfall came in sight of the Pass, which bears the strange name of 'The Ravine of Baboons.' It was not encouraging to catch sight of a group of soldiers watching us through field-glasses from an eminence. At the entrance to the Ravine we found a military tent pitched, and the guards waiting to question us. The N.C.O. was none too well-mannered. He scoffed at the idea of our carrying so heavy a load of books, and said: 'If you tell me stories like that I'll search your baggage through!' We then produced our passports, which he scrutinised. They were important-looking documents, and evidently impressed him, perhaps the more so because he was wholly illiterate, as we discovered next day. The mere sight of them, however, had a wholesome effect upon him, for he handed them back with an apology for not being able to offer us tea in his tent. We continued our way through the narrow Pass for another two miles, and at every turn of the road soldiers appeared. When we reached the little village we were at once surrounded by a crowd of military, and an officer coming on the scene told us we could not proceed until such a time as the Governor, by telegram, should have indicated his 485 willingness for us to do so. He directed us then to the only vacant room in the place, which was situated in an inn court so small that the carts had to stand in the road outside. The room itself was wretched beyond description. It had no door, while a hole in the wall served as window, so that we were unable for a moment to escape the inspection of the crowd of soldiers. The

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kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.' 485

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court was again crowded, [525] and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted [681] our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and we signified to him our desire to move on that day. 486 He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it.

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G. N

I [inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

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486 in Tientsin,' he said, 'and know Westerners well; they are always in a hurry. Now you stay here and thoroughly rest for a few days.' Our hearts sank at the prospect of official procrastination and excuses, but we would not give ourselves away as impatient foreigners, so thanked him and smiled, thus avoiding the fate of one concerning whom it is written:

> 'All that was left was a tombstone white,
> Because he tried to hustle the East.'

742 We found on enquiry that the garrison[1] held a thousand men, and that two of the Commanding Officers had each a wife with him. Changing into clean dresses we 000 therefore started out forthwith to pay our respects to these ladies. One of them was little more than a pitiful child, cowed to the point of scarcely daring to open her mouth, and whose husband was a heavy opium-smoker. The other lady was a strong-minded, intelligent Moslem, of a fine physique. She talked with us on a variety of subjects and made us give her a lesson in the Government Phonetic Script, of which she already knew something from a young Shansi boy who was not allowed to proceed on his journey and was acting as her servant.

Returning to the inn, we unpacked the travelling harmonium and some parcels of books, and accompanied by the Christian men proceeded to hold an open-air service. In a moment the gambling rings were broken up and we were surrounded by an eager crowd of listeners. Then the two officers appeared, and took control of the men. Hymn-sheets were handed round, and soon the choruses were taken up and sung vigorously. The sight of the gaily-bound gospels and other books proved so attractive that we were overwhelmed with customers, and from the time of our first service we had

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia-- Analyst

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no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

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486 702 am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

[681] A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

485 On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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485 mud floor was transformed into a series of mud pits so treacherously slippery that we had to move about with the greatest care. During a fine spell between two storms the Commanding Officer appeared at our door to return our call. We were not sorry that he should see our plight, but his only comment was: 'This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose that in England your hotels are all better than this?'

•486 Though we suffered so much discomfort from the rain, we were secretly rejoicing, because news was brought to 712 us that a number of young men had escaped that night, and thanks to the rain had not yet been recaptured. [312] Hsinghsinghsia has the only spring of water in an immense area, and the patrols found it sufficient to watch the next springs on either side in order to take deserters. As the hunted man crept stealthily to the water's edge to slake his thirst under cover of darkness, the mounted soldiers seized him, bound him and drove him back to the camp, where many had died from the severity of the flogging received. After the rains, however, little pools of water collected in the hollows of the granite rocks, and thus enabled the fugitives to leave the main road and so reach freedom. Many deaths had occurred through pedestrians, or mounted travellers, trying to cross the frontier without passing the camp. One day six riderless mules were captured, the men having, doubtless, died of thirst in the sands.

000 It was very touching to see the delight with which groups of these poor men would gather around us and talk for long hours. We had travelled so much in North China that we knew the localities from which several of them had come. Some from Shansi found that we actually knew the very villages where their parents lived, and in some cases we had even visited the homes of relatives. One youth was the son of the

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000 Kiang woman, Mrs. Ma, in whose home we had been entertained each time we passed through that town.

The great love that a Chinese, even though a prodigal, has for his home, brought many to the point of tears as we spoke of familiar scenes, and it was not difficult to speak to them of a Father in Heaven, Whose goods they were wasting in a far country, and Who was waiting for their return.

The Chinese are a long-suffering people; they bear the tyrannies of their oppressors, and the dominion of rapacious officialdom, with a pathetic resignation, but the hour is at hand when they will rise and avenge the wrongs of generations. In such an hour no violence is regarded as an excess, and they will deal with their oppressors in their own way.

CHAPTER XXXIV

GOBI NIGHTS

486 On the second day of our sojourn in Hsinghsinghsia, seeing that no word had come to authorise our leaving, we thought we would communicate with Mr. Hunter, of the China Inland Mission in Urumchi, but when we innocently suggested that we wished to send a telegram, we were put off with the reply that it was needless to involve ourselves in unnecessary expense; and when we further insisted we were met with a blank refusal—the telegraph wires could be used by the military only. Seeing how things were going, we wrote a letter in which, knowing that it would be censored, we merely informed Mr. Hunter of our whereabouts; on the third day, however, calling at the post-office, we saw our letter still lying there on the table, and were told that the

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censor had not yet called! These incidents, naturally, 486 greatly added to our sense of discomfort, and we now seriously began to wonder when we should be allowed to leave this place of detention.

A party of Tibetan lamas, with their attendants, were also, like ourselves, unable to proceed, and having pitched a group of tents on the sand, had already been waiting a week for their permission to move on. They were greatly inconvenienced by the delay as they were travelling with fifteen little donkeys, including their pack animals. On the fourth morning, there being still no word of the permission we were desiring, we wandered out to this Tibetan camp to enquire if the lamas were more fortunate than ourselves. 'Any news?' we asked. 'News? What news can you hope for with such a gang as this? Our donkeys will soon be dead for lack of fodder, and if we all die they don't care!'

As we sat and talked, a string of carts appeared, laden 705 with sacks of wheat, bundles of fodder, vats of oil, and a few baskets of vegetables. This was the food supply for the camp,[1] as both men and beasts were fed from the Hami oasis, six days distant. We then followed the waggons back to the camp, and, glad of any diversion from the monotony of the day, we watched the unloading. We next paid the usual midday call to the tele- 486 graph office, and there, to our unspeakable relief, learnt that a message had at last come permitting both ourselves and the lamas to proceed. Fearful, however, lest the authorities might suddenly change their mind and insist on our taking a longer 'rest-cure,' we hurried back and issued orders that the animals should at once be fed and watered, and the carts prepared for an afternoon start. Therefore, when an hour later the officer called with news that the permit had come, we were almost ready to leave.

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486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

491 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took
133 the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the
135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as
316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

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484 once in five years. An unwritten law exacts that the journey south be taken in a cart with every appearance
577 of affluence, lest fellow-townsmen should scoff and say: 'They went to "Kow Wai" to make a fortune, and have come back penniless vagrants!' A subtle appreciation of the ethics of filial piety has made it customary for the whole party when leaving home again to do so on foot, the suggestion being that every available dollar has been left with aged parents, and that the son starts out again a poor man to seek his fortune. The band was composed of eighteen youths, and one boy of fifteen who was nephew to the manager of the firm and had been entrusted by his uncle to the care of the older men. They had one donkey which carried a few bundles, and on which the lad was able to get a lift. Each one carried across his shoulder a flexible pole with a basket slung to either end, in one of which was his wadded quilt and a change of clothes, in the other a sack of flour and his bowl and chopsticks, while from the pole was also attached a little water can to carry a drink for the way. These men had tramped for over seventy days by track roads from central Shansi to the Yellow River, and from thence by the 'long grass route' to Ansi. This shortcut brought them across the north of Shensi and direct to the North-West territory, avoiding Lanchow. For several days we met them at each stage, and on the strength of being fellow-provincials we became exceedingly friendly. They told us that each man was allowed eighteen dollars (about £2) for road expenses, and by travelling very quickly and economically they were just able to do it for that amount.

486 'How did you get through Hsinghsinghsia?' we asked. 'We had return passports from the Governor when we left Kucheng last year,' they said, 'so they did not

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dare to detain us, and the head of the firm had given notice of the day we should cross the frontier; but we never knew a moment's peace till we were out of the hands of that gang. How different from General Feng's soldiers! We passed right through their fighting lines, and they never seized even our little donkey! The officer said, "These men are honest apprentices; they have a long journey ahead; no one is to touch them, their goods or their donkey!" That's something like an army!' 486

The following morning we reached 'Third Halt,' which we found to be a torrid place, lying in a cup of the hills. Our inn rooms were intolerably hot, and after a brief rest we got up and sat under the trees, hoping to escape from the flies, and also seize the advantage of any passing breeze. While resting there we heard the sound of the familiar camel-bell, and looking up watched a string of sixty of these beasts cross the village stream. The banks were muddy, and the awkwardness of the camel when walking on slippery ground was evident. These beasts frequently come to grief when attempting to travel on other than sandy roads, and broken legs are not infrequent at a river's edge. The driver was a Barkul man, which city is colonised by Chinese, many of whom make their living by grazing camels. The Turki is of no use as a camel driver. He is too impetuous, and seems unable to give these animals the peculiar care which they need. Strong, long-lived, and enduring, as they are under good conditions, they easily lose heart, and once overdriven never recover. Rough treatment, hustle or untoward difficulties play havoc with these creatures, whose temperamental qualities seem to be as strange as their physical peculiarities. Once their spirit is broken they are of no further use, and lie down and die. 361 132 492

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[133] feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at Tsimusa—' The City of Everlasting Trust '—and seeing 486 a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no ' foreign devil ' should again darken his doors ! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the ' Inn of the Cursing Landlord ' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—' The Third Stage.' 133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes, 241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as : ' Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself. 492 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

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however, he could not consider unless a companion were forthcoming who would stay with Mr. Hunter during his absence. A volunteer was found in Mr. Ridley, of Sining, in Kansu, who had, we knew, recently arrived in Urumchi to take over Mr. Mather's work, and thus release him for furlough; and this being so, we had mutually agreed to travel together from Urumchi to Europe. We had never yet met him, but five miles from the city both gentlemen appeared on horseback to greet us, Mr. Mather welcoming us as the first fellow-countrywomen he had seen for twelve years!

We soon came in sight of the city, which was well wooded, and arrived at the Outer Gate, where soldiers, as usual, demanded our passports. 'Have you met any lamas by the way?' they enquired. 'We have been expecting some for several days, and you must have seen them on the road.' No one ever gives any information when officially questioned, so we simply changed the subject, knowing, notwithstanding, that they must be referring to the party of Tibetans who left Hsinghsinghsia with us, and whom we had passed and repassed all the way. As we moved on, information was imparted to our servants that the guard were under orders to seize the whole party of priests, and conduct them to the prison, as they were accused of being undesirable characters; and two days later, to prison they went.

The streets of Urumchi impressed us as being irregular, narrow, lacking in architectural beauty, crowded and dirty. We had lost sight of Mr. Hunter several hours previously, but as we drew up to the Mission House, there he stood in the doorway to receive us. The white home-spun cotton had vanished and he now wore his best black suit, and a black soft felt hat, while the clumsy traveller's boots were replaced by well-polished

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494 of his friends who would not leave until Saturday. He therefore removed a wheel from the tarantass on the plea of necessary repairs, and by Friday at midday the wheelwright had not yet finished his job. It was only under the strong pressure brought by Mr. Hunter, who refused to leave the workshop until the wheel was mended, that Friday afternoon saw the empty tarantass rattle over the rough road and draw up at the side door of the Mission Compound.

000 Our personal luggage was very little, knowing, as we did, that when we reached the Siberian railway we must not carry more than regulation weight. We were also advised not to take books, papers, letters, nor photographs into Russia. Our cameras, consequently, were left behind, as also our organ, and all personal effects beyond a hand-valise each, and a wadded quilt for bedding. It was well for Mr. Mather that this delay had occurred, for it was not until sunset on the Thursday that he even began to ram a few things into a kitbag in view of the journey.

The food-box was royally supplied by gifts from the generous Urumchi people, who vied with one another in making this an opportunity to express their appreciation of the two men who had lived and worked in their midst for so many years. The Governor sent us an ample supply of tinned food for the road, and of tea, sugar, cake, biscuits, bread and candles there was more than we could carry. Russian friends had sent cakes and a supply of delicious conserves, the like of which are met in no country but Russia, made from mountain strawberries, which are plentiful in Urumchi.

496 The men who had accompanied us from Suchow were now very anxious to return, so we had made an application for a passport to enable them to cross through Hsinghsinghsia. Naturally, all concerned felt great

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

anxiety as to what might await them at the frontier, and it was not until we were home in Europe that we heard how they fared when passing into Kansu. On arrival at Hsinghsinghsia they presented their passports to an officer whom they failed to recognise, but who at once made himself known to them as the man whom we had picked up, dying of thirst, outside Ansi: 'Pass on,' he said, 'I know you, and owe my life to your party, and to the ladies who gave me a place on their carts. You may leave when you please.'

Molly was to remain as a guest in Mr. Hunter's stable until we should need her again, and from news since received, evidently continues to enjoy more than her due of care and attention. Little as our baggage seemed when we were packing our three small valises, by the time all was collected it made a formidable pile. Though the heat was intense we were each obliged to take a fur coat, knowing what bitter cold nights lay ahead, while a kettle, saucepan and iron tripod were necessary for cooking purposes. Packets of tracts and gospels were essential, and we each required a fair-sized cushion, to use by day in the cart and by night as a pillow.

When the tarantass arrived the driver had already captured a place for his large bag of grain, and a pocket, capable of great expansion, hung also at his elbow, the use of which became apparent on the journey. An hour of hard work saw the cart packed and roped, and each bundle in its place, but the remaining space was indeed a tight fit for three, although we consoled ourselves with the usual fallacious hope that so many of the packages containing food the load must diminish every day! A group of friends was waiting outside the city gate to bid us farewell, and here, too, we had to part with the faithful companions from Suchow, whose care had done so much to mitigate the difficulties of the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

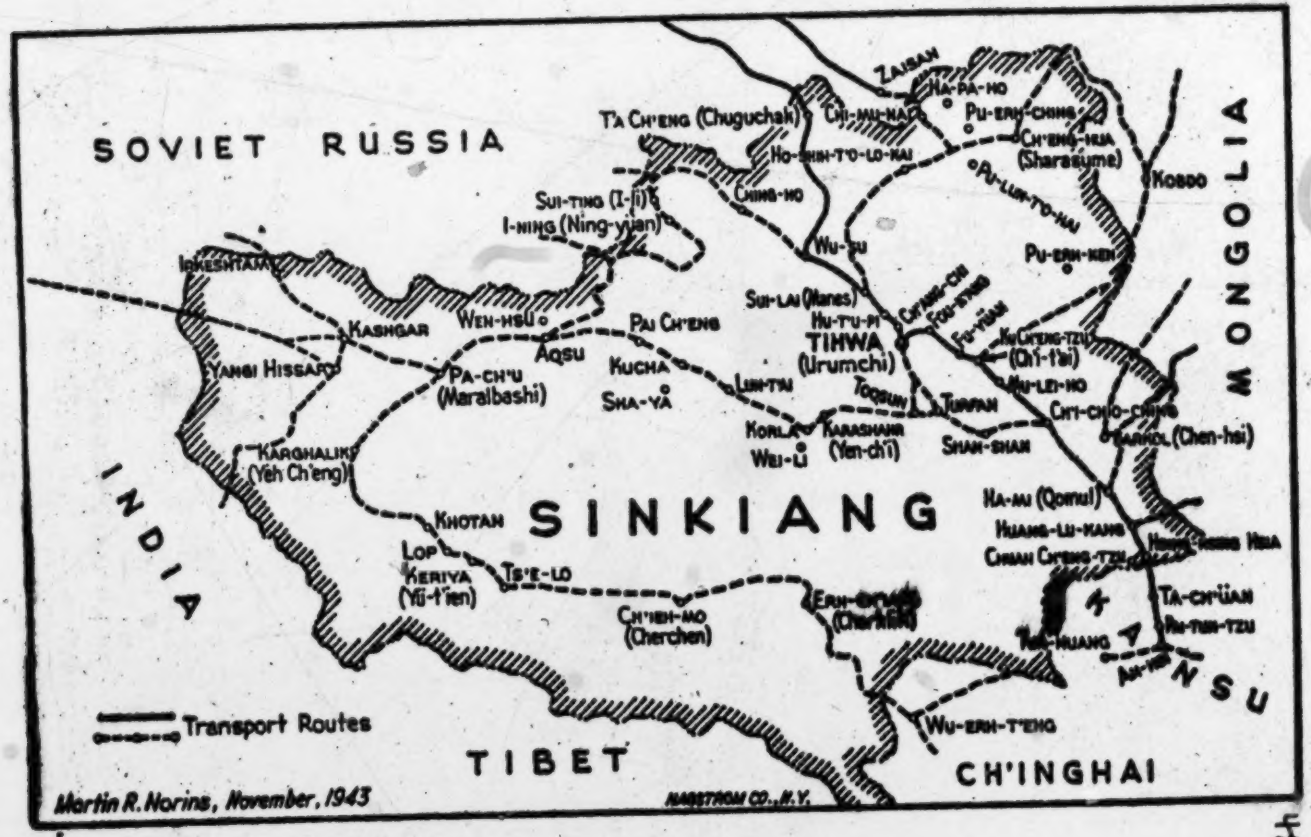
423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.


SOVIET RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
INDIA
TIBET
CH'INGHAI
KANSU
SINKIANG
Transport Routes
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943
HAMSTROM CO., N.Y.
ZAISAN
HA-PA-HO
PU-ERH-CHING
CH'ENG-HSIA (Sharasume)
KOBDO
PU-LUN-TO-HAI
PU-ERH-KEN
CHI-MU-NAI
HO-SHIH-T'O-LO-HAI
T'A CH'ENG (Chuguchak)
CHING-HO
SUI-TING (I-li)
I-NING (Ning-yüan)
Wu-su
SUI-LAI (Manas)
HU-T'U-PI
TIHWA (Urumchi)
CH'ING-CH'I
FOU-KANG
FU-KANG
KU-CH'ENG-TZU (Ch'i-t'ai)
MU-LEI-HO
CHI-CHO-CHING
BARKOL (Chen-hsi)
TURFAN
SHAN-SHAN
TOGSUN
KARASHAHR (Yen-ch'i)
KORLA
WEI-LI
LIEH-TAI
PAI CH'ENG
KUCHA
SHA-YA
AQSU
WEN-HSU
PA-CH'U (Maralbashi)
KASHGAR
YANGI HISSAR
KARGHALIK (Yeh Ch'eng)
KHOTAN
LOP
KERIYA (Yü-t'ien)
TS'E-LO
CH'IEH-MO (Cherchen)
ERH-CHIAN (Cherchen)
HA-MI (Qomul)
HUANG-LU-KANG
CHIAN CH'ENG-TZU
TA-CH'ÜAN
PU-TIEN-TZU
WU-ERH-T'ENG

[p. 31]

487

487 Sinkiang, "farther than any country from the sea," was once traversed by an old trans-Eurasian Silk Road. Medieval caravans, of Marco Polo's time and before, threaded their way laboriously along it in almost endless lines bearing goods from West to East and back. First high over the jagged Karakorum and Pamir Mountains, then in a gradual winding descent, went the old Silk Road, and along it coursed the trade and embassies of antiquity. Once at the watered bases of Sinkiang's snow-tipped mountains, the trail became covered with string upon string of desert camels, who plodded from oasis to oasis until, past the ancient kingdom of Khotan and the waters of the now-vanished Lob Nor, they wended their way eastward out of Sinkiang to the court of old Cathay.

Advent of fifteenth-century maritime travel turned traders to the sea; and the old caravan trek lost its one-time prominence. Central Asia, which had served as a natural land gateway between Europe and the Orient, was left to lapse into petty internal tribulations, slumber, and finally stagnation. Not until 1931, when Japan began World War II by her invasion of Manchuria, was this remote Sinkiang hinterland at last roughly awakened.

162 Up to then Sinkiang Province was a picturesque but ill-esteemed old-style Chinese dependency, a frontier land of Central Asiatic tribesmen ruled over by a minority of "Han" Chinese officials. It was an open land of lean Kalmuck nomads and hardy Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping like mad across the steppes, of rugged mountains and luxuriant oases and ancient ruins buried in the Takla Makan, a land of mosques and lamaseries and century-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Tungkans; in short, a land of perhaps the most colorful mixture of race and custom and habitat that ever did exist. Market day in a bazaar might find dark bearded Uighurs from Kashgar in long, bright-colored coats together with veiled and white-cloaked women, a crowd which perhaps would include booted Kirgiz, so-called Aryan Sarikolis from the Taghdumbash Pamir, perhaps outcast unveiled Dulani women from Maralbashi, and a scattering of foreigners from Afghanistan, India, and Russian Turkestan.

000 Like all frontiersmen, the people of Sinkiang are given to tall tales.

Manchu position in China as a whole, as well as to the physical limitations set by the necessary journey. 439

The Convenience Factor

Traditional routes from China Proper into Sinkiang not only have always been fraught with danger and difficulty, but they have also been excessively long. Negotiation by primitive means of some 1,500 miles of hard travel over desert and mountain areas formerly was required for the journey from Pei-p'ing to Tihwa; there were, in addition, the following distances from Tihwa to selected outlying Sinkiang trade centers near the Russian and Indian frontiers: 487

Sui-ting (Kuldja)	360 miles
T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak)	375 "
Aqsu	927 "
Kashgar	1,375 "
Khotan	1,644 "

Yet, compare those distances with the mileage along main trade routes by which there was travel from modern communication centers in Russia to key points in Sinkiang. A French writer, M. Castagné, has shown that from:

Andizhan to Kashgar by Irkeshtam through Terek Pass is	427 miles
Pishpek (Frunze) to Kashgar by Narinsk through Chatir Köl is	346 "
Alma-Ata to Sui-ting (Kuldja) by Khorgos is	534 "
Semipalatinsk to Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng) by Sergiopol is	400 "
Zaisan to Sharasume is	160 "
Zaisan to Chuguchak is	160 "

M. Castagné also points out how the Russians were economically favored over even the British when he explains that from Leh, in Northwest India—along a customary British trade route—it is respectively 460, 530, and 619 miles to such key commercial points of South Sinkiang as Karghalik, Khotan, and Keriya. The British routes, besides, went over some of the most difficult mountain passes in the

487 world, some replete with blizzards and terrific heights; at least one over 18,000 feet.

These remarks show, without need of further elaboration, that the main centers of Sinkiang have been relatively much more convenient to centers of Russian Central Asia than to those of British India or, to a much greater extent, those of Eastern China. They also show how Russia's favored geographical position could shortly turn Sinkiang trade in her favor.

The Emergence of Tsarist Leadership

439 For a generation the Tsarist Government had wielded considerable commercial influence in the Kashgar region of South Sinkiang; and the proximity of the Russian Turkestan railways and highways was felt only less by degree in the Altai and T'ien Shan areas of North Sinkiang. According to Gabitov, a Soviet writer, a real shift toward Russia in Sinkiang trade came in the period immediately following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Up to then nearly all the wool of Tihwa and Tarbagatai (T'a Ch'eng) had gone into Tientsin across Su-chou and Lan-chou. But in 1905 the freight prices jumped, and Tientsin imports of Sinkiang wool were diminished. This started a shift which took the goods from Tihwa across the Chinese-Russian border to Semipalatinsk and on to the east coast of Asia via the Trans-Siberian Railway. This export route made good use of the relatively comfortable trek from Tihwa to the Russian border via the Manas River valley. In the early years of the twentieth century this avenue of trade became the most important for Sinkiang. Large and small livestock and raw materials for Russia herself also went this way, but some other Sinkiang products—cotton, silks, and a certain amount of wool from the Khotan, Keriya, and Yarkand areas farther south—entered Russia along the Kashgar-Irkeshtam-Osh road. In return Russia sent Sinkiang finished manufactures, silks, iron (including plated and rimmed iron), barred steel, earthenware, perfumes, and sugar. Henceforth, with the exception of the earliest period of Soviet government in Russia, Sinkiang-Russian economic bonds gradually grew stronger. By 1930 Soviet engineers had completed the Turksib Railway, which reached almost

487

SINKIANG, NORTHWEST ROAD INTO CHINA
Japanese War Periphery
Transport Routes
Martin R. Norins, November, 1943
HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
Semipalatinsk
S.
S.
R.
To Moscow
Alma-Ata
Verkhneudinsk
To Nome
Urga
TIHWA
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Kashgar
SINKIANG
AFGHANISTAN
From Karachi
TIBET
INDIA
Pei-p'ing
NINGSIA
SINING
LAN-CHOU
SIAN
Nanking
Shanghai
CH'ENG-TU
CHUNGKING
I-ch'ang
Hankow
Changsha
K'UN-MING
Canton
Mandalay
Hanoi

[p. 123]

000 ply problem. Until a large part of Southeast Asia is cleared of danger from Japan, reopening of the Burma Road probably not only is not imminent but even loses a great deal of its value. It is well to look elsewhere at present for the route along which large-scale supply to China may be maintained.

The Siberia-Outer Mongolia-Ningsia Route

The shortest and most direct potential route [illegible] United Nations zones from North America to China is that via Canada, Alaska, and Siberia to Chinese Ningsia. Some 6,500 miles long, it extends from Seattle to Alaska, then across the narrow Bering Strait, and along the Trans-Siberian Railway as far as Verkhneudinsk (Ulan Ude). At Verkhneudinsk, in Siberia, it branches southward through Ulan Bator, capital of the "Mongolian People's Republic," to Ningsia. The Ulan Bator (Urga) to Ningsia part of this route, according to available information, before Pearl Harbor was still little more than a desert camel trail. It has been, besides, vulnerable at the Ningsia end, since 1937, to an ever-threatening Japanese push through Suiyüan Province.

The Sinkiang Routes

187 Remaining routes now geographically practicable enter China through Sinkiang. One such, an extension of the above-mentioned Siberian route, runs along or on the Trans-Siberian Railway beyond Verkhneudinsk and, utilizing the Turksib Railway, reaches Alma-Ata, in Soviet Kazakhstan. From there it crosses back eastward into Sinkiang via Sui-ting or T'a Ch'eng, and passes on the modern Sinkiang-Kansu motor road toward Chungking and the Chinese war fronts. This route, probably under 9,000 miles in all, deserves primary attention. It utilizes already existing modern transport facilities and, with the exception of possible political obstacles, might become a very useful supplementary avenue for United Nations supplies into the China area.

American goods can also obtain entrance into Sinkiang from the Middle East and India. Delivery requires a long ocean journey—one which runs from the eastern coast of the United States to the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea. But once the long maritime part of the trip

is complete, shipments into China are quite feasible. Two routes have gained special public attention, one through Persia (Iran) and the other through India. The first begins at the Persian Gulf port of Bushire, in Iran, and runs by road and rail to Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea. Once the Caspian is crossed by boat, the goods can be loaded on freight cars and carried by rail from Krasnovodsk to Alma-Ata, but a short distance by good highway from Sinkiang. The other route starts at Karachi, Indian port on the Arabian Sea, and runs by rail to Peshawar, then by road from Peshawar to Kabul in Afghanistan and north through Termez to Samarkand in Soviet Uzbekistan. From Samarkand the goods, again, can be shipped by rail to Alma-Ata and then by highway into Sinkiang. 487

Further major possibilities for United Nations transport into Sinkiang include the well-tested pack trails into Kashgaria (South Sinkiang) from Kashmir (Northwest India) and from Afghanistan. One of the most desirable of these routes, that passing through Kashmir, utilizes the cities of Karachi and Srinagar and covers some 4,500 miles of India-China terrain. Crossing 18,000-foot passes, these trails are not yet feasible for motorized transport, though they have long been used for caravan trade. There is, however, no serious physical obstacle (other than possibly the altitude limits of airplane flight) to air transport from Srinagar, for instance, (or from Kabul), over the Karakorum Mountains (or Pamirs) to Kashgaria. From Kashgaria there is already available roadbed for motor travel on the old Sinkiang South Road to Tihwa or to other parts of Sinkiang, and from there into China Proper.

With the Nazis now boxed up in Europe and with the Mediterranean open, sea shipments to the Middle East now need not (though they still can) take the long haul by way of the Cape of Good Hope; they are able, instead, to go directly—say, New York-Port Said and then across Syria and Iraq to Iran. But up to only recently adequate preparations for passage of goods to China through Iran and Soviet Russia may not have been completed. An Associated Press dispatch from Chungking dated July 5, 1943, cited Chinese Minister of Communications Tseng Yang-fu as declaring that "at last" arrangements had been concluded for use of this supply line. Yet Tseng even then 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71–2.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

131 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese [132] officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be [181] performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy on his head ? ". The problem of supplies was not so difficult as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

• 487 Kōk Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down [622] from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. [272] Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we [263] made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

• 487 milking the sheep and goats by the water's edge while the men and children looked on.

[231] Next morning we awoke to find a brilliant sun shining on a cheerful scene composed of yaks, yak-calves, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, curly-headed children, rainbow-clothed white-turbaned women and one to two shaggy men (the rest were still in bed), against a background of fat mushroom-like *aq-ois*, foaming river and steep green hill-side. I had decided to halt a day at this pleasant spot, partly to give the caravan a rest, partly in order to reconnoitre on foot a pass called the Merki Davan by which I hoped to cross into the upper Qaratash valley and thus gain access to one of the blank patches on the map which Sir Aurel Stein had advised me to explore. To cut a long story short,[1] Gerard Price and I, assisted by Juma Beg with his men and yaks, reached a height of 16,500 feet on a snowy spur, from which point we could see that the "pass" was quite out of the question for our caravan. It was nothing but a lofty ridge of rock at least 17,000 feet high, deep in snow even on the south side and defended also by steep ice-slopes.

[758] Meanwhile D. passed a strenuous but amusing day with the Kirghiz ladies, all of whom clamoured (mostly quite unnecessarily) for medical treatment and seemed to appreciate presents of quinine tabloids and castor oil even more than the beads and other small gifts which D. had brought for them. At any rate, she made herself very popular, for next morning when we marched down the valley their farewells were most affectionate and they walked at her stirrup quite a long way down the valley. One of the younger ones was perfectly lovely; the coloured sketch of her which was done by D. on this occasion and is reproduced as a frontispiece to this book does not flatter her unduly. As a rule, however, the faces of the Kirghiz women, though broad-browed and pleasing, are too flat for beauty.

[37] As we filed down the Yambulak valley it became ever narrower and its sides higher and steeper. The profusion of wild flowers was a revelation; anemones, primulas, kingcups, columbines, antirrhinums, campanulas, asphodel and many others of which we did not know the names grew in masses, especially in places where the sheep and goats could not get at them. Cascades of wild roses grew out of every

[1] For an account of this climb, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925, p. 388.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

• 487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

[221] That night (14th July) we camped in wild and grand, but less green and flowery, country at Toilebulung, the winter [164] headquarters of the Yambulak Kirghiz who grow their crops there and bury their dead in curious little domed mausolea. The elevation was only 9,650 feet, the first time we had been down to four figures since Gircha in the Hunza valley, sixteen days before. We mopped our brows and complained of the stuffiness of these low-lying valleys, until some one pointed out that we were still far higher up than the most elevated Indian hill-station.

432 Next day we bid adieu to the Yambulak Kirghiz with many [431] invitations and promises to visit them again one day. I had already given old Ibrahim Beg with much ceremony an official present in the shape of a watch. Just before leaving I discovered that he had already disposed of it to Hafiz for five taels (about 15*s*.). As it was only worth about four taels, and as I wanted to impress upon the Kirghiz the enormity of the insult to the British Empire, I publicly reproved Ibrahim, took back the watch, made him repay the 5 taels to Hafiz, and then gave him a cash present of 4 taels instead of the watch. I then, supposing that Hafiz really wanted a watch to tell the time by, sold him the Government watch for 4 taels. The following day one of the other orderlies told me that Ibrahim had bought back the watch from Hafiz for 4½ taels, evidently thinking that as there was such a to-do about the article, it must be a good investment. It was not till after we reached Kashgar, however, that I heard the sequel from Harding, who passed Yambulak two days after us. This was that Ibrahim Beg changed his mind once more about the watch and sold it to Harding's orderly for 3½ taels! Turkis and Kirghiz alike are born traders and would sell the noses off their faces if they could get good money for them.

487 On each of the next two days we crossed passes, the Ter

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Art (13,340 feet) and the Kashka Su (12,900 feet) respectively. They were very much alike; winding ravines among high rocky hills; a glen thickly carpeted with alpine flowers, narrowing and steepening as we ascended it; a last back-breaking ascent, and then the col, a rounded ridge with out-cropping rocks and turf enamelled with tiny blooms. We lingered long on the Kashka Su; we had been travelling over or among mountains for such an age—a golden age—that it was difficult to believe that we were crossing our very last pass. From the summit we looked with interest towards the north, hoping to see the plains of Kashgaria spread out below us, but as far as the eye could reach lay a jumble of green ridges surmounted here and there by a snow-flecked crag and deeply seamed by silver torrents, the music of which floated gently up to us. Behind us to the south and south-east a magnificent array of giant peaks, the little-known mountains of the Upper Yarkand River valley, bounded the horizon with walls of cliff and glacier.

Descending steeply for 1,500 feet over meadows covered with asphodel we found a small tent pitched for us and a way-side tea-drinking prepared by a delightful old Father Christmas of a Beg called Mirza Ahmad Beg of Taumtara, a side-glen to the north-west. We greeted our host in the tent and were at once confronted with a mountainous collation of freshly-killed and exceedingly tough mutton, leather-like bread, a kind of oily and very indigestible pastry and tea with salt in it. Being fortunately left to ourselves with this repast, we were able, ostensibly at any rate, to do our duty as guests by disposing of quite a large quantity of the food; this we effected by the simple process of eating our own sandwiches and putting the Beg's viands in the haversack thus emptied. Meanwhile the Beg's wife and sister, who must have heard of D.'s fame from Yambulak, were round the corner in gorgeous robes and exaggerated Kirghiz head-dresses, awaiting their opportunity. As we emerged from the tent after our deceitful meal, we saw them in all their glory crossing the stream on their ponies, a picturesque sight. A lengthy interview with D. in the tent followed, while I talked to the old Beg outside. When the ladies had at last finished sampling D.'s medicinal stock and wisdom (for that is what they had really come after), we continued on our way. D. said that they had been rather heavy on hand and had no small-talk; they gave her the impression of being *mazlum-kishis* indeed (I may explain that

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487 *mazlum-kishi* is the Turki for "woman" and means literally "oppressed person"). However, small-talk is not so necessary when you have plenty of diseases, as these oppressed ones apparently had, and D. scored another social success. A couple of hours later we were settling into comfortable *aq-ois* provided by Father Christmas on a meadow by the Kinkol River. Near by grew many mushrooms, a rare treat. On the mountain-sides all round we could hear the red-legged partridges calling; I accepted their invitation, and a brace of them soon graced our camp larder. I may mention that between Yambulak and Kichik Karaul not a day passed that we did not bag partridges or hares, or both, for the pot. Next day I had a misfortune in the shape of a nasty fall with the black horse, which came down suddenly at the trot and threw me on to a sharp stone, which bruised my thigh somewhat severely, causing me to faint twice with the pain. I rode the rest of the march (and the two following days) on a yak or pony with my leg in a sling, neither a comfortable nor a rapid mode of progression. This delayed us very much and we took a day longer to get into Kashgar than we would otherwise have done.

Further down the valley became very wild and rugged, and raging glacier-torrents from the Qizil Tagh or "Red Mountains" on our right had to be crossed as well as the main stream. Here, at a place called Sasik Tika, we noticed a single poverty-stricken *aq-oi*. I distinctly remember commenting on the sinister look of the valley at this point. I was reminded of this the following spring, when I was present at the trial by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar of the Kirghiz to whom the *aq-oi* belonged for the murder of a Chitrali traveller.[1]

137 Soon after leaving the next camp, Toqoi Bashi, the first real trees we had seen since Tashqurghan appeared, and after that we were never without some. Short, thick-set trees they were, with fluted bark and small, pointed leaves; further down the valley some of them attained great size. We did not then know to what species they belonged, but they afterwards became very familiar. They were the desert poplar (*P. varifolia*, Turki *toghraq*) which is the characteristic tree of the Tarim Basin and, outside the oases, the only one that grows at all freely.

487 That night we camped at the first settled village of Kashgaria, Kichik Qaraul or "The Little Fort" It was pleasant to sit on the grass and munch juicy melons, nectarines and

[1] For an account of this trial, see Ch. X.

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peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows.

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were ; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia.

Ighiz Yar (" The High Bluff ") proved to be a pleasant stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession ; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters ; they also opened on a cow-byre.

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have

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been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-
• 487 racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town.
622 Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and
291 had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession
487 into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia
[143] but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village " general shops " at home.

574 Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

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bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined. 574

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very comfortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in 622 our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing 574 over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which [353] we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, 487o but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

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• 487 between rich cultivation and howling wilderness in the true Central Asian fashion, brought us to the village of Yapchan just before dark. Here we were somewhat depressed to find that instead of the house and garden we had been promised, we were to spend the night in two or three tiny, unventilated rooms in a very small and dirty public *serai*. It appeared that the owner of the house at which Europeans usually stay had inconsiderately died just before our arrival. Half the loafers and children of Yapchan enjoyed an excellent close-up view of the three of us unpacking, dining and going to bed. Next morning D. said that she had not been by any means the only occupant of her room; she counted, I think, seventy-one others.

On 21st July, 1922, we rode and drove the last 24 miles to Old Kashgar. Some three miles out we were met with an elaborate wayside reception by Mr. Fitzmaurice, the outgoing Vice-Consul who had been holding charge of the Consulate General pending my arrival, supported by the office staff, the Aqsaqal and other British subjects of Kashgar. A mile further and we were being greeted at a pleasant pavilion among willow-groves by the Chinese officials, representatives of the Swedish missionaries and the Russian colony, and others. Here we were entertained at an excellently-cooked and almost European lunch by the friendly and genial Taoyin of Kashgar, after which we listened and replied to speeches of welcome in various unfamiliar tongues. A long and dusty procession through bazaars and surburbs brought us late in the afternoon to "Chini Bagh," by which name the British Consulate General is locally known.

Our journey from Srinagar had occupied 49 days from Srinagar, including eight days' halts on the road. We could have done it easily enough in, say, forty-two, but we should not have enjoyed it nearly as much as we did. Including the value of stores consumed on the road, but not the wages and travelling allowances of private servants and Government orderlies, the cost according to the careful accounts I kept worked out at £120 for the three of us—much less than I had expected.

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about the Kirghiz, and that little uncomplimentary; this is probably because the Kirghiz living on main routes become sophisticated by contact with the outside world, and in their dealings with travellers of all kinds and with their Chinese masters develop qualities such as greed and untruthfulness not usually found in those inhabiting almost inaccessible valleys off the beaten track.

We carried out one more small reconnaissance before leaving the hills, exploring a side-glen a mile below Khanterek called the Achiq Jilgha, so named from a copious spring of water impregnated with carbonic acid which it contains. We found an excessively steep but not dangerous pass at the top leading over to a side-valley of the Gez River, a discovery of some interest as it meant that we could, if necessary, reach Kaying in the high-water season by going by the "Nine Passes" route up the Gez Valley and then crossing over into the Qaratash Valley above the Narrows. We stayed too long basking in the sun on a grassy hill-top near the summit of the pass, with the result that we were overtaken by darkness while still five miles from Saman and had an unpleasant experience picking our way in the dark among rough boulders under cliffs at the very edge of the foaming river which gleamed white and hungry in the starlight. Next day we had an uneventful march to Kampar, a pleasant village gay with autumn tints on the southern slope of a range of gravel foothills, from which we had a magnificent view of the mountains we had left behind us. The needle peaks of the Shiwakte were there and chisel-shaped Kök Döng, and towering away behind, dwarfing them all, the great white dome of Qungur.

Here Nazaroff left us, as he had to return to Kashgar. After a day's halt to rest the animals, we marched in one day 33 miles to Ighiz Yar by an unsurveyed but perfectly straightforward route. Another march, this time of 16 miles only, brought us to the dusty village of Kizil Bazar on the main Kashgar-Yarkand road. Next day we had another long ride of 28 miles across gravel desert to the first oasis of the Yarkand District, Kok Rabat, 22 miles from the city.

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Khotan, 28th November.

The name of Stein is well remembered in these parts among Turkis and British subjects alike, and all antiquities other than gold brought in by the "Taklamanchis" or treasure-seekers of the Takla Makan are regarded as his property and to be kept for him. I heard many stories about the great explorer; how in the dreaded Qaranghu Tagh or "Dark Mountains" south of Khotan he bridged an abyss with wire and thus pulled himself and his party across; how in the same mountains he was laid up with frost-bite and would have perished if help had not been obtained from the Leh road, and so on. One episode, probably trivial enough if it occurred, appears to have particularly impressed the Khotanis. It is related that a domed tomb was discovered by Stein completely buried in sand, only one small aperture giving access. This was too small for Stein himself to enter, so he called for volunteers, but none of his local men dared to go in. Finally the Indian surveyor, Ram Singh, stepped (literally) into the breach. He squeezed himself in, and when he came out again some time later he was blind!

Our journey from Khotan to Keriya and back was of the nature of a dash on business, and my letters contain little of interest to the general reader. The second time we visited this remote part of the world, in the spring of 1924, we were able to spare some time for seeing the country and studying its people; on this occasion we travelled straight to Keriya (103 miles) in four marches, stayed there three days and returned to Khotan in another four days. We used pony transport for this trip, the desert road being too sandy for carts. We marched the first day 35 miles to a lonely desert inn called Beshtoghraq Langar, or "The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars," passing, twenty miles from Khotan, through the headquarters of the flourishing new district of Lop.

The Inn of the Five Desert Poplars proved a grubby, desolate little collection of mud hovels islanded in the sand-dunes of a belt of desert 25 miles wide; but our next halt, Chira, was a pleasant township positively buried in orchards. At this half-way house between Khotan and Keriya we were met by the British Aqsaqal of the latter district, a charming, courtly Afghan of great local prestige and considerable substance called Ghulam Muhammad, who insisted on our staying in a comfortable house belonging to his Turki wife, a Chira lady. Next day, near Domoko, an amusing and instructive little incident occurred. We were hacking peacefully along with Murad Qari and a couple of orderlies, when we noticed a crowd of people in the fields a couple of hundred yards from the road, and thought we would go and see what was happening.

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is quite distinctive. Most of the other small towns in Kashgaria are on main routes, and witness a continual flow of through traffic; they have at least two roadside tea-drinking pavilions, one on each side of the town. Keriya on the other hand is almost, though not quite, a *cul de sac*; it is the *Ultima Thule* of Kashgaria in this direction. With the exception of the insignificant desert settlements of Niya, Charchan and Charkhliq, there is nothing but desert for 860 miles between Keriya and Tunhwang (Shachow), the westernmost town of Kansu province. The journey to Tunhwang, or Dukhan as the Turkis call it, is only practicable in winter when water can be carried by camels in the form of ice across the terrible Lop desert, which occupies most of the 450 miles between Charkhliq and Tunhwang and includes 150 miles of the salt-encrusted bed of the ancient Lop Sea. Occasionally, perhaps twice a year, a camel-caravan brings silks, tea and porcelain from China Proper to Khotan and Yarkand by this route, and returns with Khotan carpets, jade and Kashgar cotton cloth; individual traders pass to and fro between Keriya and Charchan, but on the whole it may be said that regular traffic stops at Keriya. A fine road leads into the town from the west, with an exceptionally good reception pavilion by its side; to the east, a mere country lane leads to the farms on the left bank of the Keriya River, and beyond them degenerates into a narrow track across the savannah. On this side there is no reception pavilion; no official, foreign guest or other visitor worthy of a tea-drinking ever comes to Keriya from the east.

While in Keriya we stayed at the Aqsaqal's comfortable house in the middle of the town. My work with the Amban left little time for sight-seeing. Judging by the behaviour of the inhabitants, indeed, the chief sight to be seen in Keriya while we were there was ourselves. One soon becomes accustomed to gaping crowds of onlookers in the remoter parts of Central Asia; but the curiosity of the Kerialiks passed all bounds. The place appeared to kave knocked off work for the duration of our visit and to be engaged in nothing but looking at us; or rather I should say at D., for she drew ten times as good "gates" as I did. It must be remembered that with the notable exception of Mrs. Littledale in the nineties no European lady had ever been within a hundred miles of Keriya before. The inhabitants in crowds followed our every step, in the town and out of it; so that we, who objected to being butchered to make a Keriya holiday, stayed at home.

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CHAPTER IX

DESERT, RIVER AND MOUNTAIN

ABOUT the tenth of February the grip of frost upon the land began to relax noticeably, the surface of the ice on the skating-ponds became day by day more slushy and the sun's rays developed a hitting power which surprised us so early in the season. A fortnight later, amid general jubilation, the first muddy water appeared in the irrigation-channels, forerunner of the life-giving floods which in another two months would be sweeping down from the great ranges. Kashgar awoke and stretched itself after its winter sleep. All at once, it seemed, the poplars and willows put out their buds, the soil became soft and moist and the garden resounded with the chatter of starlings, the twitter of martens, the cooing of ring-doves and the hoo-hoo-hoo of the courting hoopoe. Spring was upon us, and at the Consulate our fancy lightly turned to thoughts of the Road. We planned a most attractive ten weeks' tour which would take us first to Merket, on the Yarkand River four marches to the east, thence down-river to Maralbashi and to fair Aqsu, 300 miles along the ancient Silk Road from Europe to Cathay, and back by Uch Turfan and the Mountains of Heaven. In the event, this programme had to be postponed to the autumn, except as regards Merket, but the spring tour that we did manage to carry out, though short, was interesting enough.

Sending our baggage-ponies and all our retinue except the indispensable Hafiz and Sangi Khan ahead the day before, we left Kashgar on 21st March and reached Yupogha, 51 miles east-south-east, the same evening. Our way at first led through a flat country of trees and reedy canals and old farms on the banks of quiet rivers; but the second day the cultivation became gradually more sparse and the country drier as we approached the Takla Makan. That night we slept at a thriving little market-village called Tarim Bazar, where

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there is the much-frequented shrine of one of Kashgar's many lady-saints, Bu Mariam. It is a simple affair; a grove of ancient desert-poplars, two or three single-storied buildings on a little hill, a tall conical mound of faggots and sand surmounted by a bundle of long poles, and all round in serried ranks the tombs of the Faithful. Escaping with difficulty from the idly curious of Tarim Bazar we made tea for ourselves under a scented tamarisk-bush near the shrine. In a corner under the ancient poplars some families of pilgrims from Khotan were encamped with their ponies, donkeys and goats around them like a nomad tribe on the move; an incredibly old beggar in his elaborately-ragged, almost theatrical patchwork costume and mediæval sheepskin-rimmed extinguisher hat doddered about among the graves; and all the while, incongruously, every tree and every bush was loud with the chorus of Spring.

Next day we crossed the westernmost and narrowest section of the Takla Makan, 24 miles broad, to the tiny settlement of Langar among the first jungles of the Yarkand River. It was not a pleasant march. Though there were no high dunes to cross, the going was heavy throughout, the sun's heat trying and the endless vistas of tamarisk-cones inexpressibly monotonous. The tarantass had as usual been sent back after our first double march, and we both rode. But the worst was now over. Next morning an exhilarating two-mile canter brought us to the river, across the placid waters of which roomy flat-bottomed ferry-boats were plying to and fro with cargoes of fur-hatted carters, blue-hooded Chinese carts, gaily-decked horses tinkling with bells and villagers in costumes of many colours. Across the river, in a grove of trees from which last year's leaves had not yet fallen (so calm and windless is the winter here), we were met by an unexpectedly imposing cortège. Twenty horsemen escorted a landau drawn by three fine bays, harnessed troika-fashion and skilfully handled by an obviously Russian-trained Turki coachman. In the carriage sat a good-looking, clean-shaven young Chinese gentleman dressed in the regulation black silk coat and white skirt, and wearing the neat black cap of his country instead of the ridiculous bowler favoured by most of his colleagues. It was the Amban of Maralbashi, of which district Merket is a subdivision, and he was actually on tour—the first and last occasion during the whole of our time in Kashgaria on which we met a District Magistrate away from

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case arose in connexion with the murder of a British subject by his son at a village in the Yarkand district, and it became necessary for me to confer with the Amban of Yarkand at his headquarters. The march of 45 miles to Yarkand occupied a day and a half and led us through country which alternated between desert-poplar forest, marshes and cultivation. The display of bird life among the marshes along the right bank of the Yarkand River was astonishing. We saw none of the rainbow-plumaged "Shaw's pheasant" supposed to haunt these jungles, but among the reedy lakes and water-channels all along the road there was every now and again a mighty cackling and splashing of duck, geese, teal, cormorants, cranes, terns, plovers, coots, water-hens and many kinds of lesser fowl. A Paradise indeed for the naturalist and even for our ignorant selves, could we but have spared a few days to explore these little-known wilds with gun and camera. The Yarkand oasis was entered at Abad, a village of several hundred families living on land brought into cultivation twenty years before by an Amban called Liu, who used prison labour to dig a canal from the Yarkand River. This was one of several instances I came across in the Yarkand neighbourhood of cultivation being extended by enterprising and ambitious Magistrates. The area of this great oasis must be now at least twice what it was fifty years ago under the indigenous rule of Yakub Beg.

The five days my work occupied at Yarkand passed pleasantly enough at the garden of the Bar Gah, now a mass of snowy blossom, and while I sat in conclave with Amban or Aqsaqal, D. amused herself with shopping in the kaleidoscopic bazaars and exchanging visits with Swedish, Chinese, Indian and Turki friends. Once she was entertained at tea in the grand manner by the entire community of Hindu traders at their big caravanserai in the middle of the Old City, during the course of which a bowing young *bunnia* informed her that he knew the *Generail-Consul-Sahib* (i.e. me) quite well, as he had been a waiter at the United Services Club at Simla in 1920 when I had quarters there! Since then he had given up the job in order to join his brother who represented an Amritsar firm at Yarkand. Her visit to the Yamen to see the wife of the Amban was a somewhat difficult one. She found a child of eighteen, a forlorn, rather pathetic little figure dressed up like a doll, who almost died of nervousness and said through her Turki maid, "Please forgive me, I don't

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them a few years ago. It was a pity that bad visibility and shortage of time prevented plane-tabling in this region, so that I was unable to supplement Sir Aurel Stein's map by fitting into it a traverse of our route, which except for 14 miles in the Chighmen and Suget Jilghas was one which had not previously been followed by Sir Aurel or any other explorer.

Leaving Yarkand on 2nd April we spent the night at Qaraul Jash, 15 miles to the south-west of the city, as the guests of the British Aqsaqal, who had estates in that neighbourhood. Next day we plunged into the barren foothills of the Qizil Tagh. A long and hot march brought us to the only water in the region, brackish but just drinkable, a spring called Achiq Yusuf Qadir Khan. Here we camped thirstily, leaving at an early hour next morning in order to reach sweet water as soon as possible. It was not till three in the afternoon, however, that we crossed the last range of hills and found ourselves quite suddenly in the Chighmen Jilgha, a long valley which comes down from the inmost fastnesses of the Red Mountains and eventually debouches near Qizil Bazar on the Yarkand-Kashgar road. What a treat it was to come suddenly on a crystal, ice-cold stream and a little mill among willows just showing their spring green! It was too early to halt and we filed up the valley, passing croft after croft of the Kirghiz' rough stone-built huts with steeply-terraced cornfields now just beginning to be ploughed with the help of water carried along the hill-side in narrow channels. For these were "farmer Kirghiz" as we called them, not the pastoral, *aq-oi*-inhabiting Kirghiz of the higher mountains. Here are no great flocks and herds as on the high pastures of the Pamirs or the Tien Shan; only a few sheep and goats nibbling the scanty weeds along the rocky banks of the stream, guarded by tawny, thick-furred dogs. We stopped at a croft slightly larger than the rest to talk to the local Qazi, a typical thin-bearded, high-cheek-boned old Kirghiz, who earnestly begged us to pitch our tents on one or other of his pocket-handkerchief fields and be his guests. We spared the old man and pushed on another mile and a half, camping on a sheltered patch of grass in a bend of the stream-bed, 7,000 feet up.

Next day we contented ourselves with a half-march of nine miles only and camped at the tiny Kirghiz settlement of Suget Ayaghi, near the outlet of the Suget Valley, an upper branch of the Chighmen. The first inhabitants we saw in this valley were four tiny tots of children whom we surprised

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487 toddling down to the ice-covered stream with blackened copper water-jugs to fill, a pretty sight. Later, when our camp was pitched, came three cheerful vast-turbaned, apple-cheeked ladies, with their sewing and their babies, and made themselves comfortable on the grass in front of D.'s tent, chatting with us and among themselves until D. should be ready to receive them inside. Then they crowded into her tent and hung excitedly over her unpacking. Though accustomed to friendliness and naturalness on the part of the Kirghiz, D. was at first a little puzzled at the remarkable lack of shyness of these women, on our very first appearance among them; but the mystery was soon solved. As she was setting out her toilet-table one of them suddenly pounced on a box of *trèfle incarnat* with cries of "Ufpah! Ufpah!" which means "powder-puff." D. was astonished, until they explained. One of them, it appeared, was the daughter of old Ibrahim Beg of Yambulak, and had recently been on a visit to her parents, who had told her all about our stay in their valley last July on our way to Kashgar. Consequently, the Suget ladies knew all that D. had then said and done, how she had given those of Yambulak cold cream for their hands and had initiated them in the mysteries of powder and puff, how she had promised them gloves and had painted a picture of the Beg's pretty daughter-in-law, and many other items of breathless interest. So D. knew what was expected of her, and ere long the camp resounded with their delighted gigglings as they powdered their noses and preened themselves in front of D.'s camp mirror.

Soon after leaving Suget Ayaghi we passed through a remarkable cleft in the high rocky wall and found ourselves in a wide sunny valley with snow-clad peaks at its head. Here, at a height of about 9,000 feet, were the summer pastures of the Suget Kirghiz and two of their cottages. There were no trees, but high up on the flanks of the central peaks we could see patches of fir-forest. This, we were told, was the valley to which the missionaries from Yarkand had come more than once for their summer camp. Leaving the Suget Jilgha by a pass just over 10,000 feet high we descended into a pleasant little valley called the Tam Jilgha, so called from the number of stone houses (*tām*) it contained. Poplars grew in it, remarkable at a height of over 9,000 feet, and there was quite a respectable area of cultivation, chiefly barley. Here we saw three different kinds of animal being used in the plough

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within a few hundred yards; in one field a pair of horses and another of bullocks, on another plot a fine pair of yaks was harnessed to the plough. Crossing another quite easy pass we dropped down into the Sarai Jilgha, a much less fertile valley, with only two very poor families of Kirghiz in it. [231] 487.

On 8th April we crossed our third and highest pass in the Qizil Tagh, the Sarai Davan, 11,500 feet. It was steep and had a regular knife-edge top, but was not difficult and our carrier's ponies which were accustomed to the Karakoram road made light of it. Descending from the pass by a steep and narrow nullah we debouched on the Kinkol Valley at Kichik Qaraul, where we were on the Tashqurghan-Kashgar road up which we had come the previous July. We had thus left the "Red Mountains" behind us.

An attractive feature of the Qizil Tagh is the partridge shooting. We were there at the wrong time of year for it, but we shot a few birds for the pot now and then, and from the number of coveys we saw it was evident that in autumn a party of two or three guns would get a very good bag indeed in any one of the three valleys we visited. The only country in which I have seen as many red-legged partridge (*chikor*) as in the Qizil Tagh is the valleys of the Sulaiman Mountains in the north of British Baluchistan. The pursuit of the chikor or *keklik* (so called in Turki from the noise they make, kik-alik-alik-alik) is one of the most strenuous forms of sport I know. The birds are usually found near a steep, often precipitous, hillside; at the slightest alarm they run for it and climb, and you have to pound up after them as hard as you can. Without beaters, the difficulty usually is to put them up. Shooting for the pot, as I always did on these tours, I usually took a long shot at a runner, in which case the covey would often get up and in their agitation break back over my head, in which case I got a shot with my left barrel. This performance I could hardly describe as a "right and left," so I called it a "ground and air." [136]

Marching up the Kinkol valley we struck westwards up the Chumbuz Jilgha, a promising glen, of which I had made a note for future exploration the previous July. It led up into another small blank patch in Sir. A. Stein's map, and my object was to survey it roughly and cross by a pass called the Kizmak which I knew led over from its head into the upper Qaratash Valley. Lest the Kizmak should prove really bad—it had never been crossed by European—I decided to send most

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487 of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, combining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

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fire, a man was cooking an entire sheep; in another direction five men were saying their evening prayers; twelve young lambs were tied up in a row in another part of the *aq-oi* and all the rest of the room was taken up by the fat Beg who sat warming his feet at the fire and sipping a bowl of tea!"

The Kizmak Pass next day proved terribly steep and some 14,000 feet high, but the magnificent yaks provided by the Kirghiz carried our loads up it (though with many halts and tremendous puffings and gruntings). They then tobogganed neatly down the still steeper descent on the west side, which contained snow and showed signs of recent avalanches. The glorious view from the top, including the whole mountain-system of the upper and middle Qaratash, kept us there nearly two hours; though unfortunately it was too late in the day for either Qungur or Muz Tagh Ata to be free from clouds, and my telephotographs were not successful. A long day ended with a six-mile canter against a howling north wind down the broad flat bottom of the Qaratash Valley to Chat, where we were relieved to find our caravan waiting for us and our tents pitched. Six inches of snow fell that night, but next morning it cleared up and I decided to halt a day, which I spent in plane-tabling and telephotographing the magnificent snows of Qungur and the Shiwakte from the heights above Chat.

Next day (12th April) we started the march down the Qaratash Gorges, to which I had been looking forward with some apprehension. The worst part does not begin till below the junction of the Qaratash and Chimghan valleys, six miles below Chat, but even in this six miles the valley narrows considerably and the river has to be forded seven times. Four miles below Chat, at a place called Bek Targhak, we had the unexpected pleasure of assisting at a Kirghiz wedding feast. Forty or fifty Kirghiz, including several women, were gathered at a mud-walled enclosure in which four *aq-ois* were pitched; they invited us through the Beg to come in, and next moment we found ourselves sitting in a crowded *aq-oi* chewing portions of a sheep which was being stewed at the fire in the middle. Asking which were the happy pair, we were informed that neither of them was present, it being the custom throughout the *nikah* or wedding feast for the bride and bridegroom to stay in their respective tents in the background. D. was taken in to see the lady and reported afterwards that she was a woman

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585 [587] of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists rose we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to run the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the narrow Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

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animals, which scarcely allowed their loads to be so much as splashed.

It was half-past twelve when we crossed the last of the four channels of the Chimghan stream at its junction with the Qaratash and dived into the great gorges. The rest of that day's march was a strange experience. The mountain-sides towered up 10,000 feet on either side, with the snouts of occasional hanging glaciers visible far above us. The river dashed backwards and forwards between its rocky walls, high up the face of which we could here and there make out the track, a few inches wide and carried from ledge to ledge on the slender trunks of young fir trees, which in summer forms the only communication between the inhabitants of some of the glens and the outer world. The worst part was a horrible gorge called Arasunde, which we reached late in the afternoon. Here the torrent was quite unfordable, and it took our loads nearly two hours to cover one mile, so often did the ponies have to be unloaded and the packs man-handled between huge boulders or along dangerous sections of the track, which clung giddily to the cliff-face above the racing flood. After this I had to give up hope of reaching our camping-place of the previous October at Bash Kupruk below the mouth of the Kaying Jilgha; darkness overtook us more than a mile above that place, and we were obliged to halt for the night on a narrow strip of land boasting a few small trees and bushes for fire-wood but very little grazing for the animals. Though it was half-past seven before the loads were off and the temperature of the wind blowing up-river 42°, we were sitting down to a three-course dinner in D.'s tent at half-past eight, with beds made and everything ship-shape for the night, and all the men (except Ahmad Bakhsh and Murad who served us and supped later) laughing and talking over their evening meal round the camp fire.

After that day's march even the Tügene-tar gorge below Bash Kupruk was plain sailing, and we camped at Saman in comparative comfort next afternoon. Here we were met by a consignment of grain for the horses and food for the men, which I had arranged to have brought up from Yangi Hissar, also by D.'s camel Sulaiman, which had been sent there by the plains route from Yarkand. He was a useful addition to our caravan, as my horse and D.'s had exactly five shoes between them by the time they reached Saman. D. rode Sulaiman and our spare riding-pony alternately the last 57 miles between

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487 Saman and Kashgar, which we did between 9 a.m. on 14th April and 2.30 p.m. on the 15th. Not bad going considering that all but the last five of the 34 miles between Saman and Akhtur Bazar were over rough, stony tracks and included three more crossings of the Qaratash River.

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lasted till four. Meanwhile, lest worse should befall (for there was talk of another feast the same evening *chez* the Commandant of the Garrison) I had sent word to D. to push the caravan off and be ready to start as soon as I could escape from the Yamen. Within half an hour of the disappearance of the longed-for bowl of rice which terminates all Chinese feasts I had joined her on the road and we were riding westward on a golden evening. Our first march was necessarily a short one, and our destination appropriately Altunluk, the "Golden Village" at the mouth of the Qaratash Valley. As we mounted the long, gentle slope on which the village and its orchards stand, the sun set right over the south-western Tien Shan beyond which lies Ferghana; it was so clear that we could see the whole plain of Kashgar, sixty miles broad, and the green villages which stretched up to the foot-hills of the great ranges on three sides of it. But, alas, ominous banks of cloud enveloped the Alps of Qungur which had been so clear in the morning; once more, by a curious fatality, the mountains for which we were bound hid themselves from our sight as we approached. That night I held conclave with the greybeards of Altunluk and old Sabit Beg, who again came with us by order of the Amban, as to the route to be followed on the morrow. All were agreed that loaded ponies could not possibly reach Khan Terek owing to the volume of water in the river. I was prepared for this, and after long argument I elicited from them an admission that the river *could* be crossed not far above Altunluk, if you took it at the right time of day, and that for the rest the only really bad place was the "Narrows" below Saman, where it would not be possible to ford the Qaratash and we would have to hug the left bank, which is precipitous and difficult. This was better than toiling round by the almost waterless Nine Passes route and losing two precious days at Kaying, so I decided to try the direct route up the Qaratash.

Next day (22nd June) at noon, when the daily fall in the level of the water had taken place,[1] we forded the river success-

[1] It may be explained that among these mountains, as elsewhere in High Asia, the volume of water in the rivers increases and decreases daily at definite hours which depend at any particular point on the time taken by the water of the snows melted by the noonday sun to reach it. When arriving at a river, the first question the experienced traveller asks of the local people, if any, is "At what hour does the water reach this place?" or, if the daily flood is in progress, "When does it go down?" At Altunluk the Qaratash is at its highest between midnight and 10 a.m.

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fully four miles above Altunluk, where its stone-grey waters raced over a pebbly bed several hundred yards wide in seven channels. Three of these were so swift and deep that it was only with the help of ten sturdy lads of the village, who kept their feet in the flood with a skill born of long practice, that our animals managed to flounder across without mishap. One of the ponies, indeed, was carried some way down-stream with his load, but a party of villagers joined hands and succeeded in pulling him into shallower water. Besides Tutankhamen, we had seven donkeys laden with forage, and these had practically to be carried across bodily, loads and all, by two villagers apiece.

For the next three hours we made good progress and fondly imagined we would make Saman easily by nightfall. When, however, at three o'clock in the afternoon we reached the lower end of the Narrows, we met a funny, wizened little old Kirghiz who told us that the path had been carried away by the recent heavy rains and that it was not possible to get through even on foot, much less with loaded ponies. He was on his way home, he told us, from Yangi Hissar to the grazing-grounds of the upper Yapchan Jilgha, and had been held up by the wash-out in the Narrows. Fortunate it was for us that we happened upon the old Kirghiz at this juncture, for he knew of a pass away up among the barren ridges to the west, by which the Narrows could be circumvented, and offered to guide us over it. We afterwards came to know and like old Samsaq Bai, for that was his name, very well; but at first we suspected him of being slightly mad, for not only was his Turki almost unintelligible to us but he punctuated his remarks with strange bursts of elfin laughter. I thought it best, therefore, not to commit the caravan to his care at once, but to camp where we were on the banks of the Qaratash and spend the rest of the afternoon reconnoitring. The alternative, a depressing one, was to return to Altunluk and go round by the "Nine Passes."

Accordingly while D. and Sangi Khan went off on foot to reconnoitre the path through the Narrows on their own account, I mounted Samsaq Bai on one of our ponies and off we went up into the forbidding-looking jumble of hills to the west. For six weary miles we toiled up waterless and absolutely barren defiles. Then, turning a corner, my companion pointed up to a sharp backbone of rock on the sky-line, cleft at one point only by a narrow and forbidding couloir which led up to a

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487 small gap in the ridge. This "pass," which he called the Aqsai Davan, looked impossible at first, but when I climbed up to the foot of the couloir I found that there was a well-marked track straight up it between perpendicular walls with a gradient of about one in two. I came to the conclusion that by unloading the animals and man-handling them and the loads up to the top we could get the caravan over, while as for the descent on the other side, Samsaq assured me that it was not nearly so steep.

D. reported that night that the track up to the Narrows was good for a couple of miles, but then dwindled away until it became a red-clay slide going straight down to the river a hundred feet below. Apparently the recent heavy rains had washed away what track there had been. We made an early start next morning and reached the foot of the final *col* at half-past ten. The first animal to achieve the ascent was D.'s horse, which scrambled up with Sangi Khan at his head and D. hanging on to his tail. Next came the camel, Sulaiman, hauled in front by Yakub and propelled behind by Samsaq and an Altunluk man, one of the funniest sights I have ever seen. Though we expected every moment that his lanky, loose-jointed legs would collapse, he behaved admirably and reached the top intact. The riding-horses, donkeys and baggage-ponies followed one by one, mostly without their loads. Unlike donkeys and camels, horses can never quite be relied upon on such occasions, and two of the baggage ponies at different points in the ascent suddenly lost heart and backed down the hill, in spite of all that four men reinforced by myself could do to stop them. In each case the animal quickly lost its footing, became wildly excited and rolled itself and the men off the path into the bottom of the couloir, fortunately only a few feet below the track. There, boulders prevented the struggling mass of pony and men from sliding further down the hill. Neither of the ponies received more than a few bruises and scratches, and they eventually reached the top safely. The descent proved, as Samsaq had said, less breakneck than the ascent, but it was steep enough, and we were all immensely relieved when the loads and animals were safely over the pass and filing down long winding gorges which led back to the main valley above the Narrows. The whole détour occupied seven hours, including more than two hours spent in getting over the *col* itself, i.e. five hours longer than it would have taken us to go by the direct route had the track been practicable.

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487 We did not halt at Saman, as there was one obstacle still to be negotiated before our entrance to the Promised Land was assured. This was a corner of rock which juts out into the stream at the rapids below Khan Terek. At this point the track passes round the rock and is under water even in winter, and I knew that the only chance of getting round it at this season would be at low water in the evening. We came to the place at half-past four, when I found to my relief that there were only about three feet of water off the end of the rock and that the current was not strong, though few feet farther out the cataract roared past like a gigantic mill-race. The loads splashed through without mishap, and half an hour later in the little orchard of Qurghan we were being warmly welcomed by a dozen beaming Kirghiz men and girls.

574 The only permanent inhabitant of Khan Terek was a little old woman who lived alone in a tiny shanty. Each of the previous occasions on which we had passed her hut she had bustled out with a large copper jug and a wooden bowl to give us tea. She saw us coming this time and hobbled over to our camp where, for once, she had tea with us. Afterwards D. returned her call; she found the old lady living in a room about five feet square off a yard about twice that area, in which she kept one aged cock. Her husband had long been dead, she told D., and her children scattered, but one son occasionally came and cultivated a couple of fields near by, while she stayed in the hut all the year round and made tea for passing Kirghiz.

The humble hospitality of even the poorest of the Kirghiz in these parts warmed our hearts to them. Next day three miles up the Chopkana valley we were overtaken by heavy rain and took refuge in an *aq-oi*. A pretty girl and her one-eyed old father insisted on making up a blazing fire for us and a bowl of tea, chatting politely to us the while. On an exposed meadow at the very top of the pass, 11,500 feet above the sea, we found a solitary *aq-oi* with a girl in it whose husband was away on the hill-side tending the flocks. She had weather-beaten red cheeks and a flat nose, but she was charming and joined us in the tea-basket tea with which we warmed ourselves while waiting for the caravan to struggle up the last 262 steep ascent. Meanwhile, in a large pot on the central fire of fir-logs, she brewed *mach*, a kind of soup of milk, barley-meal and water with a little meat in it, and when our men arrived at the top she ran out and administered it to them IN WOODEN BOWLS.

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CHAPTER XIV

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS OF HEAVEN

487 IN the autumn of 1923 we carried out a tour to which we had long looked forward, north-eastward along the southern slopes of the Tien Shan to Uch Turfan, Aqsu and beyond, returning by the ordinary plains route *viâ* the Tarim River valley and the Maralbashi jungles.

Our way at first led for 220 miles through the outer ranges of the Tien Shan to the frontier town of Uch Turfan. We were not so fortunate as usual in our transport, for all that the Aqsaqal of Kashgar could raise for us was a mixed lot of inferior ponies and donkeys in charge of a lazy and inefficient boy of fourteen, the son of the real carrier who ought to have come with us. Leaving Kashgar on September 2, D. and I accompanied by Murad Qari rode 54 miles across the rich lands of Besh Karim and a strip of desert to the Kalta Yailaq oasis, near the north edge of which we found our tents pitched. It was a hot day, and the march was the longest we ever did. According to our usual time-saving custom we had sent the caravan ahead the day before; the orderly in charge had gone seven miles beyond the appointed camping-place, so that it was nearly eleven o'clock at night before we got in.

Two days later we crossed a low pass among the barren foot-hills north of Sughun Qaraul; the summit is marked by a grim shrine called Allahyar Beg, consisting of little but a post decorated with the skull and backbone of a donkey and the cap of a man who had once died there. We saw few travellers on the road, and those mostly traders in grain and local cotton cloth between Uch Turfan and Kashgar. One evening I talked with a young man of Artush whom we overtook. He had four donkeys with him, on which he told me he was taking flour up into the mountains to trade with the Kirghiz for sheep. He did this two or three times in the year, he said,

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487 and went all over the mountains. He seemed a good type of youth, sturdy, cheerful and independent.

133 The Yai Dōbe plain, on which we now debouched, is a small but perfect example of the inland drainage basins characteristic of Central Asia. Situated at an average elevation of 5,000 feet, it is some 60 miles long by 15-20 broad and is enclosed on the north by one of the parallel ranges of the Tien Shan with peaks up to 13,000 feet, on the south and east by foothills rising to 8,000 feet. It has no outlet, but boasts its own miniature Lop Nor in the shape of a salt lake near its south-eastern corner. Like the *hāmūns* of Persian Baluchistan and Sistan, this lake varies in size according to the rainfall in the mountains, from practically nothing to a sheet of water 40 or 50 square miles in area. The rest of the Yai Dōbe plian is partly barren, partly covered with tamarisks and a sparse forest of desert poplar. Some of these trees attain a great age and size; they are not in the least like poplars, resembling rather the British oak. Here and there in the forest are springs of fresh or slightly brackish water, each with farmsteads or Kirghiz tents in the vicinity. In the spring and autumn the woodland is delightful, but in summer the mosquitos and gadflies for which both it and the Maralbashi jungles to the south are notorious make it uninhabitable by man or beast.

487 For fifty miles we marched across this curious plain. On September 5 we passed out of the desert-poplar forest and camped the same evening at the springs of Yairam Bulak. Here two families of Kirghiz had pitched their *aq-ois* near a couple of tiny crofts shaded by willows, landmarks for miles in the great sweep of bare plain. We liked the Kirghiz of these hills and got on well with them, but we could not help noticing that they were less hospitable than their cousins of our beloved "Alps of Qungur." They never asked us into their *aq-ois*, nor did they seem to regard us guests as the others (often quite embarassingly) did. It struck me that there might be two reasons for this. In the first place, living on the Russian border, they are at once less secure and more sophisticated. In the second, a trade route much used by Turki merchants passes through their territory; these men, I was told, were in the habit of taking supplies whenever they could and not paying for them. But the Tien Shan Kirghiz could be friendly enough when once their confidence had been gained. The ladies of Yairam Bulak crowded round D., whose

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487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly
609 impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus
[651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1½*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

[312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next
487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

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sent up it to look for water came back saying that there was none for "two potais" (5 miles), only a spring high up among the mountains which they could not reach. I was not inclined to reload and toil many miles farther up the valley to the next halting-place, so I thought I would have a look myself. Half a mile up the side-glen the soil was damp, and a little farther I came upon a string of tiny pools. The flow was almost imperceptible, and a few yards further on the soil was again dry. But it was enough; we filled our buckets with sweet water, at the rate of about one per hour, and the animals were all watered by midnight. Evidently the Kirghiz (who were particularly shy at this place) had misled our servants and concealed the existence of the spring for fear lest we should drink up all the water and perhaps foul the supply.

Our next camp was a pleasant one, at Qaragor Kul ten thousand feet up among the very tops of the gently-rounded grey-green hills. Here there are no springs at all; a certain amount of rain falls, judging by the grass which covers the land, but there must be something in the geological structure which prevents the formation of springs. On the other hand there are several shallow basins in which the rain-water collects; the Kirghiz camp with their herds of ponies and flocks of sheep and goats beside one of these rain-ponds until they have drunk it dry, when they pass on to another. Qaragor and its neighbourhood lie within the jurisdiction of the Amban of Kelpin two marches to the south, an interesting place well off the beaten track which I would have liked to visit had there been time.

Next day we crossed two passes and descended a long glen, past patches of our first Tien Shan firs, to the wide valley of the Taushkan ("Hare") River. This stream, the main confluent of the Qum Ariq, which it joins close to Aqsu, breaks through from Semirechian territory, where it is known as the Kokshal. Its broad reaches and the snow-clad Tien Shan on its northern bank made a series of fine vistas for our delectation on the two marches to Uch Turfan. The soil of the valley is rich, and we passed through a series of picturesque villages, Somtash and Safarbai, Kok Oinak and Tusma, growing several kinds of root-crops, grain and lucerne, in the intervals between rocky ridges across which our undersized pack animals scrambled wearily.

Uch Turfan which we reached on 11th September is a small town charmingly situated among groves of planes and tall

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487 cypress-like poplars. A chain of curiously abrupt, craggy hills juts out from the black fantastically-fretted mountains of the Kelpin district, half-way across the broad valley. On an isolated spur of these, close to the town, is an old Chinese castle, still kept up and occupied by a small garrison; for Uch Turfan is a frontier post of some strategic importance, commanding the high and difficult but much-used Bedal Pass leading across the Tien Shan from Semirechia. The country round Uch Turfan is closely cultivated, the soil being, if possible, even more fertile than that of the great oases of the south. Here there are no villages, nothing but countless farms standing on their own "small holdings," with fields well laid out between rows of tall poplars and many timber-trees shading the farms. From the summit of one of the abrupt hills mentioned above the view on a clear autumn day is superb. At one's feet, gardens and vineyards, melon-fields and tobacco-plantations; in the middle distance, the town with its massive walls embowered in greenery, watched over by the old castle on its crag; all around, miles and miles of fields and trees and farmsteads in rich mosaic, almost perfectly flat, with rocky hills like islands rising out of the sea of green and autumn gold; in the background, from west right round to north-east, the Mountains of Heaven in full array, furrowed deep with glens and rising in the north to Pelion piled on Ossa of eternal snow; to the south and south-west, the fantastic dark-brown and black peaks and crags of the Kelpin mountains, tier beyond tier, each a little hazier and more mysterious than the last.

I dined one day with the Amban and other officials in the gardens of Toqquz Bulak ("Nine Springs"), a Chinese pleasaunce famous throughout Sinkiang. The springs from which the place takes its name gush from the foot of one of the rocky hills near the town; there are well-tended gardens round them and a square pond lined with willows, into the midst of which juts a wooden pier. Anchored at the end of the pier, surprisingly, is a houseboat of the regular Thames or Kashmir type, containing a room fitted up as a dining-room with a kitchen and pantry off it; above, to complete the illusion, awnings and chairs and flowers in pots. One dines either in the houseboat or, if it is warm, in a summer-house on a ledge of the cliff above the pond. The Magistrate who entertained me, a Chinese Mussulman whom we were to meet again at a dramatic moment before we left Kashgar,[1] was a great horti-

[1] See pp. 264–5.

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the like, their astonishment and gratitude were pathetic. As one of them exclaimed to D. on receipt of some buttons worth about an eighth of a penny "There's never been anyone like you this way before!"

On 28th September we struck camp once more and marched 35 miles over alternate oasis and desert to the right bank of the Qum Ariq River. Here we found ourselves in some of the most fertile country I have ever seen; it was the Beg of Taghak near by who, when I asked him whether I could get any maize, replied—"In this country, Sahib, you can get any thing you like except chicken's milk." Meanwhile the hateful dust-haze of the Tarim Basin had closed down once more and swallowed everything up. Though we crossed the Qum Ariq River close to the mouth of the tremendous unexplored gorge by which it cuts its way through the Central Tien Shan, we could not see it nor the Savaktai and other magnificent peaks to the north. Knowing however, that in October the haze would not last long, we possessed our souls in patience. Following a route roughly parallel to that taken by Stein in 1908 we pitched our tents at a wild spot called Ileklik on the Pakalik stream, about 25 miles north of Aqsu. Here and at Chigan Kotan, 5 miles to the north-east, I spent three or four days trying without success to get a shot at one of the wild sheep, smaller than *Ovis karelini* and apparently a separate variety, which inhabit the barren plateaux north of Aqsu. All this time the haze persisted. Then, on the very day we started on the last four marches to Bai, it cleared up and the magnificent snows of the Central Tien Shan revealed themselves in all their glory.

What interested me most, apart from immense unmapped peaks and the vision of at least one glacier comparable in size with those of the Karakoram, was the belt of fir-forest which stretched along the whole length of the range at a height of about 8,000 feet. I could see that there was a zone of Alpine country several miles deep between the arid foothills and grassy uplands we were traversing and the snow-line of the main range. I noticed that the fir-forest never grew on the south side of the ridges, each of which showed merely a line of trees along its crest where the forest clothing its north slope ended abruptly.

It was tantalizing to see this wonderful country and not be able to explore it. If we had known sooner what it was like, it might have been possible to do something. But it was

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late in the season and snow lay over all the alpine zone; moreover, the Begs of Pakalik and Tarlak, mountain villages to the north of us inhabited not by Kirghiz but by "Sarts," were not helpful. They evidently did not want us in their country and took as little trouble on our behalf as they could. I find a bitter entry in my diary on the subject, which I quote for the benefit of future travellers in this region.

"Here, the one object of the Begs is to save themselves the trouble of finding you supplies and guides, even though you pay liberally for everything. They will tell you any lie and subject you to any inconvenience or disappointment to save themselves a little trouble. In this country, never listen to what the Beg says about the best place to camp at—always choose your own place, and camp where convenient to *you*. If they want you to go on "just another potai," beyond a pleasant camping-ground, late in the evening, *don't*. If you are shooting and have found game, and they want you to move somewhere else where there is more game, *don't*. The only people you can at all rely on in this country are the Kirghiz, and even they are not as trustworthy as those of the Qaratash Valley."

The Beg of Pakalik finally distinguished himself by not only failing to find us a guide but himself deserting us some miles east of Chigan Kotan. There was not a sign of human life as far as the eye could reach in any direction, and we had to steer by the sun and such landmarks as I could identify in Stein's map. In the afternoon we struck the Terang stream for which I had been making, but there was not a habitation to be seen, nor any grass. We were just making up our minds to a desert camp without food for man or beast, when some one caught sight of a solitary man on a camel in the far distance, riding southwards. By great good luck he turned out to be a camel-herd in the employ of an old Andijani merchant of Aqsu called Abdus Sattar Haji, of whom I had heard as a well-wisher of the Consulate. The boy said that the nearest habitation was his master's place at Yetim Dōbe up among the mountains to the north, and there he brought us safely after another seven hours' steady marching. We should certainly never have found the way without a guide; for about five miles the path wound and twisted in a labyrinth of steep-sided red clay hills and then crossed a stiff little pass called the Jigda Bulak Dawan. I had a careful watch kept on the lad the whole way, for he was as lazy as every one else in that country and did not

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487 want to guide us, though I gave him money and promised him more. Once I thought he had given us the slip among the gorges of the red hills, but we found him again. It was half past eight and pitch dark before our ears were at last greeted by the welcome sound of dogs barking, and a few minutes later we were warming ourselves at a roaring coal fire in a cosy room at the Haji's farm. The old man himself was not there, but his sons welcomed us most kindly and feasted our men royally on mutton and maize bread.

Next morning the air was clearer than ever, and we realized how attractive was the country into which we had stumbled blindly, as it were, the night before. The ranch—for the place corresponded somewhat to my idea of a South American *estancia*—lay in the midst of an immense sweep of grassy upland, above which to the north rose snow-clad ridges fringed with firs. That day's march, from Yetim Dōbe to Qizil Bulak near the foot of the Muzart Pass, was one of the most enjoyable I have ever performed. Our guide, one of the 137 Haji's sons, led us over one little pass after another, in and out of charming green valleys, some inhabited, others not, some clothed only with wild rose and barberry, others dotted with clumps of trees resplendent in gorgeous autumn tints, orange, russet, gold and scarlet. We lunched contentedly off cold partridge sandwiches and cake under a clump of desert poplars in the middle of a hay-field perched up on a hill-side opposite the snows; a picturesque Sart woman gathered wisps of mown hay near by and loaded them on a quaint wheel-less bullock-cart. She was not in the least shy, and exchanged 136 remarks with us the while. On this and the following day we enjoyed such sport after small game as I had never known before. I was accustomed in the mountains to the south of Kashgar to getting as many red-legged partridge on the march as I liked, with a few sand-grouse, pigeons and perhaps a duck or two thrown in; but never had I found myself in such a small-game shooter's paradise as the southern valleys of the Central Tien Shan. Without straying a hundred yards from the road I shot (1) red-legged partridge, (2) *sisi*, a kind of very small and succulent partridge common in Baluchistan and Persia, but not seen by us elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, (3) sand-grouse, (4) teal, (5) hares, (6) blue pigeons, besides which I missed an easy chance at a pair of those fine birds (7) imperial sandgrouse. I may mention here that on this tour altogether we came across no less than fourteen different

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kinds of small game, and that without going off the road. 136
Besides the seven enumerated above, we saw, either in the mountains or in the jungles of the Tarim River valley, the following: (8) Shaw's pheasant, (9) duck, including mallard pintail, gadwall, golden-eye, and red-crested pochard, (10) snipe, (11) woodcock, (12) geese, (13) plover, (14) Tibetan snow-cock. Of these I shot specimens of all except woodcock and Tibetan snow-cock. The former we saw at Maralbashi flying through a garden; the latter I came across in large numbers at 11,000–12,000 feet while stalking ibex up the Yangi Art Jilgha.

Of many pictures that live in our memory of that delightful 487
march, perhaps the most vivid is of the shrine of Qara-sakal Atam, "My Father Blackbeard." It is situated in the loveliest little glen imaginable. A limpid stream plashes down through open meadows from the fir-clad ridges of the Central Tien Shan, until it joins the main valley through a narrow neck between two backbones of reddish rock. Just above this neck is a coppice of fine old mountain ashes and desert poplars enclosing a glade of smooth turf and a bubbling spring. Barberry bushes, now a mass of carmine berries, and the brilliant orange-yellow of the trees in their autumn finery blend perfectly with the rich russets and ochres of the surrounding rocks; looking northwards, the grassy steppe sweeps right up to the distant forest above which again tower the snow- [778]
clad Mountains of Heaven. Father Blackbeard's shrine is only a bunch of sticks, festooned with votive rags and embellished with the horns of wild sheep; but whoever he was and whenever he lived, he is marked as having been a saint of taste—for did he not choose the most beautiful spot in all the Tien Shan to be his hermitage?

Two long but easy marches down the open and partially-cultivated valley of the Muzart River brought us to the small town of Bai on the Aqsu-Kucha road. Here we found the Mir Munshi awaiting us; he had come out from Kashgar to help me with my work at Bai and Aqsu. We stayed four days at the roomy Chinese rest-house at Bai, most of which I spent interviewing various British subjects from Kucha, three 162
marches further on. The town, which is the headquarters of a third-class Magistrate, is an undistinguished Sleepy Hollow of a place, populated by Turkis and Chinese Muhammadan Tungans in the proportion of about three to one. It was
our first experience of the latter race *en masse*, and we were

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000 not favourably impressed. For Asiatics—I do not judge them by our lower Western standards—most of the Tungans we saw were remarkably bad-mannered. Whenever either of us tried to buy anything in the bazaars, either at Bai or at the New City of Aqsu, great louts of Tungans would stand round and exchange what were obviously comments on our appearance and behaviour, bursting every now and again into loud guffaws. We were not very sorry to leave Bai, though we greatly regretted that time did not permit of a visit to the far more interesting and important town of Kucha.

• 487 The 107 miles *viâ* Abad to Aqsu Old City occupied five days. Our first halt was at the flourishing village of Yaka Ariq on the right bank of the Muzart River. The main road for the next 50 miles lies almost entirely over barren and uninteresting country, so we left it and made due westwards for the curious red hills of Abad, among which I had hopes of another chance at the wild sheep. Camping for the night at Ilkache, the last oasis of the Muzart Valley cultivation, I rose before dawn and spent a long morning scouring the hills, but saw only several herds of antelope. Meanwhile D. and the caravan struck camp at a more reasonable hour and marched to a low pass among the hills appropriately named the Topa Dawan or 622 "Dusty Pass," where I met them at midday. It was here 224 that we made a new and most picturesque acquaintance, the Kirghiz headman of Qara Bulaq, Hushur Beg. As I approached the "Dusty Pass" I saw the solitary figure of a man on a horse standing on the crest of a ridge. This proved on closer inspection to be a youngish Kirghiz with a high-cheek-boned, weather-beaten face, mounted on a shaggy little Kalmuck pony. On his right wrist, which was protected by a large white fleece gauntlet and supported on the saddle by a wooden prop, he carried a magnificent hooded *qara qush* or black hunting-eagle. This bird, I afterwards found, measured three feet from beak to tail and over seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip; it was a dull black in colour, with a ruff of rust-coloured feathers, yellow claws, black beak with yellow base and fine red-brown eyes. From the near side of Hushur Beg's saddle dangled an object which puzzled me at first; it proved to be the lure with which he attracted the bird back from wandering, and consisted of a large ball made of skin from the heads of antelopes. The Beg turned out to be a thoroughly good type of man and a real sportsman, very different from the lazy and untrustworthy "Taghliks" of Pakalik and Tarlak.

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492 484 and they expected to reach Kashgar within a month from Aqsu.

For 112 miles after leaving Aqsu we traversed the perfectly flat plain to the north of the Tarim River jungles, within sight of, though not actually along, the famous "Silk Road" first organized by the Han Emperor Wu-ti in the second century B.C., for the transport of Chinese fabrics to the Far West.[1] At an average interval of 15 miles there are halting places with poky little native serais and sometimes a slightly better Chinese rest-house. Each place has a small bazaar of shanties and stalls in which the people of the settlement, or of the nearest oasis, sell food for man and beast. At Chilan, 57 miles from Aqsu, we found ourselves in Kelpin district again; we noticed here a remarkable improvement in the facial type of the people, the women being remarkably handsome with regular, almost Greek, features.

The two Chinese troopers deputed by the O.C. Aqsu to escort our caravan as far as Maralbashi caused us much innocent amusement. One of them was comparatively bright and helpful; indeed, except for the fact that he could not fire his carbine, the bolt of which was tied on with a red handkerchief, and that he never mounted his horse without the assistance of a wall at least three feet high, he was quite a useful cavalryman. He had obviously never heard a shot fired in anger; whenever I shot a bird in his presence, or even fired my gun, he became wildly excited, laughing and clapping his hands like a child. But he was at any rate alive; his brother in arms, on the other hand, was the most miserable, opium-sodden wretch I ever saw, even in the Titai's army. We stood him as long as we could, for the sake of the O.C. Aqsu's "face," but the limit was reached the night we came to Yaka Kuduk. The march from Chilan was a moderately long one, and D. and I cantered ahead in the afternoon so as to arrive before dark, expecting the caravan to come in about seven o'clock. To our discomfort, it did not arrive till half-past eight. We questioned Hafiz. "Sahib," he replied, with an apologetic grin, "it was the opium-smoking *chirik*. Last night he finished all the opium he brought with him, and this afternoon he asked us for some. We had none, and he became very angry. Just after sunset he fell off his horse, and we

[1] The Chinese military road ran along the foot of the Kelpin Tagh a few miles to the north-west of the present route (Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 427).

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had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

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and all but one of his men from thirst, and was with within an ace of perishing himself.

I was interested in the shepherds who lived at the cottage. There were three brothers with their families, the men being in the employ of one of the Maralbashi Begs, Abid Beg. For herding and shearing their master's sheep they received one fleece in ten; out of this wool they made ropes and sacking which they bartered at Maralbashi for flour and cloth. They also trapped foxes and netted fish, which in this river are large and quite good eating. Finally, they grew melons, of which they sold more than they ate. The soil, being salt, was good for melons but for no other crop. The three brothers had at first formed a joint family, but had afterwards ceased to do so owing to quarrels. They continued to live together at the farm, but whereas formerly they had owned three cocks in common, now each family owned one cock, and so on.

Recrossing the Tarim on 7th November we marched to Maralbashi, camping on the way at the foot of the highest and boldest of the miniature mountain-ranges of the district, the Mazar Tagh. Outside the town we were received most kindly by our friend the Russian-speaking Amban whom we had met at Merket, Chiu Da-heng. We stayed in the garden of the British Aqsaqal, a venerable Chitrali merchant; here pheasants came to feed every morning and woodcock flitted among the trees, for the charm of Maralbashi is in the proximity of the Tarim jungle, the wild life of which hems it in on all sides. Near by the dying Kashgar River flowed sluggishly, its waters destined to be spent in cultivation ere ever they could join the Tarim. On its bank stood a charming little tiled and whitewashed mausoleum built by our host in memory of his father.

We were guests at the Yamen more than once, and there had an opportunity of studying at close quarters some fine specimens Mr. Chiu kept of the peculiar swamp deer of the country. The stag we saw was distinctly larger than the average Scottish red deer and its horns were longer, smoother and more slender; its snout was long with a narrow, thin muzzle. In colour it resembled the red deer, except that its tail was light brown instead of dark. The hind was also bigger than her Scottish counterpart. There was also a fawn, a delightful, little animal with a thick, dark brown coat.

For the five marches between Maralbashi and Kashgar (145 miles) we were lucky in having perfect weather. The

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177 boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch
647 Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

Zawa, 1st April.

487 We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burān*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

Khotan, 7th April.

796 The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

Lop, 8th April.

000 W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

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was found to be too big to go under the hood of the cart. Tableau! There was nothing for it but to leave the cage behind and put the pelican into the cart by itself. This was done under D.'s supervision (I was busy with case-work and farewell interviews in the house) to the delight of the crowd. Our hopes that the pelican would be able to leave Keriya *incognito* were thus frustrated. Off went the caravan along the Polu road, D., pelican and all. Half an hour later, having ascertained that the coast was clear, I slipped out with Hafiz and galloped by a roundabout route to the ford across the Keriya River on the Cherchen road; here I overtook D. and the cart, which was jogging along with Niaz on guard in front and the curtain carefully drawn behind him as if it concealed my harem. We passed many country-people, families coming in to Keriya market from Oi Toghraq or Niya, wood-sellers driving donkeys loaded with faggots and so on; I wondered what they would think if they knew what was in the cart. Beyond the last fields of the oasis a shallow valley among grassy dunes led to the main river-bed half a mile to the north. For once we blessed the dust-haze of the Takla Makan which veiled our movements from afar. Loitering until a favourable moment when no passers-by were in sight, we dived off the road down the little valley, the lumbering vehicle pitching and swaying like a ship in a storm. Turning a corner we appeared to be absolutely in the wilds and were just congratulating ourselves on having shaken off all possible witnesses, when there on the top of a hillock were two boys watching us. Strong measures were necessary. I knew only too well that if even the smallest child saw us depositing the pelican in the wilderness, the bird's fate would be sealed; it would be recaptured and either done to death or taken back to the Yamen, whence the Amban would undoubtedly send it after us as lost property. . . . I decided to give the boys the fright of their lives, so I galloped straight at them; they ran like hares, I pursuing, until we arrived together at the small farm where they lived. Here I informed an agitated mamma that if she valued the children's lives she would send them to bed and keep them there.

Fate now smiled on us and we found that we could take the cart right down to the edge of the marshes. Here we took the long-suffering pelican out of "purdah." It was worth all our toil and anxiety, and more, to see the beatific expression on his face when he found himself once more on his native heath. On the grassy edge of a clear pool he stood proudly with his poor clipped wings outspread, as if offering thanks to the pale sun for his new-found liberty. But we could not leave him in too open a place, and so Niaz and I carried him down a secluded channel among the marshes and deposited him where no enemy would find him, safe from the Yamen and its forcible feeding, safe from the spying urchins of Keriya. . . . And there we hope he will find a living among the frogs and minnows until kindly Nature has lengthened his clipped feathers (already half grown), so that he may spread his wings and fly away northwards, far over the Takla Makan to the untrodden solitudes whence he came.

Before returning to Khotan we treated ourselves to a long-anticipated holiday trip among the Altun Tagh or "Mountains

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of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487 ●
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited 778
the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312]
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

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487 knew so well, four hundred miles to the north-west. At mid-day we were met by the friendly people of Polu who had pitched for us a tiny tent made of sacks on a cliff-top 800 feet above the river-bed. With the indefatigable hospitality of remoter Asia, they had brought all the way from Polu, several miles further up among the mountains, an enormous meal of boiled sheep, bread, tea and hard-boiled eggs dyed bright blue, the favourite colour of Khotan.[1]

361 Polu is the largest of the hill-villages at the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a branch of the Kunlun stretching for a thousand miles to the E.N.E. until it merges 487 with the Nan Shan. The relative importance of Polu is due to the fact that it commands the only possible track leading up over the Kunlun to the northern plateau of Tibet and so to Ladakh and India. The defiles on the north side of the pass are exceedingly narrow and almost, if not quite, impossible for pack transport of any kind; but for a distance of 530 miles, from the Hindu Tash Pass (17,750 ft.) over the Sanju range in the west to the Qarasai gap above Cherchen in the east, there is no other path at all by which men can cross the tremendous barrier of the Kunlun. Polu is picturesquely 361 situated at a height of 8,500 feet on a ridge between two branches of the Keriya River's chief tributary. Its fields are lined with tall poplars and dotted with clumps of fine planes and walnuts. The village consists of closely-packed, flat-topped houses of wood and stone with curious raised skylights in the middle of the roof, and has a look of Baltistan or Tibet which differentiates it at once from the settlements of the hill "Sarts" and Kirghiz of the Kashgar Range and the Tien Shan. [563] Stein thinks that there may be Tibetan blood in the people, and certainly they do not regard themselves as belonging to the same race as the people of Khotan and Keriya. Polu and neighbouring villages do not belong to Keriya district, as one would have expected; they are grouped with Imamlär, Chakar, Hasha, Nura and other oases of the great "bay"

[1] The word *kōk* (blue) is often used in Khotan as a synonym for "beautiful," without conveying any particular colour. I heard a minstrel sing:

Sai buida tört tufak
Törtilärsi kōk tufak.
Four heifers on the desert's edge
And all four of them blue (i.e. lovely) heifers.

The reason why the shells of presentation eggs are always coloured is because white is unlucky, being the colour of death and mourning.

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Titai was reported to be arming. Could it be that the civil war which had been so long endemic in the inner provinces of China was now to spread to the Far West? Reluctantly I decided to curtail my homeward tour-programme and abandon a plan which I had long been nursing; this was to climb one or more of the easternmost summits of the Sanju Range and reconnoitre from the north the untrodden gorges of the Qara-qash[1] River, 60 miles long, which had baffled even Stein. But the prospect of a fourth journey along the well-beaten Pialma-Moji-Goma track did not appeal to us, least of all under what we fondly expected would be the grilling sun of May. We therefore decided to take the comparatively little-used upper road to Karghalik viâ Duwa, Sanju and Kosh Tagh and thus break ground that was new to us.

487 On 3rd May at Zawa we bade farewell to the Kingdom of Jade and crossed the sand-hills of the Pigeon Shrine to lonely Takhtuban Langar, where the water is drawn from a well 200 feet deep. Thence leaving the main road we struck south-west, reaching Lāmūs in the Duwa valley late in the evening after a gruelling march of 36 miles. It was here that I visited the charming old Haji who narrated to me the local legend explaining the name of Lamus, recorded by me in another chapter.[2] I shall never forget the scene in the central room of the Haji's farm where Murad Qari and I sat sipping tea and talking to the old man and his well-mannered sons. The family were evidently animal-lovers. A very fat white pigeon sat on the back of a Qur'an-stand and joined in the conversation with such loud cooings that we had to raise our voices to make ourselves heard. An immense tortoiseshell cat purred furiously if anyone even looked as if he intended to stroke it. Best of all, a plump white lamb walked unconcernedly about the room throughout the proceedings, finally jumping up on the daïs beside me and helping itself from a plate of raisins on the low Chinese table by my side. When lifted down it repeated the performance, the Haji remarking delightfully that the lamb had become his *mihman* (guest) as well as I!

Resting a day at Lamus we performed another long march across the *sai* by Poski Langar to Chaskam in the beautiful Sanju Valley, where we halted another day for sightseeing. Then the weather changed and we had a most unpleasant march through Sanju Bazaar and along the main Leh-Yarkand

[1] Not to be confused with the Qaratash River in the Qungur region.
[2] See p. 181.

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●487 caravan-route to Sulaghiz Langar. Icy wind and torrential rain caught us unprepared on the top of a pass, and we had to gallop for it 11 miles, only to find scarcely even the humblest accommodation available at the tiny settlement of Sulaghiz. Next day it was still cold and cloudy, but on 9th May when we marched to Oi Toghraq we were rewarded with the longest panorama of snows we ever saw, even in Chinese Turkistan. From the eastern end of the Sanju range they stretched in an immense arc to the northernmost peaks of the Takhta Kuram west of Karghalik, a glittering panoply of ice 180 miles long.

The rest of our return journey must be passed over quickly. Yarkand was reached on 14th May, and eight days later we were back at Kashgar, having covered a total distance of 936 miles on the last and by no means the least enjoyable of our longer tours in Southern Sinkiang.

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008 home leave, and the opportunity of a long spell was not to be missed. My successor, Lieut.-Col. R. Lyall, I.A., was already on his way from England and was expected to arrive towards the end of August. There was just time to treat ourselves to a farewell visit to the Alps of Qungur, where much mapping still remained to be done and many desirable photographs were as yet untaken. I postponed our start until 22nd July, partly in the hope of finding better weather at Kaying and less snow on my high climbs, partly because by going a month later than the previous year I hoped to secure the seeds of some of the plants which had then been in flower. This
• 487 time I decided to make first for the upper Yapchan Jilgha, where we had discovered a delightful camping-place on our way back from Kaying the year before; my object was to reconnoitre and if possible gain access to the Tigarmansu Jilgha, a valley immediately to the north-west of Kaying but completely cut off from it by the tremendous precipices of Kōk Dōng and Sarigh Yon.

July was unusually hot at Kashgar, and there was also a perfect plague of wasps brought on by the superabundance of fruit, which rotted in our orchard for want of enough mouths in the Consulate to eat it. The heat also caused the summer floods to rise to abnormal heights, and 15 miles from Kashgar we had one of the worst river-crossings I ever experienced. At one time I thought we would have to go home and wait for the floods to subside, which would probably have meant the abandonment of the trip. It was therefore even more pleasant than usual to find ourselves on 26th July encamped among the fir-woods and wild-rose thickets of the beautiful Yapchan alp, right opposite the magnificent red cliffs of Bozarga and Bele Tōk. Two days later, with an irreducible minimum of retinue and baggage carried on yaks, we dived into the great red sandstone gorge and crawled once more up the secret track to Bozarga. Crossing the At Bel pass (12,000 feet) without difficulty we zigzagged 2,000 feet down the grassy flank of Kōk Dōng and came to the prosperous-looking encampment of Oi, the summer headquarters of a minor Beg and seven or eight families of Kirghiz. Here, to my surprise, I found we were no longer in the Yangi Hissar district as in the Qaratash valley, but under the jurisdiction of the magistrate of the Chinese Pamirs at Tashqurghan, eight long marches away. The Beg did his best to make us stay the night with him and go back across the pass next day without venturing down into the wild

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Tigarmansu Jilgha, the path to which he described as very difficult. The situation was saved, however, by an excellent Kirghiz of Tigarmansu called Yunus Akhun, a name and title which may be translated with some accuracy as "Mr. Jonah." This man, who reminded me strongly of the best type of Highland ghillie, proved to be of Bokharan origin, his father having migrated to the Chinese Pamirs from the Qaratigin mountains, which divide Bokhara from Ferghana. He cordially invited us to his valley on behalf of his uncle, Sikilak Beg, the headman of the three families which constituted the entire population of the Tigarmansu Jilgha. He said he would guide us and that the path was quite easy. Seeing that we were determined to proceed, the Beg of Oi lent us six fresh yaks in place of our tired ones and bade us God-speed.

The track proved up-and-down and very narrow, but not dangerous, and the sun had not yet set when we topped the last col and found ourselves looking up the deep trough-like valley of the Tigarmansu or "Water of the Mill." Descending by a steep track to the foaming glacier-stream we forded it and made our way up through fields of meadowsweet till we came to the first tall firs. Here there was an old mill from which the valley derived its name, with a shrine and a sacred spring close by; and here we were met by tall, handsome old Sikilak Beg. The tents of the Kirghiz were pitched a mile further up in a clearing in the thick forest which clothed what I afterwards found to be the ancient terminal moraine of the Tigarmansu Glacier. "Mr. Jonah" and his family insisted on turning out of their *aq-oi* for us and camping *alfresco* among the trees a few yards away, and altogether we were made very welcome. We soon found out the reason of their *empressement*, which was that the Kirghiz of the Qungur region had been talking about D. and her medicines and tea-parties ever since our last visit; with the result that now there was the keenest competition among the different valleys to receive a visit from us. A girl from Kaying had married a Tigarmansu man since the previous summer, and now greeted D. as an old friend.

We could only allow ourselves three days in this valley, and to our disgust it was misty and rainy nearly the whole time. One of my objects had been to climb the Dilbagh "pass," a col about 13,000 feet high leading over to the Qurghan Kōl Jilgha, another large unexplored glacier-valley of Qungur; from this col I hoped at last to see the inner arcana of the great

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487 range. But when we tried it the first morning, down came the clouds and we had to turn back half-way. I had also hoped to obtain a close view of the needle-like Shiwakte group from some vantage-point near the head of the Tigarmansu Jilgha; but the peaks which shut in the head of the valley never cleared of cloud at all. I had therefore to confine my attentions to the valley itself, of which I made a plane-table sketch. At the foot of the ancient terminal moraine on which the camp was pitched we found a remarkable phenomenon; a flood of shell-pink water gushed out from among the roots of the great firs and joined the glacier stream, the waters of which it perceptibly tinged with its own exquisite hue. Two miles above the camp, at the foot of the existing glacier 13,350 feet above the sea, we found the source of the pink colour; in the moraine were beds of red clay over which a strong stream flowed from the glacier for a hundred yards before disappearing into the earth. At various points in the valley I noticed a greenish tinge in the [35] rocks, which suggested copper. The Kirghiz told me that a rich vein of copper ore had once been worked in a terrifying and barely accessible cleft which they pointed out to me, high up on the precipitous north-west face of Kōk Dōng; it was so rich that in spite of the primitiveness of their methods the Kirghiz had for years smelted the ore and made pots and pans and cartridge cases out of the copper. In recent years the mine had been abandoned and its very existence kept dark for fear of the Titai's men hearing about it, as this would have meant the mine being taken over and the Kirghiz forced to work in it for the benefit of the Titai. It was for the same reason that they kept so quiet about the track over the At Bel Pass from the Yapchan Jilgha, which we should never have found for ourselves if old Samsaq Bai had not shown it to us. The Tigarmansu glen is accessible by this track alone, at any rate in summer; there is no exit from its upper end, and its lower reaches lie through a deep and narrow gorge impassable in the high-water season.

On our way back to the Yapchan alp, where we had left our ents, we visited Samsaq Bai and his clan, who were encamped this year just behind the fir-clad crest of one of the great precipices of Zor Qir. A grassy ridge dotted with clumps of juniper and fir, very much like a well-laid-out park, jutted out 1,500 feet above the Yapchan valley like the prow of a ship; all round the *aq-ois* the turf was starred with purple anemones, gentians and marigolds. The grazing was rich and the view

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superb; but the place had one disadvantage. There was no water nearer than the spring in the Bozarga glen 600 feet below, from which the unfortunate ladies, in addition to their other multifarious duties, had to carry up all the water required in the camp.

From Yapchan we marched to Kaying Bashi, where we camped once more at the lovely alp below the forest. We could spare but eight days for the Happy Valley, and were fortunate in having four of them brilliantly clear. On one of these D. and I climbed with yaks to a height of 14,500 feet on the Torbashi Glacier. After lunch I left D. in a sunny corner with an orderly and climbed another 1,500 feet to the top of the knife-edge ridge which divides the Torbashi branch of the Kaying Jilgha from the head of the Tigarmansu Jilgha. There was a great deal of soft snow about, and with only a sturdy Kirghiz boy called Tash to help me I had considerable difficulty in reaching the top with my camera and surveying instruments. But it was well worth it, for I obtained not only some exceedingly useful "rays" for my map but one of the very finest mountain photographs I have ever secured, of the ice-clad peak of Shiwakte I (19,400 feet) piercing the clouds right opposite me at a distance of only 2½ miles (Plate 164.)

Two days later, on 4th August, I carried out a plan I had nursed ever since we had first found our way to Kaying. This was to climb out of the valley at its head and reconnoitre the Chimghan Jilgha and the main Shiwakte group beyond. It will be remembered that I had hoped to do this the summer before, but had been baffled by the snow which closed the "pass" even in mid-July. Now, however, the Kirghiz pronounced the Kepek Bel sufficiently clear of snow for the crossing to be attempted; even so, the 1,000 foot couloir at the top was so steep and so filled with ice that there was no question of yaks going up it. I chose the two best *mergens* or ibex-stalkers in the valley as my guides, Phoken and Tümür by name, sturdy lads who looked regular wild men of the woods in their great sheep-skin caps; at the last moment the boy Tash, who looked like fourteen but said he was twenty, insisted on coming with me. The party was made up by our staunch Hunza cragsman, Sangi Khan. Leaving D. in camp for a night by herself in charge of the trusty Hafiz, we started at 5 a.m. with a supply of cold food and Bovril, my two cameras, a sleeping-bag, and my plane table and instruments tied up in a sack. We did the first 4,000 feet on yaks, then left

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487 them to graze on the topmost pastures of the Kaying glacier-moraine while we attacked the couloir. On our left sheets of ice at angles varying from 45° to 60° came down from the precipices which enclose the head of the Kaying Jilgha and formed a couloir with the almost vertical cliffs of Shiwakte I on our right, along which we had to crawl the whole way. In several places steps had to be cut across tongues of ice running up into the cliff, and the kit had often to be sent up from hand to hand over difficult sections. Shortly after ten we reached the col, and I had a thrilling moment as I clambered to the top of a boulder and gazed over an imposing array of ice-clad ranges to the south. The atmospheric conditions were not good enough for a worthy photograph, but I was able to secure a complete set of "rays" which afterwards enabled me to fix the position of the mountains I saw. They proved to be those on the south side of the Chimghan Jilgha and its tributary the Tersöze, and one of them at least to be more than 22,000 feet high. None of them had been seen from this side by Western eyes before. It was disappointing to find that the Shiwakte peaks were hidden by a row of black aiguilles like the teeth of a saw which came down from the right. In trying to shelter the hypsometer from the wind I knocked it over and broke the thermometer; luckily I had a spare one with me, with which I obtained a height of 15,230 feet for the top of the pass.

The descent on the south side into a branch of the Chimghan Jilgha called Aghalistan proved easy enough, the way leading first down a small glacier and then at 13,000 feet striking a very large one called by the Kirghiz Aq Tash or "White Rock," obviously from its brilliant serac which is visible from a great distance. There was no sign of any track; the pass is seldom used, and we were the first over it that season. By the time we reached this point the clouds had shut down, and I could only see the lower portion of the vast precipices at the head of the main glacier, which I took to be those of the elusive Shiwakte. Further down we were met by two Kirghiz herdsmen, who were astonished to see us but led us hospitably to their huts. At my request they sent word to their headman, Sayat Beg, whose encampment they told us was a long way further down at the junction of the Aghalistan with the main Chimghan Jilgha. I had intended to spend the night there, but the weather was not promising and I was nervous about being cut off from Kaying and D., perhaps for weeks,

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by heavy snow on the pass; besides which I was suffering from a severe headache due to eyestrain brought on by long hours of peering through the sight-rule of my plane-table at the top of the pass and on the way down. I therefore decided to stay where I was and re-cross the Kepek next morning. Sayat Beg arrived during the afternoon and gave me much interesting information about his valley and the Qaratash basin in general. He told me among other things that there was no outlet whatever at the head of the Chimghan Jilgha, nothing but "*muz tagh*" or "ice-mountain" which he vaguely designated "Shiwakte"; that at the head of the Tersöze or southern branch of the jilgha there was a very difficult pass, worse even than the one I had come over, which led over to Little Qara Kul on the Pamirs; and that there were no fir-trees in the Chimghan Jilgha or in any of its tributaries.

My head was so bad that I could eat nothing that night and went to bed at nine in a somewhat depressed frame of mind on the floor of one of the huts. In spite of the elevation (over 12,000 feet) it was surprisingly mild and I slept well enough till four, when I awoke blessedly free from headache. To my joy I found that it had cleared up, so after a good breakfast I started at half-past five up the mountain-side. I was rewarded with the most marvellous spectacle I have ever seen. The Shiwakte peaks stood round the head of the Aq Tash basin in a glorious semicircle, their ice-pinnacles gleaming in the dawn, mighty glaciers hanging from their sides like frozen waterfalls thousands of feet high. The clouds were already collecting round them and by eight had completely hidden them once more, but long ere this I had secured some fine pictures and had also completed my plane-table sketch. The mountain-side was alive with Tibetan snow-cock, whose mournful cry, not unlike that of whaups on Scottish moors, sounded in my ears as I worked.

Our descent from the Kepek Pass into the Kaying Jilgha later in the morning was not without incident. It was perceptibly warmer than the day before, evidently banking up for heavy rain, and the ice was very soft. The steps we had made the previous day had melted, and new ones had to be cut; rocks loosened by the thaw came buzzing down from the cliffs above and had to be dodged; nor was it safe to avoid them by venturing out on the steeply-pitched glacier, because the thin coating of flat stones and frozen stones over the crevasses might now be insufficient to bear one's weight. As it was,

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487 the Beg, who at my request came over with us to investigate some complaint of the Kaying people, had a narrow escape. He was just in front of me as we filed across an arm of the glacier, when suddenly he disappeared up to his armpits. The *débris* of flat stones which lay on top of the ice held him up, and we soon fished him out; but I noticed with a slight shudder, peering down into the hole, that his legs had been dangling over a crevasse of unknown depth. Near the bottom of the couloir we had to jump off the edge of the glacier on to a steep slope of loose stones, and in doing so started a stone-slide which plunged *under* the snowfield we had just left and went on roaring away underneath for a long time. At last, however, we found ourselves safely on the flowery moraine of the main Kaying glacier, where by arrangement a Kirghiz lad was waiting for us with the yaks.

The rain held off during our last four days at Kaying, but the clouds shut down more and more heavily and further survey operations were out of the question. We spent our time partly with the Kirghiz, whom we entertained at a big tea-party followed by games and races, partly in collecting and drying plants for Kew. It was disappointing to find that although we were leaving the valley a month later than in 1923, scarcely any of the flowers had yet seeded. Evidently maturing had been delayed by the exceptionally cold and boisterous weather which we had experienced in May on the return journey from Khotan.[1]

Our visits to Kaying, however, had not been fruitless. Though clumsy and amateurish enough, my plane-table sketches, sets of rays, panoramas and other material afterwards enabled Major K. Mason of the Survey of India, who has made the cartography of the Pamir region his own, to fill in with considerable detail the blank patch in Sir Aurel Stein's map which that distinguished explorer advised me to investigate. Those interested in the topography and orography of this remarkable region will find a full account of it in my paper on "The Alps of Qungur" in the "Geographical Journal" for November 1925, to which is appended a note by Major Mason on his compilation of my material. According to Major Mason, what he is pleased to call my explorations ". . . . fill in several important blanks in our knowledge of the eastern flanks of the Qungur massif. They give a very

[1] Experienced also by the 1924 Mount Everest Expedition, 700 miles to the south-east.

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487 good picture of the 'peripheral gorges of the Pamir plateau,' and while emphasizing the difficulties of the ground, reveal a certain amount of vegetation and habitation of which we had previously no knowledge whatever . . . . One of the outstanding features of the exploration is the further evidence of the existence of Qungur II. Its great featureless dome has been the cause of uncertainty for years. Its height is not yet settled, but we know now that it competes with Qungur I for the post of the highest point of the Pamirs."

On 9th August we said good-bye to the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends. We still like to think that they were sorry to see the last of us. The morning that we crossed the Chopkana Pass was misty and lowering, and my farewell impression of Kaying Bashi is of the valley as I saw it at about ten o'clock the evening before. Heavy clouds half-filled the sky and haze the valley; in a gap right above the Shiwakte sailed the moon, her light shining full upon the glacier-stream which sped past me down its stony course. The night was calm and brooding; the haze veiled everything except the gleaming river and the icy crown of the great mountain; but standing out black even against the blackness rose on one side the nearer firs, on the other the needle-points of Zumurrat, far up into the starless heavens. All else—the lower precipices, the forests, the snouts of the big glaciers—all was wrapped in darkness and mystery; only the river and the eternal snows glowed in the dim radiance of the moonlight. As I gazed spell-bound, there came into my memory the song of the shepherd-minstrel at Polu:

> The Power of God created the mountains, the mountains;
> Then because it was dark among the mountains, He created the moon.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

were waiting with quantities of their delicious coffee and cakes laid out on a cool spot among the willows on the river's edge. As I drank my last cup, to my surprise I saw the Taoyin's carriage with an escort of Chinese cavalry fording the river, and when I came to the road again there was the new Taoyin's wife and the chief Yamen Beg with all the arrangements for a farewell tea-drinking set up in a wayside baker's shop. This lady and I had only recently made each other's acquaintance, so our good-byes were perhaps somewhat stereotyped. But they were by no means the last. Two miles farther on and quite six from Kashgar, Aisha Khan and most of the wives of the Consulate staff were assembled. They had left Chini Bagh before me in carts and had arranged their little tea-drinking in a field about fifty yards from the road, the carts being drawn up so as to screen us from the gaze of passers-by. I choked down a little tea, but cut the party short for they were all crying and it was all I could do to keep a stiff upper lip. They dropped their veils and came with me as far as the road.

"I said good-bye and rode off, but stood for a moment before reaching a turn in the road and looked back. I shall never forget the picture the women made, standing together under the trees, with the afternoon sun slanting through the branches on to the blue and red and purple of their dresses. Then I turned a corner, and they were hidden from sight."

487 September and October are the best months in the year for trekking in High Asia, and we did not hurry down the road to India. As far as Tashqurghan we travelled by an entirely different route from that which we had followed on the way to Kashgar in 1922. Instead of entering the mountains south of Yangi Hissar and crossing the Kashka Su, Ter Art, Yambulak and Chicniklik passes, we marched south-west to Tashmalik, through the Gez gorges to Bulunkul and thence southwards across the Pamirs to Tagharma and the Sariqol valley. This is the route used by the Consulate couriers all the year round and by ordinary travellers during the low-water season. Its length is about the same as that of the Chichiklik route, but it has the advantage of rising gradually to one easy pass only 13,600 feet high instead of crossing four steep ones going up to over 16,000 feet. On the other hand, during the six high-water months (say 15th April–15th October) the Gez valley is impassable for 25 miles between the lowest of the bridges in the gorge and its mouth near Tashmalik. To avoid this the traveller between Kashgar and Bulunkul usually crosses the "Nine Passes" already mentioned, two days' hot and toilsome scrambling over ridge after ridge among the barren outer ranges to the east of the lower Gez. This did not appeal to me, and I worked out a route which I hoped would

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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serve the triple purpose of avoiding the Nine Passes, reconnoitring a new "blank patch" which promised to be at least as interesting as the Alps of Qungur, and materially assisting my survey of the latter region.

From the top of the Zor Qir ridge above Bozarga in July 1923 Samsaq Bai had pointed out to me a pass called the Arpa Bel, about 20 miles away on the north side of the Gez valley between the Chakragil massif and a subsidiary peak called Sargalang (14,900 feet). He told me that it was regularly used by the local people, and led over from the main valley near Gez Qaraul to the Oitagh Jilgha, which he said was a very fine valley with fir-woods and rich pastures and many inhabitants. This pass was free from snow and did not look much more than 13,000 feet high; no European so far as I knew had crossed it or visited the alps of the Upper Oitagh Jilgha at the foot of the tremendous north-eastern precipices of Chakragil. More important still, if only the weather was clear I would obtain from it an extremely valuable cross-view of Qungur and the peaks at the head of the Tigarmansu and Qurghan Kul Jilghas from the north. Instead, therefore, of crossing the Nine Passes we forded the Gez with some difficulty above Tashmalik, struck up the long Oitagh Jilgha and after camping for three days near its head crossed the Arpa Bel to Gez Qaraul.

The beauty and grandeur of the scenery we found at the head of the Oitagh Jilgha surpassed even the Alps of Qungur, and we bitterly regretted being unable to pay it more than a flying visit; especially as the inexorable dust-haze of summer—the season was still exceptionally warm everywhere—robbed me of the photographs I might have secured had we been able to wait. On our third and fourth nights from Kashgar we halted at a village of small stone farmsteads called Agh Aghzi, eight miles up the Oitagh valley from its junction with the Gez. The inhabitants we found to be "Taghliks" or mountain-dwelling Turkis, "Sarts" as the Russians would call them. They were unanimous in their deprecation of any attempt on our part to penetrate further up the *jilgha* or cross into the Gez Valley by the Arpa Bel. That pass, they said, was exceedingly high and steep, and could not be crossed except with the help of yaks, which were not to be had. They were evidently surprised and rather alarmed at my knowing about it at all; I gathered that they kept the existence of the Arpa Bel as quiet as possible, for fear lest the Chinese should hear

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 about and make it the main summer route to Tashqurghan. This would have meant the local people being forced to keep the track in repair, build bridges etc., as well as provide transport for officials using the route. I was interested to hear that two European travellers had been in the valley before, but neither of them had been further than the village of Pilal, 8 miles above Agh Aghzi; although the Oitagh Jilgha is easily accessible compared with the Kaying and other glens of the Alps of Qungur, no European had been to its head or across the Arpa Bel.

On 9th September we continued our march. Seven miles above Agh Aghzi the valley divides, the left or Pilal branch being inhabited by Taghliks and the right or At Oinak branch by Kirghiz. Passing Pilal village with its one immense plane-tree the track led up a wide valley at the head of which towered, incredibly high and blazing white even through the haze, the mighty ice-wall and splintered peaks of Chakragil.[1] Enticing "alps" below the forests of fir which clothed the steep sides of the valley beckoned to us, and we pressed on full of excited anticipation. The villagers had prepared a shepherd's hut for us two miles above Pilal at the mouth of the Arpa Jilgha which, ribbed with forest, led steeply up to the pass. But we would have none of it and camped two miles further up on a delectable meadow among thickets of fir, ash and rowan, perched high above the glacier stream and protected from the noonday sun by high wooded crags and pinnacles of limestone rock. Three *aq-ois* stood on another knoll just beyond and a crystal-clear stream bubbled out of mosses and grass near by. Here we spent three days, all we could spare, exploring the neighbourhood and making friends with the Taghliks.

/33 It did not require a trained observer to realize that the region in which we found ourselves was a perfect paradise alike for the geologist and for the naturalist. Its chief peculiarity is the relatively low elevation of the head of the Oitagh Jilgha. This forms a kind of recess or alcove in the precipitous north-east face of Chakragil, 14,000 feet high, into which the glaciers fall and thus push down their snouts to a much lower level than

[1] This name seems to represent the words *Chikir Ôghil* or "the shepherd station of Chikir." I found a Chikir glen and pastures at the head of the Oitagh, on the north side. Stein gives the name "Chakragil" to the peak at the head of the Bostan Arche valley, some miles to the north-west, which he explored on his third journey. If a name is required for the whole massif, Chakragil would seem the most suitable one.

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651 be commuted at 12 tengas (2s.) per *charak*, the market price being 4 tengas.[1]

356 Talking to the mountain people one occasionally gets amusing little side-lights on the difficulties of house-keeping in an *aq-oi*. Among the woods at Chikir Aghzi we came upon some families striking camp. They said they were moving to an open piece of ground only a mile lower down.

"What is wrong with this camping-ground?" we asked.

"The mice have found us out and eat our bread," was the reply.

"Why don't you keep cats to eat the mice?"

"Because the cats would drink our milk!"

This was unanswerable, as anyone who had seen the interior of an *aq-oi* and its carefully-guarded "dairy" ought to have realized.

• 487 We crossed the Arpa Bel on 13th September, after spending the night at a chilly camping-ground above the highest fir-woods on the north-side. On the way up, when I was behind trying to take photographs, D. saw a pretty sight while she was waiting for me to come up. A herd of great shaggy yaks, unattended by any herdsman, came trooping down through the forest to drink at the stream. They came with such a rush, bringing earth and stones with them, that for a moment she thought it was an avalanche. They stood about in the water and on the grassy banks of the torrent, exactly like Highland cattle. They were still there when I came up, but my cortège disturbed them and they bunched together in the stream-bed as if awaiting attack, spoiling the picture. The dust-haze was worse than ever at the top of the pass, which I found to be 13,350 feet above the sea, and nothing whatever was visible of what would have been an unrivalled view. Both from the surveying and from the photographic point of view it was one of the worst pieces of luck I have ever had; for according to the calendar it was, or ought to have been, autumn and the clearest time of the year.

The Arpa Bel is a decidedly stiff pass, 6,000 feet on either side without a break, but although nothing whatever has been done to the track it is not actually dangerous. Still, it was as well that we had hired from the Pilal people fifteen

[1] The object is to encourage cultivation, even in pastoral country, and thus increase the population. Similarly, the Chinese encourage the planting of trees in the plains by collecting the land revenue partly in the form of timber.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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donkeys to share the loads with our carrier's ponies. We had one unfortunate casualty among the latter. One of them, though it was carrying less than half an ordinary load, showed signs of weakness on the way up. At a point where the track traversed the face of the Arpa Bel ridge this pony suddenly collapsed and rolled fifty yards down the mountain-side, load and all. The carrier, Amin Jan, was after it like a knife, closely followed by myself and two other men. The slope was steep but not precipitous, and we were able to stop the pony rolling further. It was unhurt and reached the top of the pass safely, its load carried by hand. On the way down the south-side Amin Jan put a very light load on it, thinking that there would be no more climbing and that all would be well. Unfortunately about 1,000 feet below the top there was a short but very steep ascent where the track rounded a ridge; here the pony was again seized with staggers and fell 150 feet, being killed instantaneously. There must have been something wrong with the pony, which had had three days' rest and good grazing at Oitagh and was the only one to be affected by the pass; but we were sorry for Amin Jan, who wept bitterly at his loss, and we also regretted the spoiling of our own record. Until then we had not lost a single animal on any of our journeys.

The following day we rejoined the Gez Dara at 7,600 feet by a glen called the Chuchul Jilgha which was agreeably full of red-legged partridge and pigeons. The road up the Gez gorges is well kept up by the Chinese and is provided with solid wooden bridges where necessary. It is stones, stones all the way and one's horse must be walked every yard; but there is no difficulty or danger whatever, unless (as occasionally happens) a bridge has been recently washed away. The grandeur of the scenery is indescribable. The Gez, which here breaks through from the Pamirs between the great massifs of Qungur and Chakragil, is second only to the Yarkand River among the mountain streams of Kashgaria, and its cataracts in summer are a sight to behold. For 16 miles we followed the torrent which twisted and coiled among precipices rising higher and higher at every turn; in the evening at Khapa Gumbaz we looked straight up on one side to the summit of Qungur I, 15,500 feet above us and only 5 miles away, on the other to that of Chakragil not much less high. The air had cleared, two days too late for the Arpa Bel, and we saw the tops of the great massifs clearly.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 After spending a cold and uncomfortable night at Khafa Gumbaz (the name means "Domes of Wrath") we emerged on to the Pamirs by the windy gate of Bulunkul and camped at a little mud fort south of the lake amid typical 704 Pamir scenery. The garrison of this lonely post consisted of an out-at-elbows lieutenant and three men, all married to Kirghiz women. One of the soldiers interested me very much. A hawk-nosed, black-avised, alert little man in an enormous astrakhan hat appeared at the door of our *aq-oi* with an accordion in his hands, stood to attention smartly and entered without further ado. He told me he was a Russian Kirghiz from Tokmak in Semirechia, whence he had come three years before; he looked to me more like a Noghai or "Tartar," but might have been a Tartar-Kirghiz half-breed. He was very friendly and insisted on treating us to a concert on his "garmonie" (the Russian form of the word "harmonium" which they use for accordion). On that wheezy old instrument he played various long and unmelodious tunes in our tiny *aq-oi*. It was a painful performance, but we hated to hurt his feelings and were most appreciative; he was so very obviously a spy from across the frontier, and in so lonely and desolate a spot we could well understand his joy at finding at last a job of work to do.

487 During the next four days we wandered unhurriedly across the Lake District of the Chinese Pamirs, halting a day close to the north shore of the Little Qara Kul and another at Subashi. Here the Qungur and Muz Tagh Ata massifs stood round us in a vast amphitheatre, their dazzling domes and ridges of ice reflected exquisitely in the sapphire waters of the lakes. It was a pleasant time; the weather was perfect and the Kirghiz charming; sport was good, the lakes and marshes teeming with geese, ducks, teal and snipe. Near the Qara Kul we were met by our old friend Nadir Beg, the tall and jovial "British Watchman in Sarikol," with a regular cortège of Kirghiz and the inevitable wayside tea-drinking. Earlier in the same day we had an interesting *rencontre*. A party of 788 about twenty travel-stained and weather-beaten old men clad in ragged sheepskin cloaks and hats came riding northwards over the pamir. They proved to be Turki pilgrims returning from Mecca, the remnants of a party of fifty or more who had left Kashgar in April for the Holy Cities. They had had a terrible time, they said, on the high passes of the Hindu Kush between Tashqurghan and Chitral, and several of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to the brilliant clearness of the weather my plane-table and cameras kept me very busy. The "rays" and telepanoramas I obtained of Qungur and the Shiwakte from this side proved afterwards of the greatest value to Major Mason in his compilation of my topographical material.[1]

The cold at nights was severe, and the development of my plates and films was carried on under difficulties. Two or three of my best views, including a perfect one of Muz Tagh Ata, reflected in the waters of the Qara Kul, were spoilt by the plates freezing before they were properly dry. Snow fell almost every night, and unless one laced up the door of one's tent tightly before going to bed, there was apt to be a small snow-drift on one's pillow in the morning. Whenever we could, we occupied *aq-ois*, because of the fire which could be made in the middle if there was enough *burtsa* or *saxaul* brushwood. The latter is not a good fuel for open fires, but makes excellent hot-ashes for the "fire-bucket." If it is to be used for a fire, it is advisable to lay the plants with their stalks outwards and the bushy part towards the middle, as they burn better thus.

The Ulugh Rabat Pass (13,650 feet), immediately to the west of Muz Tagh Ata, consists merely of rolling downs with a barely perceptible watershed. When we crossed it on 20th September it had a little snow on it—just enough to make me wish I had my skis with me and could wait for the next snowfall. Between November and April, when the snow lies everywhere, one could ski every yard of the 5 miles from the top of the pass to the Qarasu post, and most of the 12 miles on to Ghujak as well. The run down the north side of the pass would be shorter, but just as good.

Passing the flourishing settlement of Tagharma, chief centre of the Tajiks, we reached Tashqurghan the following day, and after a couple of days' halt went on to Yurghal Gumbaz on 24th September. On the latter march we spent the whole morning visiting Pir Imam Dad and our other Maulai friends of 1922 at Tughlan Shahr. D. was struck by the almost Italian vivacity and warmth of feeling shown by the Tajik women, compared with the more phlegmatic and reserved Kirghiz. In my dealings with the men, too, I found them much more excitable than either the Kirghiz or the Turkis of the plains. At Nadir Beg's house D. was greeted enthusiastically by a vivacious, bright-eyed, alert little woman,

[1] "Geographical Journal," June 1925, pp. 406–8

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who had entertained her for ten minutes at Mintaka Aghzi on the journey up. [illegible]ady had then been living with her father, the Beg of M[illegible]a, but had since married into Nadir's family. She rushed at D., patted her all over and began rearranging her hair, which had suffered from the gallop across the meadows from Tashqurghan. She also kissed her when leaving. A quite poor Tajik woman at Yurghal Gumbaz told D. that she had had nine children, of whom seven had died. One of her daughters had been very beautiful. "She died when she was still a bride," said the old lady. "She was very lovely, her eyes were full of fire.[1] She was so beautiful that I used to sit making clothes for her all day long."

The Tajiks use the word *chokan* for "bride," i.e. a wife who has not yet borne a child, whereas the Turkis as already mentioned reserve the term for an unmarried girl. Similarly the word *jawan* is used for a woman who has borne children, not as at Kashgar. A Tajik married woman wears big mother-of-pearl buttons over her ears, and at intervals of about two inches down each *chach* or braid of hair. The appetite of the Tajiks for medicine is in no way inferior to that of the Kirghiz. A lad was sent with us all the way to Yurghal Gumbaz to fetch back from our camp doses of castor-oil and anteczema which D. had prescribed for a baby and an elderly widow respectively. D. gave most careful and explicit instructions to the messenger, but it is quite likely that they rubbed the widow with the castor-oil and administered the anteczema internally to the baby.

Three days later we reached Lopgaz at the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, 14,000 feet above the sea. It had been cold even at Paik, the stage before, and I had adjured the Beg who was looking after us, to be sure and provide good *aq-ois* and plenty of firewood. Imagine our disgust, therefore, when we arrived at the bleak and open Lopgaz camping-ground, just as the sun was dipping behind a snowy ridge, to find nothing but two miserable little huts, full of holes and smelling strongly, and not a scrap of firewood. The Beg was a long way behind with our loads, and there was nothing for it but to set to work and collect fuel for ourselves. All that was to be had in the valley was the tiniest growth of *burtsa* imaginable, plants the size of face-sponges and damp at that. After an hour we had collected a heap about two feet high, which

[1] The Turki word for fire (*ut*) is also used for love.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 we handed over to the cook, Murad Shah, when the caravan arrived. Eventually the Beg's men produced some better *burtsa* from far up the hill-side, and by nightfall we had enough for our own needs and those of our men. The *aq-ois* were impossible, but we had the tents pitched; D. sensibly went to bed in hers, and by nine o'clock we were dining snugly by her bedside off the usual three courses which Murad Shah never failed to turn out, however unpromising the circumstances. Ahmad Bakhsh even managed to provide a "fire-bucket" for D. next morning, for which she was very grateful, as there were six inches of snow on the ground at dawn and a blizzard was in progress. We struck camp and hurried up the last 1,700 feet of the ascent as quickly as we could, for fear lest the pass should be blocked; but it had cleared up by the time we reached the top and all was well, though the baggage-ponies had great difficulty in scrambling through the snow up the steep hill-face. The breakneck descent on the south side on to the moraine of the Mintaka glacier was very difficult, for the sun was strong, and the ponies slipped and staggered in the slush of the melting snow; we had to "nurse" them down very carefully, every one lending a hand. None the less we passed Gul Khwaja, where we had camped in 1922, and reached Murkushi before seven. After the fuel scarcity of the Pamirs—it is their chief drawback as a health-resort—the roaring bonfires we lit among the woods at Murkushi were a rare treat.

500 Next day (9th October) we reached Misgar. Here it was a curious sensation to receive and send telegrams over a counter once more and listen to the tap-tap of Morse. We had come back to the nineteenth century, if not quite yet to the twentieth. Our only *contretemps* was the engulfing of three of our ponies in the quicksands of the Kilik stream between Murkushi and Runhil; we fished them out, but several of our boxes were immersed, including one containing all my papers.

The six marches from Misgar to Ghalmit we covered in four days, finding the going very much better than in 1922. This was partly because there was more down-hill than up; partly because the Batura and Hussaini Glaciers were easier to cross owing to the lateness of the season; but mostly because the Mir of Hunza, with the assistance of a subsidy from the Kashmir State, had greatly improved the track. It was now scarcely anywhere less than two feet wide and reassuringly

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
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During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

S
17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
(131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their
S retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
175 in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
648 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

133 sea-level, and it joins the Burchun plain on the east. The E-min River originates from this group.

The Dzungarian Basin: Dzungaria was the name derived from a Mongolian tribe who lived in this area for a long time. The basin covers the area from the fringes of the Burkan Plateau and the Burchun Plain at the north, the Ili Plain at the west, and the Cheng-hsi Basin to the south, along the piedmont of the Tien-shan. The basin is triangular in shape. The Altai runs from northwest to southeast, so that the east side of the basin is relatively higher than the west side. The surface elevation of the eastern part of the basin is around 1,500 feet, whereas, on the western part, it is only 600 feet in height. All the rivers run from east to west.

The Tien-shan Region: As the Tien-shan range runs from west to east, it separates the province into two sections - southern Sinkiang and northern Sinkiang. The range has been structured by numerous fault blocks; there are many horsts and grabens along both sides of the mountains. Moreover, they vary considerably in height and width and everywhere constitute a strongly marked dividing line between the great basin and the regions to the north. These comprise the wide plateaus of Dzungaria, stretching north to the fringe of the basin with a few well-irrigated, but isolated, areas and fertile plains and valleys. They do not, however, form any regular system and pattern. Since there is adequate moisture, [241] agriculture is to be found both in the valleys and on the plains, especially in the Ili Valley and on the Fou-kang Plain. Farther north on the northern slope of the ranges, grazing land is found. It has, at all times, attracted waves of nomadic nations, from the Huns to the Kazakhs and the Mongols. The continuity of its rampart, the Tien-shan range, offers opportunities to [487] nomadic neighbors on the north for plundering the oases and and trade routes in the south, since the mountain rampart is pierced at intervals by passes which are passable for mounted men and transport during a considerable portion of the year. To the southwest of the Turfan depression the wide valley of Karashahr descends from the grazing plateaus of Yulduz. It always has served as an open gate for nomadic inroads in the northwestern corner of the Tarim Basin. Farther to the west, under corresponding conditions, the great oases of Kucha and Kashgar are equally liable to attack across the Tienshan. The Tien-shan Region is the most important division in the province, because it occupies almost one-fourth of the provincial territory and there are many major cities and oases located on both sides of the ranges.

The Tarim Basin: This is the huge desert area between the

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121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
101 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road
• 487 South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and
563 habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
178 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-
563 honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
S our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese
121 Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or East-
*563 ern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N
*563 A. The Han Chinese

*175 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

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FOREIGN RELATIONS

I. Strategic Importance of Sinkiang

175 648 439 Sinkiang has been one of the most strategic areas of China in imperial and modern times. Ever since the area first came under Chinese control during the Han period (206 B.C.- 220 A.D.), it has been for China a key position for the control of central Asia. [487] The two caravan routes to the north and south of the Tien-shan range linked China with the steppes of western Turkestan and with Europe and the Near East. The control of the oasis cities along these caravan routes gave China not only a dominant position in the trade, but also a check over the states of central Asia that profited from this trade. In the times of the empire the Chinese control over tribal groups in central A ia was strongest when the corridor of trade was safely in Chinese hands.

175 648 Full Chinese control over Eastern Turkestan was maintained, however, only over limited periods in imperial history. In the period of division and chaos that followed the Han period, Turkestan was lost to China and became a contested area between rival tribal states. Chinese control was reasserted in T'ang times by a Chinese dynasty which itself was partly of Central Asian origin. The area was included in the Mongol empire when the Mongols established their rule over China. Lost again under the Ming dynasty, Chinese Turkestan was finally reconquered by the Manchus in the eighteenth century and has been recognized as a part of China since the time when the modern West came in contact with the Chinese world.

The strategic role of Chinese Turkestan has become somewhat modified in modern times. When Czarist Russia expanded her frontiers across the Asiatic continent towards the Chinese border, the Inner Asiatic frontiers of China were threatened by a new type of attack by a modern Western state. The Russian expansion across Asia found its counterpart in the British conquest of India. From that time on the British regarded the high plateaus of Asia as potential basis for an attack on India through the mountain passes of the northwest. Chinese Turkestan became an area of conflicting British-Russian policies, and at the same time an anchor of the whole Chinese defense of Central Asia against Russian and British invasion.

Of the two powers, Russia was by far the more dangerous to Chinese control. Through her move into Asia, Russia became China's neighbor along a frontier of 3,000 miles. Her pressure was exerted in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in Turkestan. The British-Indian border with China was shorter and the high mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Karakorum provided a

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

N 439 435 *175 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 635 N 487 N 439 D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S 439 E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with S 439 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade • 487 491 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner S 439 491 Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

439 [487] It is understood that there was also considerable trade between Sinkiang, Lanchou and Sian, which, in fact, was the main trade route, but detailed information is not available.

According to a Japanese estimate, the Chinese goods were distributed to the various cities in Sinkiang in the following proportions, which also show the relative commercial importance of the different cities or areas:

Table VI: Distribution of Chinese Goods among Cities in Sinkiang

Place	Percentages of Goods Distributed
Urumchi (Tihua)	25.0
Ili (Huei-yüan)	20.0
South Sinkiang	18.0
Ta-ch'eng (Chuguchak)	15.0
Ku-ch'eng-tzu (Chitai)	12.0
Sharasümme (Cheng-hua)	4.0
Hami (Qomul)	3.0
Khobdo (Jirgalantu)	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 534-35.

439 435 175 As to the direct foreign trade, the main country is Soviet Russia. According to official Soviet reports, the value of the Soviet-Sinkiang trade is as follows:

Table VII: Value of Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (unit: 1,000 rubles)

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1931	13,954	10,212	24,166
1932	15,698	12,305	28,003
1933	10,826	18,822	29,648
1934	4,730	5,945	10,675
1935	6,049	4,550	10,599
1936	36,145	25,671	61,816

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 8, p. 514.

439 175 The main exports of Sinkiang to Russia were grain, fruits, wool, fur, meat, paper, cotton, silk, animal intestines and cattle; and the main imports of Sinkiang from Russia were textiles, sugar, metals and metal manufactures, glass and chinaware, oil and matches. The exports of Sinkiang constituted 1.01 per cent of the value of goods that Russia imported from East Asia in 1931, and 1.77 per cent of that in 1932. The imports of

N
*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

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491 B. Highways

Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 491 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N
491 It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
487 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
S in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
[491] Hsining and Urumchi.
[487]

N 491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November, N *[175] 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

N 491 485 *[175] To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for N a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where 487 501 a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lanchou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In S Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats • 487 501 and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

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[505] Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

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*175 D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

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499 III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic N 635 groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is [162] Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single N province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. [633] Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and [177] still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese [668] culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

S 635 At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies [31] half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh [6] of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a [563] people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635 In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

+175 487 All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient S 175 Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as • 487 Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We [206] were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. We were warned that at this season people were dying [132] from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them- [342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better 312 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As
491 we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance.
487 Geographically its position is notable, standing as it does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—
491 'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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Sinkiang AI 1

CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'
[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487] ●
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

3; Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to
361 Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called
136 Behya—' The Town of Seagulls '—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically
[487] and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia
361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that ' the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. ' Certainly,' we said, ' show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before ! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, ' Here they come again ! ' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To ' save face ' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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of adding to our baggage. The same evening Mr. and Mrs. Chang entertained us to a delicious Chinese feast, and showed us all manner of kindness and hospitality, but some months afterwards we learnt that an armed madman running amok in Chuguchak severely wounded the postmaster, while his wife was shot dead.

The next stage of the journey was likewise to be taken in a hired tarantass, and we now required two carriages, as Mr. Mather's riding horse was returning with Mr. Hunter to Urumchi. Two routes were available, and travellers in Kansu had repeatedly told us we should find a motor connecting Chuguchak and Semipalatinsk, but when we enquired about the possibility of such a conveyance the answer was a smile, the motor not having been that way for years! Our Nogai friend was proceeding directly north to Semipalatinsk, an eleven days' road journey, where he would take the train for Novo Sibirsk, the new capital of Siberia, and thence to Moscow. But we preferred the shorter road journey, which turning directly eastward, brought us through the Tarbagatai and the Sair Mountains, to the frontier station at Kuswun, as from here by the land of the Qazaqs, we should reach Topliefmus, on Lake Zaisan. At this place a river boat was said to call once or twice a week, and to be still running, although the season was getting late. We hoped to be able to continue the journey by boat to Omsk, but over this little-known route we could be certain of nothing until we had tested it.

At last the carts were hired, the passports viséd, provisions bought, and our only regret in leaving Chuguchak was that here we must now all say goodbye to Mr. Hunter, who was returning, with Nimga, to Urumchi.

10: Tilman T-3 (1947) 1948 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
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WAKHAN: OR HOW TO VARY A ROUTE

By MAJOR H. W. TILMAN, D.S.O., M.C.

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IT is a good many years since an Englishman crossed the Wakhjir Pass to follow the ancient route down the Oxus, so perhaps a brief note may be of interest. (Not that the lapse of time has effected many changes in Wakhan.) But before reaching Wakhan I should explain how I got there and in what circumstances.

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No traveller willingly follows a well-known route if there is a less known, so when returning last year from Kashgar to Gilgit I tried some slight variations. Between Kashgar and Tashkhurgan there is a choice of several routes, but all of them are moderately well known so that anyone with rooted objections to following the beaten track is not easily accommodated. One can reach the Little Kara Kul by three different ways and thence proceed west of the Muztagh Ata massif: or to the east of this there is the ordinary route by Yangi Hissar and the Chichiklik Pass, or a variation by way of the Karatash Valley which rejoins the ordinary route at Toile Bulung. But neither of these last two go near Muztagh Ata and since I much wanted to see the unexplored eastern side of the mountain I planned a roundabout deviation from the last-named route over the Karatash Pass and thence up the Tur Bulung nullah. At the head of this there is a pass marked on the map (Sheet 42 N, ¼ in.) with a query against it, which, if it could be crossed, would lead one down to rejoin the ordinary route at Chichiklik maidan.

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Accompanied by a Turki from Kashgar we crossed the Karatash Pass (16,338 feet) on ponies on September 17th in a fierce wind. The weather was, and continued to be, unsettled, so that I was disappointed of my principal hope of seeing Muztagh Ata close from the east. There were some yorts in the valley on the other side of the pass and to the south a glacier, covered with unblemished white névé, descended gradually from an easy-looking col. Had we been without baggage ponies it would have been tempting to embark on it to force a direct route to the south; instead, we went on down the valley past the Tur Bulung junction and as far as Kang Showar before we found any more yorts.

The Tur Bulung Pass was said to be unsuited to ponies so we sent them round by Little Kara Kul and Subashi, and ourselves, with a Kirghiz guide and a yak, went back up the Tur Bulung. Snow and heavy cloud prevented us from seeing anything but occasional glimpses of the 19,000-ft. eastern outlier of Muztagh Ata. Four miles up the Tur Bulung valley there is the snout of a big glacier of true debris-covered Himalayan type, quite unlike the clean white slabs of ice which spill over the gentle western slopes of Muztagh Ata like icing sugar on a bun. This glacier bore away south-west and then west into a wide bay, while the Tur Bulung stream, which we followed, comes down from the south-east from a wide upland valley—a hanging valley—a thousand feet or so above the glacier. Our guide called the glacier Kok Sel, which is also the name

10: Tilman T-3 (1947) 1948 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
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S 487 133 of a glacier of the Kungur group according to Sir Aurel Stein's map. This upper valley was well tenanted by Kirghiz at whose yorts we stopped that night just below the snow line.

The snow which fell that night obliterated all signs of the track, but in 2½ hours our guide took us unerringly to the top of the pass which he called Yambulak—not Tur Bulung. A glacier on the east side of Muztagh Ata is also called Yambulak. I guessed the height to be about 16,000 feet, and though the track is boulder-strewn, lightly laden ponies could cross the pass if clear of snow. From here we dropped about a thousand feet before climbing again to the Yangi Dawan which overlooks the Chichiklik maidan from the north. This great grassy plain lying at a height of 15,000 feet, in summer thick with grazing yaks, was now bare of life. It was a windy cold evening, so that we were lucky to find shelter in the squalid yort of a family who were trying to live like Kirghiz without the essential livestock. Their sole livestock were five sheep and they existed precariously on the bounty of stray travellers like ourselves. From here we reached Tashkurghan next day by the usual route down the horrible, bone-strewn Dershat defile.

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S 487 Between Tashkurghan and Gilgit the seeker after variety is hard put to it. As a variation to the Mintaka Pass route, that over the Kilik Pass, by reason of nearness and similarity, hardly qualifies, while the only other alternative seemed to be a very generous sweep to the east by the Oprang Valley and back into the Hunza Valley by the Shingshal route. But if in order to avoid the usual I must indulge in wide generous sweeps, there was a more interesting one to be made to the west over the Wakhjir Pass and back into India by either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass and so down the Karumbar Valley to Gilgit. It was unfortunately true that this route entailed crossing a frontier as well as a pass—and frontiers are usually the more difficult—but I should not have to be on the wrong side of it more than two days before nipping smartly back to the right side.

From Mintaka Karaul, where there is the last Chinese post, we followed the main valley westwards, leaving the Mintaka and Kilik Passes on our left. It is a fine open valley, comparatively rich in grass but bare of life—deserted, one supposes, on account of its proximity to the Russian frontier. We crossed the Wakhjir (16,150 feet) on September 28th accompanied by some Kirghiz whom we had met a few miles below the pass. They had come there only the day before and were one of some thirty families who, we were told, were migrating to Chinese territory from the Murghab Valley east of the Chakmaktin lake on account of incursions and harryings by Kirghiz from the Russian side. We camped at a yort on the bank of the river less than two miles below the ice cave at the snout of the unnamed glacier which is, I think, accepted now as the true source of the Oxus.

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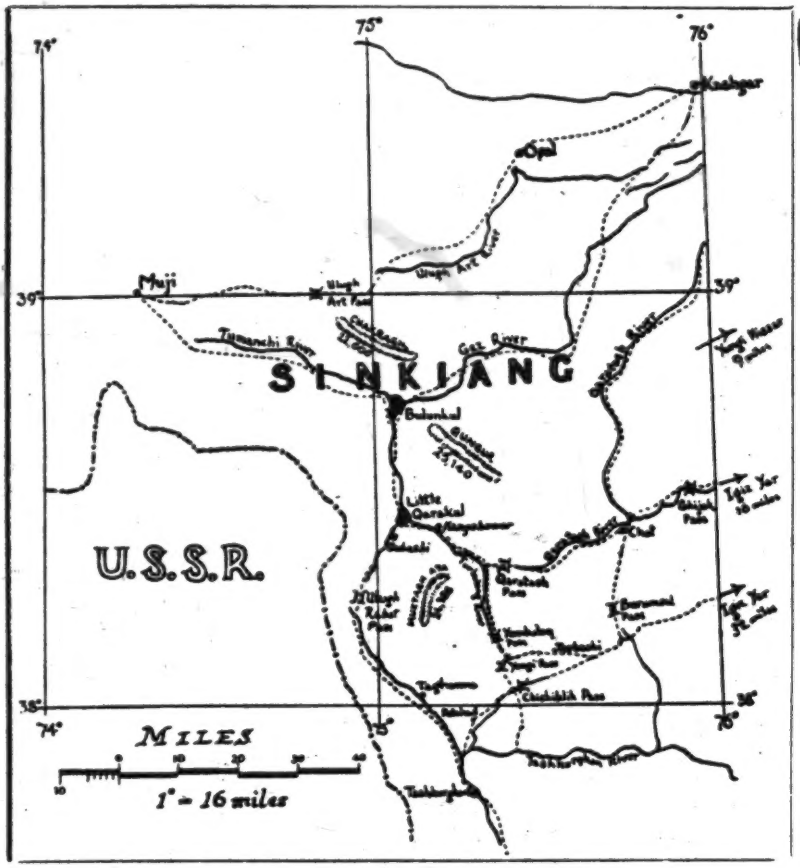
A 361 Between here and Bozai Gumbaz there were only a group of yorts on the south side of the river and a small homestead on the north bank where an attempt was being made to grow barley. "Gumbaz"—the conical mud cupola on a square base built in memory of some holy man—were far more numerous than people. There is peat on the flats on either bank of the river and many stacks of it drying were perhaps evidence of a

[346] A 372

10: Tilman T-3 (1947) 1948 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
Sinkiang AI1

larger summer population. After many weeks of yak dung fires, the delicious smell and the extra warmth of a peat fire were a welcome change. A 372

Bozai Gumbaz, near the junction of the Little Pamir River and the Ab-i-Wakhan, is a wide grass and gravel plain on which there is nothing but half a dozen *gumbaz*. We crossed the slow-flowing, muddy Little Pamir River to camp at the yort of the local Kirghiz chief two miles up the northern slopes. From here, according to plan, I should have crossed either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass back to India, but he that shuffles A 487



S [487]

does not always cut and the Kirghiz chief, on whom I relied for a yak to carry my gear, ordained otherwise. Such an irregular route was not to be thought of; we must go to Sarhad where there was an Afghan post. Between Bozai Gumbaz and Sarhad the Oxus flows through 40 miles of sterile gorge, interrupted only at Langar where there is a big grassy shelf and a small Tadjik settlement. A 487 133

At Sarhad the pent-up river breaks free and spreads itself over a wide, flat, sunny valley on the north side of which are a number of small villages. 361

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, [438]
the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In 439
one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia 174
was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodi- 438
ties of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to [489]
Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

by 1750.[23] Sinkiang still imports tea from China, together with silk and the factory-made cotton goods which compete with homespun cotton, and profitable but inessential goods like porcelain, cigarettes, flashlights, and Western-style men's hats. Luxury exports to China are raisins, jade, and furs. Bulk exports are sheep's wool, camel's wool, and the intestines of sheep (for making sausage casings). The quantity exported to China is entirely dependent on the Russian market, because the much shorter distance to railhead in Soviet territory makes it impossible for China to compete when Russia is willing to buy. 439 489

Trade with the Mongolian People's Republic has always been of minor importance. Mongolia is a pastoral country, and it adjoins the pastoral regions of Sinkiang, so that all that Sinkiang can export is grain, which can be cheaply carried by camel caravan.

Trade with India, amounting in the early 1930's to 5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade, is limited by the fact that the main trade route, over the Karakoram to Leh, crosses five passes of more than 17,000 feet. The average loss in caravan animals is in the neighborhood of 40 per cent; and from Leh more passes have to be crossed on the way down to Kashmir. British policy has always encouraged trade between India and Sinkiang, but in the last fifty years the development reached has been anything but healthy. Indian merchants, settled in the southwestern oases, invest their profits partly in usury, which leads to lawsuits and ill-feeling. They also invested, until recently at least, in buying and growing *charas* or Indian hemp, a plant closely related to marijuana, which provided compact, high-value loads that could profitably be carried over the high passes to India. This trade in a dangerous narcotic, which in 1937–1938 represented 42 per cent of the total value of exports to India, was made the target of a political drive against British interests in Sinkiang during the "anti-imperialist" phase of the governorship of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in the late 1930's.

These limitations of trade in other directions make it plain why trade with Russia is the only mechanism which can pump vitality 439

[23] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

was in the case of Yakub Beg, the Khokandi adventurer who led a successful revolt against the Chinese in 1865 and ruled the country after the traditional manner of the Oriental despot for the next twelve years. Under his tyranny, according to Stein,[1] the population of some of the oases sank to one-half of what it had once been, and the cultivated area everywhere shrank greatly. The result was that when in 1877 the Chinese came back in force, they were welcomed with open arms by the people and the power of the self-styled "Amir" collapsed like a house of cards. 175

Nothing is more impressive than the persistence with which through the ages China has enforced her claim to Eastern Turkistan. Whether to safeguard the transcontinental "Silk Road," which in the palmy days of Imperial Rome carried the produce of her looms to the Atlantic shore, or whether because she must extend her effective occupation to the westernmost mountain barriers of her empire on pain of losing their protection, China has always returned to the charge, even after a thousand years. Despite the gigantic distances involved—for even now, with several hundred miles of railway to help, the journey from Peking to Kashgar takes five months—her armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Emperors of Cathay has leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as though they had never been. [489].

Since their last re-conquest in 1877 the Chinese have governed Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," from Urumchi fifty marches north-east of Kashgar. Standing on the site of Bishbaligh, one of the chief centres of the Uigur civilization in the Middle Ages, Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China, except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, where a man may travel for fifty days without meeting a single human being, the New Dominion has recked little of the civil wars which during the last twelve years have rent the mother-country from end to end. The only effect on Sinkiang of the Revolution of 1911 and the consequent weakening of the Central Government has been to permit a Governor of outstanding ability to establish himself as the virtually independent ruler of Chinese Central Asia. The result of Yang Tseng-hsin's twelve years' rule has been that the military and other 636

[1] "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 498.

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Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

549 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-
668 hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station.
177 In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116
443 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the
[705] Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a
[205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

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*668 Communist China may very well focus its principal attention on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia,
[648] and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

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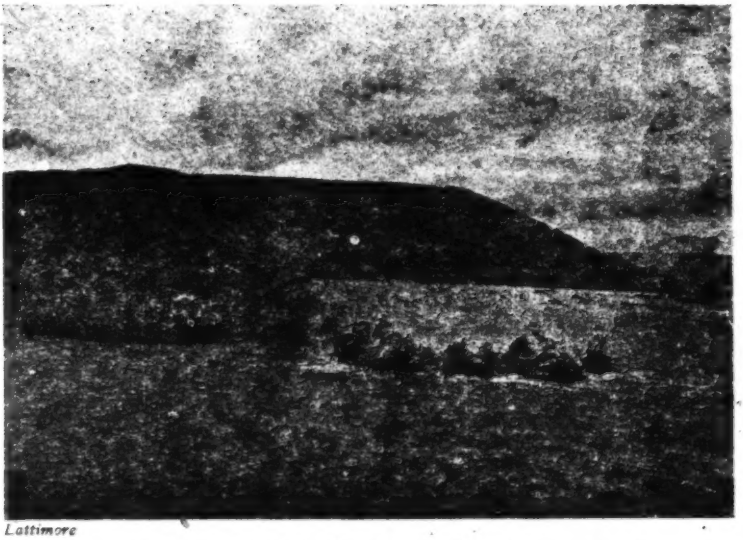

Lattimore

Travellers must often ford the Tekes and other rivers when the spring thaws come and there is no bridge.

Cantilever bridge across the Tekes River. Deep and swift-flowing mountain streams such as the Tekes makes travelling dangerous as well as difficult.

Triangle

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[p. 32 (D)]

Aviation

One of the most significant recent innovations has been the establishment of regular aviation transport to and through Sinkiang. A Eurasia Aviation Corporation line between Shanghai and T'a Ch'eng, opened in 1933, was the first step; but its use was necessarily curtailed by the outbreak of war in 1937. Not until October, 1939, did Eurasia, through the medium of the newly formed Sino-Soviet Aviation Company, open a new service. It ran from Chungking to Hami, whence, through the cooperation of Sinkiang authorities and the Soviet People's Aviation Company, it was continued via Tihwa, I-ning, and Alma-Ata (the latter over the border, in Soviet Kazakhstan) to Moscow. The trip from Chungking across Sinkiang to Alma-Ata totals about 2,584 miles and has become extremely important in United Nations mail and transport services. 509

Road Transportation

Most significant advances in the New Sinkiang have been those in the field of road transportation. The old caravan routes between China and Russia that run through Sinkiang have been readapted to modern truck travel. The only truck highway in Sinkiang before 1933 is said to have run only a short distance from the provincial capital, and there were then only some twenty military trucks in the whole area. But Ch'en Chi-jung has reported that by 1938 the following truck roads had been completed and put into use in North Sinkiang: 491 494

TRUCK ROADS IN NORTH SINKIANG, 1938

Main Roads	*Branch Lines*	*Termini*	*Distance Covered*
Ti-I		Tihwa and I-li (Sui-ting)	450 miles
Ti-Hsing		" " Hsing-hsing Hsia	470 "
Ti-T'a		" " T'a Ch'eng	430 "
	Ti-Tu	" " Turfan	
	Tu-Ch'i	Turfan and Ch'i-chio-ching	1,150 "
	T'a-Ch'eng	T'a Ch'eng and Ch'eng-hua	
Total Mileage ..			2,500 "

[p. 119]

491
494 Repairs and reconstruction were in addition undertaken over more than 1,875 miles of what is called "dry line" between Tihwa and Khotan (running via Karashahr, Kucha, Aqsu, and Kashgar). A transport control office of the provincial government, which had over 400 trucks of its own in 1938, has maintained control and repair stations on every line and by that date well over the equivalent of $500,000 U.S. currency had been expended on such work. By 1941 it was reported that there were altogether 3,000 trucks engaged in Sinkiang transport work.

Truck transport that has connected Tihwa with Soviet Russia and with other parts of China ran principally from T'a Ch'eng (on the Russian border) through Tihwa to Hsing-hsing Hsia (on the border of Chinese Kansu Province). There has also been important South Sinkiang contact with Soviet Russia from Kashgar to Andizhan via the Terek Pass. On the Chinese side the Sinkiang road system mainly links up with routes that have been under the direction of the Chinese Northwest Highway Administration via the 800-mile Kansu-Sinkiang motor road, which runs from Hsing-hsing Hsia (Baboon Pass) to Lan-chou. The Northwest Highway Administration has had a force—of 1,500 trucks as well as 5,000 drivers and supplementary workers—which maintains lines ultimately connecting up with Chungking. The main Kansu line, a modernization of the old Imperial Caravan Road which used to bear traffic in camels and carts from Sinkiang to Pei-p'ing, represents plans and work extending over the years from 1935 to the present.

Traditionally less well developed and less practicable for truck transport are the caravan trails which lead from Sinkiang (in the south) to Ch'inghai and (in the north) to Mongolia. These have been regularly used for limited local commerce—particularly the stretch from Keriya via Cherchen to Wu-erh-t'eng in Western Ch'inghai—and have great truckage and rail possibilities for the future.

Some Recent Developments

206 A milestone in Sinkiang modernization was the opening of through telephone connections between Tihwa and Chungking. *Ta Kung Pao* correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung used the line when he was in Tihwa on

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

for dinner I did not finally escape from Karghalik till 3 p.m. I was then faced with a 41-mile ride to Yarkand, including all the ceremonies involved in arriving at and departing from the town of Posgam as well as an hour or two's work with the Amban of that district. Attended only by Hafiz on his sturdy Kalmuck pony I called upon the black horse to rise to the occasion and galloped practically the whole way to Posgam (24 miles) in 2½ hours. At the British Subjects' tea-drinking, a mile short of Posgam, the poor old Aqsaqal and his friends had been waiting for me ever since noon, so I had to give them a good innings and hear all they had to say about their various lawsuits and other business. It was pitch-dark when I mounted again and trotted on into Posgam, and in view of this and of the gallop he had just done the black horse may perhaps be forgiven for coming down on a perfectly smooth bit of road and throwing me on my left shoulder rather heavily. The Amban, I was thankful to find, had abandoned the idea of a road-side reception hours before, and awaited me in his yamen; he was more considerate than my Manchu friend of Karghalik, and compliments, small talk, business and farewells were all successfully packed into an hour.

By seven o'clock I was again on the road, riding my other horse which had been waiting for me all day at Posgam. I had hoped to be able to trot and canter all the way into Yarkand (17 miles), but my shoulder, which had been wrenched by my fall, was somewhat painful and would not stand jogging, so I had to proceed the whole way at a walk. A hospitable British subject called Haji Turab Shah was ready for me at his house, a mile out of Posgam, with a good square meal for which I was extremely thankful. Crossing the Yarkand River a mile beyond this was strange experience. I was surprised to find that there was considerably more water than when we had forded this river early in November, and that some of the ferry-boats which had then been laid by were now again in use. I was told that this was due to the fact that in November the water of the river can still be drawn off for irrigation, and is used for flooding the fields which have been sown for next spring's crop; later, when the hard frost comes to the plains, the sluices of the canals become blocked with ice and it is no longer possible to draw off the waters of the river. I was escorted by the Aqsaqal of Posgam and two of his men, one of my own orderlies, and four of the Amban of Posgam's runners, who dangled at the end of poles monstrous

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

491

red paper lanterns inscribed with strange characters. With our five horses we occupied the whole of the big flat-bottomed ferry-boats, in which we were poled across the two main channels of the river by morose ferrymen in enormous sheep-skin hats. It was a wild dark night, no stars, no moon; by the light of a yellowish glow from behind heavy clouds in the western sky we could see, spinning past us in endless procession on the swift but shallow flood, floes and fragments of ice, which glanced harmlessly off our sides as the ferrymen kept the bows of the boat up-stream. The dim glow in the west, the fantastic lanterns, the strange-hatted ferrymen, the horses whinnying nervously in the bows and stern of the barge and the swift procession of the ice-floes on the dark waters, combined to produce an effect of unreality; we seemed to be crossing some river of Hades in company with a boat-load of lost souls.

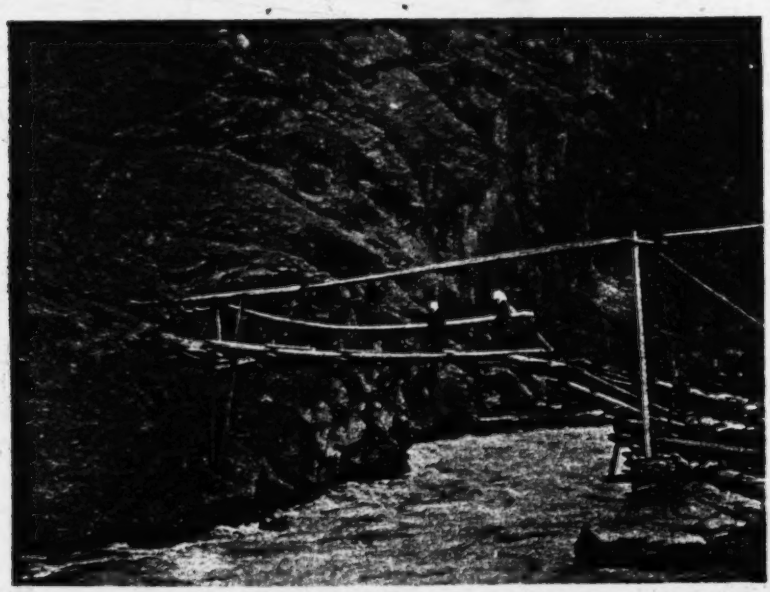
The remaining 15 miles into Yarkand were very long. What with the darkness and my painful shoulder we could not hurry, and it was midnight before we at last turned wearily into the courtyard of the house at Yarkand in which D. had been anxiously awaiting me since sunset.

Our Christmas lunch on the road between Yarkand and Kashgar was one of the chilliest meals I have ever eaten. Dismounting at a ruined farm-house we collected some fragments of green thorn-bush and tried with only partial success to make a fire behind a wall. When we came to "lay the table," we found that our drinking-water (not that we wanted to drink much) was frozen in the thermos, the hard-boiled eggs were also hard-frozen (D. thought the first one she broke was bad and threw it away), the cold chicken emitted a ringing sound when tapped and the juicy Kucha pears had to be thawed before we could get our teeth into them!

291

DISPENSING MEDICINE TO THE KIRGHIZ, CHOPKANA JILGHA

491



A KIRGHIZ BRIDGE BUILT ON THE CANTILEVER PRINCIPLE, KHANTEREK. THE FOREMOST OF THE LADIES CROSSING IS CARRYING TWIN BABIES

[Face p. 146]

S
N
489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S
N
631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S
N
563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
657 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S
631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S
631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
647 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

175 648 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in November 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [901] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease the Russian-supported Kulja Nationalists

648 thinly populated area with a Chinese population, is the most
668 important factor in the reassertion of Chinese control. The Chinese link with Turkestan is also not limited to the railroad under construction which will run along the old caravan route via Qomul, Urumchi, to the Soviet border. In addition the [491] Chinese Communists follow the policy of the National Government [496] in the construction of road and railroad connections through the Tsaidam Basin. This area is reportedly also to be developed by Communist China into a new key industrial center in central Asia. Oil and mineral resources are claimed to exist in abundance. The Tsaidam region is farther away from the Soviet or Outer Mongolian border than is the main railroad line and it provides a position in depth in the Chinese Communist connection with Sinkiang. In its advance into central Asia, the Chinese Communist regime seems to follow the main strategic considerations which had been observed by previous Chinese governments

With the shrinking distances and the means of modern industrial development, the importance of Sinkiang with its rich natural resources has vastly increased. There is at the moment no indication of any hitch in the Soviek-Chinese cooperation in the province. But should any conflict evolve between these Communist organizations, Sinkiang must, by the very reason of its geographic location and economic importance, become one of the decisive areas of conflict.

000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N 439 435 ¥195 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 635 N 487 N 439 D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S 439 E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with S 439 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade 487 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and 491 Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner S Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, 439 the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to 49 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

439 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In
491 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this high-
494 way, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest
175 highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average
439

Description	Value (yüan)	
435 A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp.88-90.

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N
*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

N B. Highways
491 Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
• 491 Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
491 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
487 in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
S Hsining and Urumchi.
[491]
[487]

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N
*668 In Chinghai Province, three short lines were completed by
491 January, 1954, namely the renovated Lao-ya-hsia sector of the
499 Kansu-Chinghai Highway (Lanchow-Hsi-ning Highway), the sector
*175 south of La-chi-shan on the Hsi-ning Kuei-teh Highway originally planned by the Nationalist Government, and the new Hsün-hua-Tung-jen Highway, with a total of 360 kilometers. Among the publicized trunk lines, the most notable one was the 2100 kilometer Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway. The first part of this line was constructed along the old Chinghai-Sinkiang route, and was originally built by the Mohammedan leader Ma Pu-fang during 1946-1948 (from Sining to Chin-hung-shan), from Hsining to Gormo along the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin, then the highway turning south via Ku-ku-shih-li reached Chi-ting-si-lin, the common point of Chinghai, Sikang (now part of Szechwan) and Tibet, and thence leading to Lhasa in Tibet. The complete Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954. It linked with highways radiating northwest to Sinkiang and east to Lanchou, and met Sikang-Tibet Highway at Lhasa to keep close contact with the Southwestern provinces. Of the old roads, there was the Chinghai-Sinkiang Highway (Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan Highway) which was damaged before 1949, the Hsi-ning-Gormo section of about 800 kilometers which was restored in 1954 as part of the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, and the rest repaired in May of 1955. Along the old Hsi-ning-Sikang route construction began in early May of 1955 on the Hsi-ning-Kuolo Highway of 627 kilometers leading to the Kuolo Tibetan National Autonomous District. Consisting of sections of the Hsi-ning-Hua-shih-hsia (424 kms.) and Hua-shih-hsia-Chi-mai (203 kms.), the Hsi-ning-Kuolo line was completed in November, 1955. The completion of these highways further facilitated the interflow of supplies between the agricultural and pastoral areas and supported the economic construction of the national minorities.

S
491 In Sinkiang, the traditional arterial highways were centered at Urumchi. To the south, one highway at Kurle was divided into two branches and met again in the west at Kashgar to form a circle link around the Taklamakan desert; to the east the highway led through Turfan, Hami toward Lanchou; to the north, a line ran along the Manas River to Sharasume (Cheng-hua); and to the west there were two highways stretching to the Sino-Soviet border, one to Ho-cheng and the other to Ta-cheng. Along the Old Silk Road, from No-chiang, one highway was extended eastward to Tun-huang in Kansu. There were three highways connecting Urumchi with Russia through Ta-cheng, Hocheng, and Kashgar, to link with the Soviet-Turksib Railway stations at Ayaguz, Ilisk, and Andizhan respectively.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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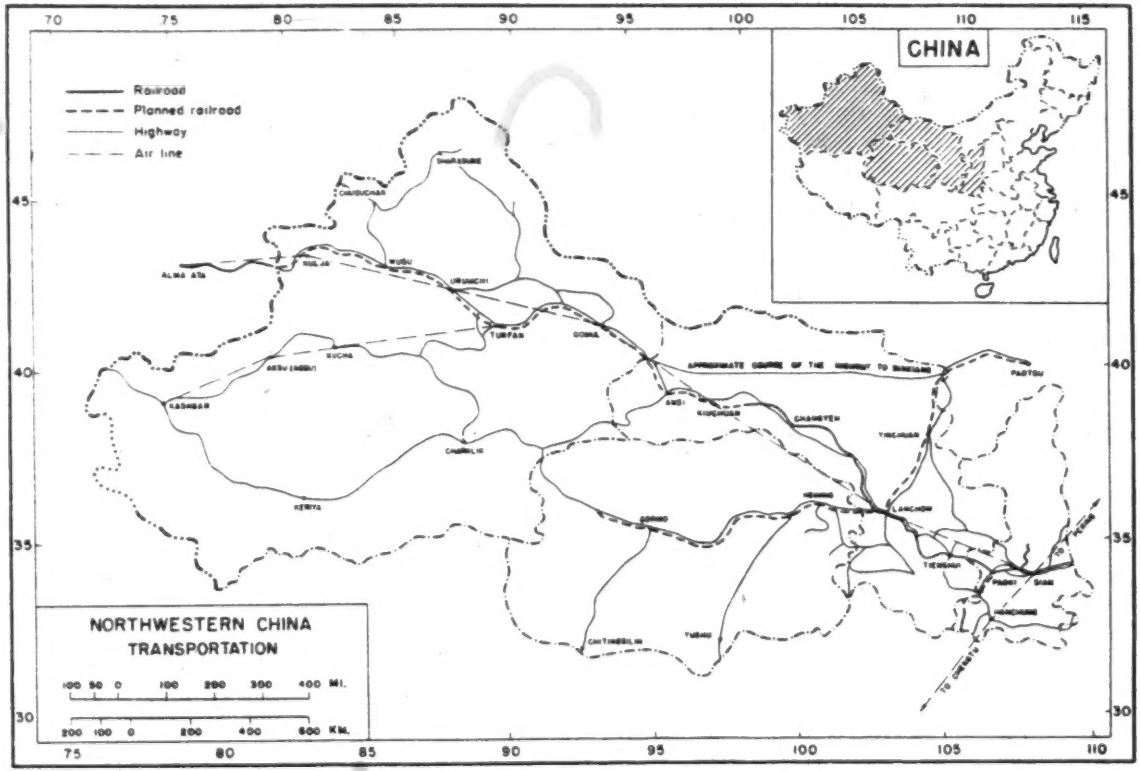

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[following page 704]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

•491 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took
133 the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the
135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as
316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the 137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, [205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls [487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We [206] were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. [132] We were warned that at this season people were dying from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them- [342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better 372 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

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372 qualities. Several of the desert plants and roots supply fuel of fair quality, but in most places the people are dependent on animal droppings, cow dung being the best variety since, well dried, it gives out a glowing heat.

647 A visit to the Official brought us once more into the tragic conditions of Yamen life. A young man, with signs of the opium habit upon him, received us with the usual Chinese courtesy, and introduced his wife, who was a nice-looking and self-respecting girl; but there were other women in the household of such a character as must have made existence in Tsikioking a living death to her.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THROUGH THE CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS

133 At Tsikioking we were within a few miles of the outer foothills of the Tian Shan, which, on the next •491 stage, we were to traverse from south to north. No sign of the Pass, however, was evident, and it was not until we had covered the first few miles of gently rising ground that we found the road took a sudden turn, and we then quickly entered the mouth of a narrowing gorge. At the entrance to the ravine the yellow sand was piled up on the windward side of the rocks to the height of several hundred feet, but as we advanced naked blackness met the eye on every side, and from here on, a rift through the black rocks sliced a road right across the Celestial Range to the plain of Dzungaria.

For nine hours we followed a narrow path, the gradient rising so evenly as to be scarcely noticeable. The high rocks on either side were absolutely denuded,

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and of perpendicular strata. Great naked crags towered above us, and in some parts the side of the mountain was cut clean through as with a gigantic knife. Our previous experience of mountain passes had led us to expect a road which must rise and fall with the course of the mountain, and we were greatly astonished when, hour after hour, we still pursued a course with no semblance of a hill. The rugged grandeur of the scene was most impressive. On either side the loose boulders were flung in wild confusion, though never blocking the path so as to make it impassable to the carts. 133 491

As the night wore on the constant winding of the Pass, in which we could never see more than a few hundred feet ahead owing to its tortuous nature, made the stage seem interminable. It appeared as though, after so many hours, the next turn *must* bring an opening to view, but once again the road twisted and vanished round yet another corner. Suddenly, without warning, we emerged, and saw in the brilliant moonlight the inn of Towshui—' Head Spring '—which was a welcome sight indeed. [485]

During the winter months this gorge is closed by the snow, and many travellers have been lost in the drifts caused by the sweeping of the winds round the sharp corners ; the optional road via Turfan has then to be taken. The only signs of life in these desolate, barren, stony chasms were the birds of prey which hovered overhead. A Chinese traveller told us that once, when eating a wayside lunch in the gorge, he turned his head aside for an instant, and like lightning an eagle swept past, taking the bread from his hand. [136]

From Towshui to the next inn, which is Tashitow—' The Great Stone '—the road led over the watershed dividing Chinese Turkestan from Dzungaria. We drove over undulating downs, and as we descended the other [485]

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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the
● 491 Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance. Geographically its position is notable, standing as it
487 does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We
491 followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 18
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

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000 journey. It was hard for our driver to restrain his horses until we had taken leave, and no sooner was the 494 final word 'ping-an tsai'—'peace be with you'—spoken, than he scrambled to his seat, lashed his team, and instantly the horses sprang forward, breaking into a quick trot. They proved to be in good condition, and we found that travelling by tarantass was comfortable, and indeed far less wearying than by Chinese cart. Moreover we were able to cover six miles per hour at a steady pace, exactly doubling our former speed, the seven hundred miles to Chuguchak[1] being accomplished in a fortnight, whereas by Chinese cart it would have been [491] a journey of twenty-two days. The roads were good, and the jingling bells, the gaily-painted circus hoop, and the freely-harnessed, trotting horses made a cheerful *ensemble*, while at each half-stage there was a wayside inn where we could buy hot water and make tea.

000 Mr. Hunter had, at the last moment, decided also to come with us as far as Chuguchak. His little ammunition-cart was, therefore, like our own tarantass, laden to its uttermost capacity. Mr. Mather used his own horse, while Nimga rode by Mr. Hunter's cartside. 494 There was a great deal of traffic on the road, carts of merchandise from Russia and Ili constantly passing us. 439 On the first day we met twelve carts laden with tin and galvanised iron pails, such as are so popular on the Urumchi market, and without which no traveller moves; matches, sugar, and leather formed the cargo of many 485 others. It was long after dark when we reached the first inn at Changki. Every room was occupied, and the courtyard was full of vehicles laden with grain, cotton and water-melons. Each driver was sleeping near his merchandise, and the stalls were crowded with beasts that kicked, squealed, and bit at each other throughout the night. Seeing that there was no

[1] [From Urumchi -- Analyst]

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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find 241
a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, 133
which is the most important stream in this part of 491
Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue 485
Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the 353
inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however [136]
still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, 233
covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian 221
nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was 000
beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the 484
Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an [487]
important town surrounded by a considerable area of 443
irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and 366
Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans [485]
travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter 133
part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk 491

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491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a 133 village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for 491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

[312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a 579 region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the 167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

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which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine 494
animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles.

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down [491] ●
hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as 563
the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any 294

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563 294 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While 563 231 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

491 We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming 080 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

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noon when we left Ertaochiao on the understanding that it was but a very short distance to an inn, which, though situated in a desert district, and very small, was reported to be comfortable. Mr. Hunter then kindly went ahead to make preparations at the inn, and we followed him over a country which became increasingly desolate. The track led across a sandy waste, between tamarisk mounds and an occasional tuft of 'chi chi' grass. There was no telegraph wire to guide us, and hour after hour we drove on through the same monotonous scenery, with no distinctive marks and no sign of the inn we were seeking. Both drivers confessed themselves baffled, and as the darkness fell they had to admit that we had missed our way, and although they dismounted and walked about seeking a landmark, they found none. Moreover, travellers in these regions are loath to shout or to light camp-fires, for fear of revealing their whereabouts to horse-stealers. After a considerable time a voice was heard calling, which we recognised as that of Nimga, but on replying we were answered from another direction by Mr. Hunter, when gradually we all came together again and found that he, too, had missed the inn, so that we had no option but to push on. At midnight we were still going, but were suddenly brought to a standstill by entering a soft marshy ground, the extent and treachery of which it was impossible to gauge. Three of the carts of merchandise were already in the bog, from which they could not be extricated, so the horses' legs were secured with iron padlocks, while the whole party lay down on the ground, and in five minutes all were sound asleep. Four hours' drive on the next morning brought us at length to Chuguchak, where we were indeed glad to get our first substantial meal in twenty-four hours.

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

by a troop of cavalry at a smart amble; it was the Commandant of the Garrison, also coming to see me off. The carriers tried to turn the ponies back, but D.'s patience had long been exhausted and she would have none of it; urged by her cries the ponies and our mounted servants charged down the lane and after a short tussle bore back the Commandant's carriage, escort and all, out into the dusty high-road. Fortunately the gallant officer was too much under the influence of opium to be quite aware of what was happening; fortunately also, no other dignitaries came to see me off and I escaped an hour later after the most cordial adieux.

D. had quite recovered her equanimity when I caught her up after a sharp ten miles' canter. She had been lucky enough to witness a most picturesque spectacle on the road. A caravan of some two hundred camels carrying raw wool from Kucha to Kashgar happened to leave Aqsu the same morning as ourselves and to be crossing the Qum Ariq River just as D. overtook it. The huge, shaggy animals with their bulky loads were tied in strings of eight, each string as usual led by a man on a donkey [1] and the whole caravan chiming with a regular carillon of bells. At the ford the Qum Ariq runs in four broad channels of varying depth; it was as good as a play, D. said, to watch the strings of camels, each guided by a yelling carrier perched on the top of the leading animal's load, zigzagging painfully across one channel after another. The donkeys, cool and sensible as ever (nobody who has travelled in the Lands of the Sun makes the mistake of thinking the donkey a stupid animal) swam across by themselves without fuss, while the big fierce-looking Kalmuck watch-dogs barked furiously as they splashed around. To complete the picture, three big Chinese travelling carts coming from Maralbashi with a minor official and his household on board met the camels in mid-stream and made confusion worse confounded. I had a talk with the carriers later in the day. They told me that the wool belonged to Kucha sheep-farmers; the camels came from the Bai district, and had been hired at the rate of 8 taels (21*s.* 4*d.*) each; fifty days had been allowed them under the terms of their contract for the whole journey,

[1] Mongolian and "Bactrian" camels travel more steadily if they are led by a pony or donkey; the latter animal is more commonly used for the purpose as its pace is practically the same as a camel's. I did not notice this custom in South Persia, where the single-humped Arabian camel is used.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and they expected to reach Kashgar within a month from Aqsu.

For 112 miles after leaving Aqsu we traversed the perfectly flat plain to the north of the Tarim River jungles, within sight of, though not actually along, the famous "Silk Road" first organized by the Han Emperor Wu-ti in the second century B.C., for the transport of Chinese fabrics to the Far West.[1] At an average interval of 15 miles there are halting places with poky little native serais and sometimes a slightly better Chinese rest-house. Each place has a small bazaar of shanties and stalls in which the people of the settlement, or of the nearest oasis, sell food for man and beast. At Chilan, 57 miles from Aqsu, we found ourselves in Kelpin district again; we noticed here a remarkable improvement in the facial type of the people, the women being remarkably handsome with regular, almost Greek, features.

The two Chinese troopers deputed by the O.C. Aqsu to escort our caravan as far as Maralbashi caused us much innocent amusement. One of them was comparatively bright and helpful; indeed, except for the fact that he could not fire his carbine, the bolt of which was tied on with a red handkerchief, and that he never mounted his horse without the assistance of a wall at least three feet high, he was quite a useful cavalryman. He had obviously never heard a shot fired in anger; whenever I shot a bird in his presence, or even fired my gun, he became wildly excited, laughing and clapping his hands like a child. But he was at any rate alive; his brother in arms, on the other hand, was the most miserable, opium-sodden wretch I ever saw, even in the Titai's army. We stood him as long as we could, for the sake of the O.C. Aqsu's "face," but the limit was reached the night we came to Yaka Kuduk. The march from Chilan was a moderately long one, and D. and I cantered ahead in the afternoon so as to arrive before dark, expecting the caravan to come in about seven o'clock. To our discomfort, it did not arrive till half-past eight. We questioned Hafiz. "Sahib," he replied, with an apologetic grin, "it was the opium-smoking *chirik*. Last night he finished all the opium he brought with him, and this afternoon he asked us for some. We had none, and he became very angry. Just after sunset he fell off his horse, and we

[1] The Chinese military road ran along the foot of the Kelpin Tagh a few miles to the north-west of the present route (Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 427).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XV

UNDER THE NORTHERN RIM OF TIBET

IN the spring of 1924 official business along the south-eastern road once more demanded my personal attention. Leaving Kashgar on 1st March and spending a busy fortnight at Yarkand, we reached Keriya on 12th April after short halts at Posgam, Karghalik, Goma and Khotan. On the way home we broke new ground between Keriya and Khotan and again between Khotan and Karghalik; but on the outward journey we used the same direct caravan route which we had already twice traversed, and I will therefore confine myself as far as Keriya to a few passages from diaries and letters.

Yarkand, 7th March, 1924.

On the wide grassy plain south of Yangi Hissar this morning we overtook a caravan of camels carrying Tashkend sugar and Baku oil from Kashgar to Khotan. They were fine shaggy brutes and as impressive as camels always are when you see them in long strings filing across the wide spaces of the earth. But what marked this caravan among all I have ever seen—or heard—was its music. Never was there such a carillon of bells as that which rose to heaven from this slow-moving train of unmusical-looking antediluvians. There were loud bells and soft bells, big clanging bells and little bubbling bells, high-pitched bells and low booming bells and cracked bells, double bells one inside the other, copper bells from Kashgar and iron bells from Toqsun far along the road to Mongolia. Some of these latter have as clappers—what do you think? Camels' bones. I bought one the other day as a curiosity. There is something grimly pathetic about the idea of camels padding week after week, month after month, across Asia with the bones of their predecessors tinkling in the bells at their necks.

We had a really brilliant day for our "triumphal entry" into Yarkand with about a hundred British subjects of all kinds and religions mounted on more or less unmanageable ponies behind us. Yarkand as a whole took the utmost interest in our arrival, for it had been rumoured that we had gone back to India and that a former incumbent of the post had returned. I was amused to hear a woman in the bazaar say to a friend as I rode past *Bulturki Consul shu* (This is last year's Consul).

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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dare to detain us, and the head of the firm had given notice of the day we should cross the frontier ; but we never knew a moment's peace till we were out of the hands of that gang. How different from General Feng's soldiers! We passed right through their fighting lines, and they never seized even our little donkey! The officer said, "These men are honest apprentices ; they have a long journey ahead ; no one is to touch them, their goods or their donkey!" That's something like an army!' 486

The following morning we reached 'Third Halt,' which we found to be a torrid place, lying in a cup of the hills. Our inn rooms were intolerably hot, and after a brief rest we got up and sat under the trees, hoping to escape from the flies, and also seize the advantage of any passing breeze. While resting there we heard the sound of the familiar camel-bell, and looking up watched a string of sixty of these beasts cross the village stream. The banks were muddy, and the awkwardness of the camel when walking on slippery ground was evident. These beasts frequently come to grief when attempting to travel on other than sandy roads, and broken legs are not infrequent at a river's edge. The driver was a Barkul man, which city is colonised by Chinese, many of whom make their living by grazing camels. The Turki is of no use as a camel driver. He is too impetuous, and seems unable to give these animals the peculiar care which they need. Strong, long-lived, and enduring, as they are under good conditions, they easily lose heart, and once overdriven never recover. Rough treatment, hustle or untoward difficulties play havoc with these creatures, whose temperamental qualities seem to be as strange as their physical peculiarities. Once their spirit is broken they are of no further use, and lie down and die. 361 132 492

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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[133] feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at
486 Tsimusa—'The City of Everlasting Trust'—and seeing a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no 'foreign devil' should again darken his doors! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the 'Inn of the Cursing Landlord' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—'The Third Stage.'
133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes,
241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as: 'Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself.
• 492 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no ' pull ' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. ' It's temper is up ! ' they said, ' and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its ' face,' and went to work again ! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi. 492

We had been without the guiding telegraph wire ever since we parted from it at Tsikioking, but at Kucheng we met with it once more, and we were glad of its indication over the rolling steppes which we now so frequently crossed. A new feature of the road was the little Ili Valley cart, of a build unfamiliar to us. The fact that it had four wheels gave it a Western look, for all Chinese carts, large or small, are built on two wheels, and this new structure was unknown to most of our party, who were as delighted as children to see this departure from the agelong, traditional vehicle. 206 493

Leaving Santai, an hour's drive brought us to the site of the original town of that name, now a mass of crumbling ruins, one more reminder of the havoc and desolation wrought by the Moslem rebellion in 1862–1877. Ruined villages, hamlets and farmsteads, mark 361 669

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
437 but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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KASHGARI FISHERMEN AT WORK IN A CANAL

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ON TOUR IN THE PLAINS; OUR CARTS STARTING OUT FROM A CHINESE REST-HOUSE

[Face p. 246]

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 377 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a N S 463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N [433] it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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THE INN OF LOST ILLUSIONS.

"This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose your hotels are all better than this."

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[FACING P. 196]

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no ' pull ' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. ' It's temper is up ! ' they said, ' and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its ' face,' and went to work again ! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi.

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had to be considered for undertaking that portion of our long journey which still stretched in front. From Suchow to Urumchi we had already traversed one thousand five hundred miles, but seven hundred more miles still lay between us and Chuguchak, which is the last city in China, before crossing the Russian border. It was therefore necessary for us to buy as many Russian roubles as we should require, and in this we received assistance from the Chinese postmaster. The remainder of the road-journey now could best be taken in a Russian *tarantass*—a long, fourwheeled, springless cart, harnessed in Siberian style, with three horses abreast, and a gaily painted wooden hoop fastened to the shafts and standing high over the middle horse's head, to which several bells are attached. This mode of travel is far quicker than by Chinese cart, so we decided to sell all our mules (except, of course, Molly) together with both the carts, and proceed by the said hired tarantass. And now it was our turn to comb our mules' manes, plait our mules' tails and send them bravely forth to the horse fair wearing handsome, borrowed saddles, but with the proud knowledge that *we* had no sore backs to hide, and no underfed beasts to palm off on the unsuspecting purchasers! In due course all our animals were sold, while preparations were completed for our further travelling on to Chuguchak.

CHAPTER XLII

THROUGH FLY-LAND IN A TARANTASS

OUR departure was fixed for Thursday, August 26th, but the obstinate Turki driver, whose cart we had hired, was determined to force us to travel with a cavalcade

Aviation

One of the most significant recent innovations has been the establishment of regular aviation transport to and through Sinkiang. A Eurasia Aviation Corporation line between Shanghai and T'a Ch'eng, opened in 1933, was the first step; but its use was necessarily curtailed by the outbreak of war in 1937. Not until October, 1939, did Eurasia, through the medium of the newly formed Sino-Soviet Aviation Company, open a new service. It ran from Chungking to Hami, whence, through the cooperation of Sinkiang authorities and the Soviet People's Aviation Company, it was continued via Tihwa, I-ning, and Alma-Ata (the latter over the border, in Soviet Kazakhstan) to Moscow. The trip from Chungking across Sinkiang to Alma-Ata totals about 2,584 miles and has become extremely important in United Nations mail and transport services. 509

Road Transportation

Most significant advances in the New Sinkiang have been those in the field of road transportation. The old caravan routes between China and Russia that run through Sinkiang have been readapted to modern truck travel. The only truck highway in Sinkiang before 1933 is said to have run only a short distance from the provincial capital, and there were then only some twenty military trucks in the whole area. But Ch'en Chi-jung has reported that by 1938 the following truck roads had been completed and put into use in North Sinkiang: 491 494

TRUCK ROADS IN NORTH SINKIANG, 1938

Main Roads	*Branch Lines*	*Termini*	*Distance Covered*
Ti-I		Tihwa and I-li (Sui-ting)	450 miles
Ti-Hsing		" " Hsing-hsing Hsia	470 "
Ti-T'a		" " T'a Ch'eng	430 "
	Ti-Tu	" " Turfan	
	Tu-Ch'i	Turfan and Ch'i-chio-ching	1,150 "
	T'a-Ch'eng	T'a Ch'eng and Ch'eng-hua	
Total Mileage ..			2,500 "

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491
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Repairs and reconstruction were in addition undertaken over more than 1,875 miles of what is called "dry line" between Tihwa and Khotan (running via Karashahr, Kucha, Aqsu, and Kashgar). A transport control office of the provincial government, which had over 400 trucks of its own in 1938, has maintained control and repair stations on every line and by that date well over the equivalent of $500,000 U.S. currency had been expended on such work. By 1941 it was reported that there were altogether 3,000 trucks engaged in Sinkiang transport work.

Truck transport that has connected Tihwa with Soviet Russia and with other parts of China ran principally from T'a Ch'eng (on the Russian border) through Tihwa to Hsing-hsing Hsia (on the border of Chinese Kansu Province). There has also been important South Sinkiang contact with Soviet Russia from Kashgar to Andizhan via the Terek Pass. On the Chinese side the Sinkiang road system mainly links up with routes that have been under the direction of the Chinese Northwest Highway Administration via the 800-mile Kansu-Sinkiang motor road, which runs from Hsing-hsing Hsia (Baboon Pass) to Lan-chou. The Northwest Highway Administration has had a force—of 1,500 trucks as well as 5,000 drivers and supplementary workers—which maintains lines ultimately connecting up with Chungking. The main Kansu line, a modernization of the old Imperial Caravan Road which used to bear traffic in camels and carts from Sinkiang to Pei-p'ing, represents plans and work extending over the years from 1935 to the present.

Traditionally less well developed and less practicable for truck transport are the caravan trails which lead from Sinkiang (in the south) to Ch'inghai and (in the north) to Mongolia. These have been regularly used for limited local commerce—particularly the stretch from Keriya via Cherchen to Wu-er-t'eng in Western Ch'inghai—and have great truckage and rail possibilities for the future.

Some Recent Developments

206

A milestone in Sinkiang modernization was the opening of through telephone connections between Tihwa and Chungking. *Ta Kung Pao* correspondent Ch'en Chi-jung used the line when he was in Tihwa on

439 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In
491 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this high-
494 way, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest
175 highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average
439
435

Description	Value (yuan)	
A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp.88-90.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard,
which had never left us all through our travels, had so
accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its
skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic,
so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding
ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as
prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning
incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas
expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense
nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the
Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with
its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were
the only travellers on that road who would dare to take
such a journey without observing this ritual, and such
an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we
enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god
in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey
without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of
our carters, who two months previously would have
been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave
without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and
by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of
the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the
others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of
its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt.
The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1 [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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494 moreover, told badly on our cart-wheels, and one of the spokes had cracked; all the same we pushed on, resuming the night stages. The hour of departure was fixed for 6 p.m., so the whole party ate a meal at 4 p.m., after which the care of the animals, packing the carts and settling the inn account kept us busy until we left.

000 As soon as we were clear of the village, according to our habit, we enjoyed a time of reading aloud, the smooth, sandy roads keeping the cart so steady that without undue fatigue to the eyes we were easily able to do so. As daylight faded, however, we dismounted for our evening walk, which generally continued until darkness fell, for we had not our carters' gift of seeing by night. At this time of the year there were only about seven hours of darkness, yet always at sunset the icy chill seemed to rise from the surface of the sand, when everyone at once put on an extra garment. Then silence fell on the party, and the only sound heard was the rhythmic clang of the great camel bell which swung from the axle of our big cart. The crescent moon rose and set; we watched the great stars move slowly across the sky; on the horizon magnetic fires rose and fell, and when the driver touched the mules with his whip a flash of light appeared. The space, the silence, the darkness, the loneliness all produced a state of consciousness when the accepted values of life seemed readjusted, being found to be curiously different from those accepted by day in the busy throng. Day uttereth speech, but night showeth knowledge; and we have remained wiser women for the meditations of those Gobi nights.

494 312 Our carters had frequently made reference to a stage of unusual difficulty and length still lying ahead, and at Kushui—'The Spring of Bitter Water'

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—we found that we had reached it, and that 46 English miles still divided us from Kotzyentun— —' The Dove Tower '—which was the next oasis. We now occasionally met a convoy taking supplies to the troops, and at the ' Spring of Bitter Water ' our carters were delighted to find a string of carts returning to Hami, whose drivers proposed to travel with us. So all started in good time together for the record march and made good progress until 1 a.m., when, without warning, two sections of the wheel rim detached themselves and fell to the ground. The situation would have been hopeless had it not been for our fellow-travellers, but now in the space of half an hour the Chinese evangelist came to an arrangement with one of the carters to transfer us and our baggage to his cart, the remainder of the party staying behind to patch up the wheel and to drag the empty vehicle somehow to the end of the appointed stage.

494 [312]

Meanwhile we jolted along, but before we reached ' The Dove Tower ' the sun was high and the scorching heat was almost intolerable, for there was no cover and we were wholly unprotected from its rays. All the same on we jolted, sitting upon some mysterious boxes, which were the cargo of our new conveyance ; but before long the aroma with which we seemed to be surrounded caused us to enquire what merchandise was being conveyed over this desert road. ' Dead mules,' was the answer. ' Two of mine have just died, so I have packed them into those boxes to sell for meat further down the road.' The end of the incident was, that we bought the meat, and promptly abandoned it !

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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door the darkness is almost complete. Experience in travel, however, enables one to appreciate the fact that in this dark hole: 1. The rays of the sun being excluded, the traveller (whose only rest is taken by day) has a good chance of sleep; 2. The heat does not easily penetrate this earthen dwelling; 3. The darkness is so distasteful to flies that once the room is shut up they voluntarily leave by the hole in the roof; 4. The Gobi wind and swirling sand are as effectively excluded as possible; 5. The tired traveller may sleep as soundly as he pleases, there being no aperture through which a stealthy hand can introduce itself and abstract his goods while he slumbers. 485

We had been in bed for about three hours when we heard the sound of the derelict cart approaching the inn. It was quite unmistakable owing to the thud given each time when the injured portion of the wheel met the ground. There were a few deep groans from the driver; a brief conversation with the innkeeper; and then, silence while the exhausted men slept. 494 485

In the afternoon a council of war was held, and the Turki driver of our rescued conveyance was induced, for a moderate sum of money, to fill up his empty cart with the heavy luggage, which he undertook to deliver in Hami. There was no blacksmith nor wheelwright in the village, but a venerable Turki volunteered his amateur services, and by means of a length of rope, a few nails and the skilful use of an adze, before nightfall the wheel was so far repaired, that by letting the cart go empty we hoped to bring it in safety to Hami.

Our next night of travel brought us to the well-named oasis of Changliushui—'The Inexhaustible Spring.' As we approached by moonlight we suddenly caught sight of a tree, the first we had seen since leaving 485 361 312

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
563 dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

in their comfortable houses. We bore witness in Kucheng, and then passed on.

CHAPTER XL

KUCHENG TO URUMCHI

BEFORE we left Suchow, relying on the correctness of travellers' information, we had comforted ourselves with the thought that Kucheng was to see the end of the most tedious part of our journey. 'The Governor's Express Cart Service takes you over six stages in a day and a half, that is, by travelling straight through, and only stopping long enough to change horses,' had said an enthusiastic native of Urumchi, but after many years' experience of Chinese roads we had ventured to doubt the possibility of maintaining this speed without broken bones and heads. 'Roads! but you have never seen any approaching those of "Kow Wai." Why, they are as smooth as the top of this table!' had been the answer. Therefore, nothing doubting, we had informed Mr. Hunter that when we reached Kucheng we intended going on by Express Cart, leaving the men to follow more slowly; but he shook his wise head, saying: 'I would not take such a risk if I were you! Do not fix anything until you have seen the style of the mail coach. *I* would not endanger *my* life in one of those contraptions.' We pressed the matter no further, especially as our Chinese escort had stared in blank amazement at the very notion of hiring a seat in one cart when we were already going to the expense of places in another, and he had added: 'A few more days on the road, what does it matter? Even a week more or less on a long journey is of little importance.'

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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When we were about one mile from the gate of Kucheng, 494
a yell was heard, and our men hastily drew up, saying, '*Kwai che lai liao*'—the Express is coming! and in a swirl of dust, and with a wild jingle of many harness bells, three long-limbed, bony horses galloped madly past under the lash of the driver, who, having just caught sight of the town entrance, was bringing his team through the city gate and up the main street at a pace calculated to impress the populace! It was then that we saw the body of the cart was simply made of long poles lashed together, on which two passengers, clinging to the framework, were being hurled from side to side by the violence of the jolting. One glance at the 'Express' quickly satisfied us that such a mode of travel, while excellent for postal parcels, would be hideous torture to ordinary human beings if nerves formed any part of their anatomy, while some might scarcely survive the fifty-four hours of this frenzied mode of dispatch.

From Kucheng onwards it was no longer necessary to 484
make night stages. Hot as it was, the animals stood it 312
well, as each midday brought us to a wayside foodshop, where we were able to get something for ourselves and water for the mules, and the nights were now spent in towns of some importance. The direction of the road was south-west, as we had reached our most northerly point at Kucheng, and we were now following the line of the Tian Shan towards the dip which marks the position of Urumchi. The highest peak of this part of 133
the Tian Shan was now coming into sight, the great Bogdo-ola—'The Mount of God'—which rises twenty thousand feet, and is seen from a great distance. This summit, with its surrounding peaks, is of a grand and rugged shape, and lends distinction to the country which would be insignificant were it not for this arresting

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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had to be considered for undertaking that portion of our long journey which still stretched in front. From Suchow to Urumchi we had already traversed one thousand five hundred miles, but seven hundred more miles still lay between us and Chuguchak, which is the last city in China, before crossing the Russian border. It was therefore necessary for us to buy as many Russian roubles as we should require, and in this we received assistance from the Chinese postmaster. The remainder of the road-journey now could best be taken in a Russian *tarantass*—a long, fourwheeled, springless cart, harnessed in Siberian style, with three horses abreast, and a gaily painted wooden hoop fastened to the shafts and standing high over the middle horse's head, to which several bells are attached. This mode of travel is far quicker than by Chinese cart, so we decided to sell all our mules (except, of course, Molly) together with both the carts, and proceed by the said hired tarantass. And now it was our turn to comb our mules' manes, plait our mules' tails and send them bravely forth to the horse fair wearing handsome, borrowed saddles, but with the proud knowledge that *we* had no sore backs to hide, and no underfed beasts to palm off on the unsuspecting purchasers! In due course all our animals were sold, while preparations were completed for our further travelling on to Chuguchak.

CHAPTER XLII

THROUGH FLY-LAND IN A TARANTASS

OUR departure was fixed for Thursday, August 26th, but the obstinate Turki driver, whose cart we had hired, was determined to force us to travel with a cavalcade

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

of his friends who would not leave until Saturday. He therefore removed a wheel from the tarantass on the plea of necessary repairs, and by Friday at midday the wheelwright had not yet finished his job. It was only under the strong pressure brought by Mr. Hunter, who refused to leave the workshop until the wheel was mended, that Friday afternoon saw the empty tarantass rattle over the rough road and draw up at the side door of the Mission Compound.

Our personal luggage was very little, knowing, as we did, that when we reached the Siberian railway we must not carry more than regulation weight. We were also advised not to take books, papers, letters, nor photographs into Russia. Our cameras, consequently, were left behind, as also our organ, and all personal effects beyond a hand-valise each, and a wadded quilt for bedding. It was well for Mr. Mather that this delay had occurred, for it was not until sunset on the Thursday that he even began to ram a few things into a kitbag in view of the journey.

The food-box was royally supplied by gifts from the generous Urumchi people, who vied with one another in making this an opportunity to express their appreciation of the two men who had lived and worked in their midst for so many years. The Governor sent us an ample supply of tinned food for the road, and of tea, sugar, cake, biscuits, bread and candles there was more than we could carry. Russian friends had sent cakes and a supply of delicious conserves, the like of which are met in no country but Russia, made from mountain strawberries, which are plentiful in Urumchi.

The men who had accompanied us from Suchow were now very anxious to return, so we had made an application for a passport to enable them to cross through Hsinghsinghsia. Naturally, all concerned felt great

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

000 journey. It was hard for our driver to restrain his horses until we had taken leave, and no sooner was the
494 final word 'ping-an tsai'—'peace be with you'—spoken, than he scrambled to his seat, lashed his team, and instantly the horses sprang forward, breaking into a quick trot. They proved to be in good condition, and we found that travelling by tarantass was comfortable, and indeed far less wearying than by Chinese cart. Moreover we were able to cover six miles per hour at a steady pace, exactly doubling our former speed, the seven hundred miles to Chuguchak[1] being accomplished in a fortnight, whereas by Chinese cart it would have been
[491] a journey of twenty-two days. The roads were good, and the jingling bells, the gaily-painted circus hoop, and the freely-harnessed, trotting horses made a cheerful *ensemble*, while at each half-stage there was a wayside inn where we could buy hot water and make tea.

000 Mr. Hunter had, at the last moment, decided also to come with us as far as Chuguchak. His little ammunition-cart was, therefore, like our own tarantass, laden to its uttermost capacity. Mr. Mather used his own horse, while Nimgá rode by Mr. Hunter's cartside.
494 There was a great deal of traffic on the road, carts of merchandise from Russia and Ili constantly passing us.
439 On the first day we met twelve carts laden with tin and galvanised iron pails, such as are so popular on the Urumchi market, and without which no traveller moves; matches, sugar, and leather formed the cargo of many
485 others. It was long after dark when we reached the first inn at Changki. Every room was occupied, and the courtyard was full of vehicles laden with grain, cotton and water-melons. Each driver was sleeping near his merchandise, and the stalls were crowded with beasts that kicked, squealed, and bit at each other throughout the night. Seeing that there was no

[1] [From Urumchi -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-
291 fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq
563 women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing
372 response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is
354 the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came
167 running to see us. Accepting her invitation we
574 entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan
733 man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

• 494 While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine 494
animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles.

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down [491]
hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as 563
the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any 211

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Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

175 the Soviet economic stake in Sinkiang.
648 Over the next years, the strength of the Chinese Communist
668 government increased within the Soviet-Chinese relationship. The treaty of 1950, concluded by Mao Tse-tung in Moscow after lengthy haggling, was replaced in December 1954 by a new treaty concluded at the occasion of a visit of Krushchev and Mikoyan in Peking. Among other concessions, this new treaty provided for the liquidation of the Soviet shares in the former joint stock companies. Nevertheless some element of Soviet control remained since the Soviet shares were to be repaid through deliveries of raw materials and other commodities from Turkestan. The whole industrial and communications development of the province which was to be rapidly expanded under the Chinese Communist Five Year Plans depended also on Soviet economic and technical assistance. Most important, Soviet Russia has reportedly kept possession of the atomic energy center at Mirgrad in the T kla Makan Desert and has through the maintenance of military forces full control over the exploitation of uranium deposts in the Altai region where a large number ofRussians, estimated by one observer to be as large as 80,000, has been reported.

648 On the other hand, a recent British correspondent (New York
668 Times, August 13, 1956, p. 9) has reported that throughout the region "up to the Soviet borders, the direct control of the Central Government on development plans and on political life is everywhere apparent. There are Soviet advisers and experts and plenty of Soviet machinery, but no more than in other parts of China, and the over-riding impression is that China is in complete charge.

"Peking's orders stretch into the remotest villages, where the ever-present cadres and Party members are kept in constant touch with the capital through provincial committees. Nowhere is there any external evidence ofSoviet influence outside the technical sphere."

This observation of a Chinese Communist administration directed from Peking does not necessarily exclude consideration of Russian military and economic decisions for Sinkiang by the Chinese policy-makers in Peking. Nor does it exclude the possibility of conflict in the districtuion of the Turkestan resources between the Soviet and Chinese Communist economies, especially in the case of the uranium exploitation at present obviously in Soviet hands. The railroad from Lanchow to Aktogai in Russian
[496] Turkestan, which in 1956 has been pushed beyond the Yumen oil fields in Kansu, is the most important physical link between the two economies but is also a highway for a vast and growing stream of young Chinese immigrants who are brought in to work on the oil fields, the railroads, and the construction of new towns and factories. This movement, which is aimed at filling up the

648 thinly populated area with a Chinese population, is the most
668 important factor in the reassertion of Chinese control. The Chinese link with Turkestan is also not limited to the railroad under construction which will run along the old caravan route via Qomul, Urumchi, to the Soviet border. In addition the [491] Chinese Communists follow the policy of the National Government [496] in the construction of road and railroad connections through the Tsaidam Basin. This area is reportedly also to be developed by Communist China into a new key industrial center in central Asia. Oil and mineral resources are claimed to exist in abundance. The Tsaidam region is farther away from the Soviet or Outer Mongolian border than is the main railroad line and it provides a position in depth in the Chinese Communist connection with Sinkiang. In its advance into central Asia, the Chinese Communist regime seems to follow the main strategic considerations which had been observed by previous Chinese governments

With the shrinking distances and the means of modern industrial development, the importance of Sinkiang with its rich natural resources has vastly increased. There is at the moment no indication of any hitch in the Soviek-Chinese cooperation in the province. But should any conflict evolve between these Communist organizations, Sinkiang must, by the very reason of its geographic location and economic importance, become one of the decisive areas of conflict.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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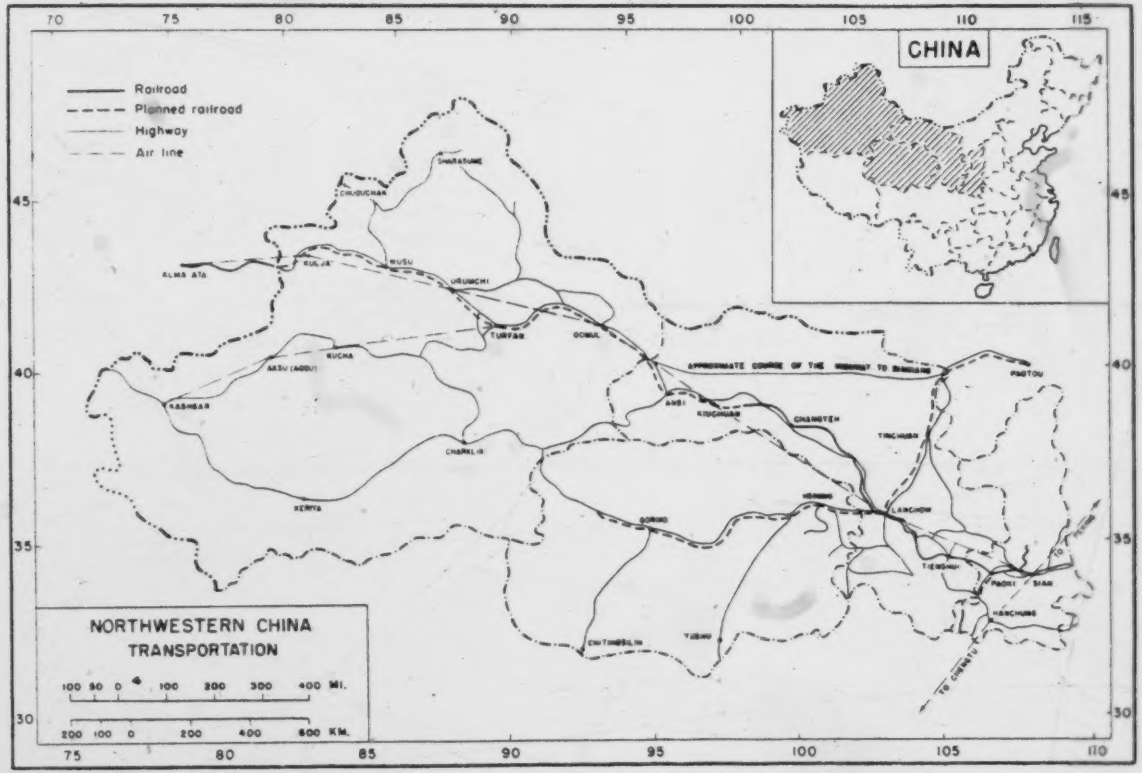

[following page 704]

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 497 In addition to other minor demands, General Chang wanted the assent of the Sinkiang nationalist leaders to the building of a railway into Sinkiang. From the government point of view, this was a reasonable project for the linking of a frontier province to the main body of China. From the point of view of the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, railway communication meant the danger of being submerged by a flood of Chinese colonists.

*175 436 General Chang's final demand was that Sinkiang give up its separate provincial currency and adopt that of the National Government. From the Chinese point of view, this was a rational demand. From the Sinkiang point of view, it carried with it the danger that the wealth of Sinkiang would be freely pumped into China, without a compensating flow back from China into Sinkiang.[87]

*175 635 Before the deadlock could be broken General Chang gave up his post as Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. He retained, however, the post of Commander of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters, which gave him general supervisory powers in Northwest China and Sinkiang. He was succeeded as Chairman in May 1947 by Masud Sabri, the elderly representative of an Uighur family of rich landholders and merchants.

In 1904, at the age of seventeen, Masud Sabri had gone to Turkey to study. After eleven years, spent mostly in Istanbul, he returned to Sinkiang in 1915, strongly influenced by the Turkish nationalism of Kemal Atatürk. In 1934, after practicing medicine in Ili for several years, he traveled through Kashgar to India and then by sea to China, where he soon became associated politically with the C.C. Clique. Through the support of this clique, and not through any process of nomination by supporters in Sinkiang, he was made a delegate from Sinkiang to the Kuomintang National Conference of 1936 and subsequently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. During the war against Japan, the C.C. Clique placed him in the National Political Coun-

[87] The full text of Chang Chih-chung's speech was published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese). Note the long delay before publication, indicating the political tension during these months.

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464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
199 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
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[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
199 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
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N 491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November, 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

N *[175] N 491 485 *[175] To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where N 487 501 a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lanchou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In S 487 501 Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

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Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

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D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

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III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

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A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
668 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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DI. Conscript Labor

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S 487 501 [505] Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N 509 *175 D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924; the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

N *175 *668 III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

496 499 1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

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175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

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135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold,
S platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively
316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of
[508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound
area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet
S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining
[491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B. cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S a. Copper:

N Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and
135 Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality. It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the
S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near
N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent
316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.)[1]

S b. Gold and Platinum:

Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread,
135 stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains
S too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan,
316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1. [See p. 132-- Analyst]

Aviation

One of the most significant recent innovations has been the establishment of regular aviation transport to and through Sinkiang. A Eurasia Aviation Corporation line between Shanghai and T'a Ch'eng, opened in 1933, was the first step; but its use was necessarily curtailed by the outbreak of war in 1937. Not until October, 1939, did Eurasia, through the medium of the newly formed Sino-Soviet Aviation Company, open a new service. It ran from Chungking to Ha-mi, whence, through the cooperation of Sinkiang authorities and the Soviet People's Aviation Company, it was continued via Tihwa, I-ning, and Alma-Ata (the latter over the border, in Soviet Kazakhstan) to Moscow. The trip from Chungking across Sinkiang to Alma-Ata totals about 2,584 miles and has become extremely important in United Nations mail and transport services. 509

Road Transportation

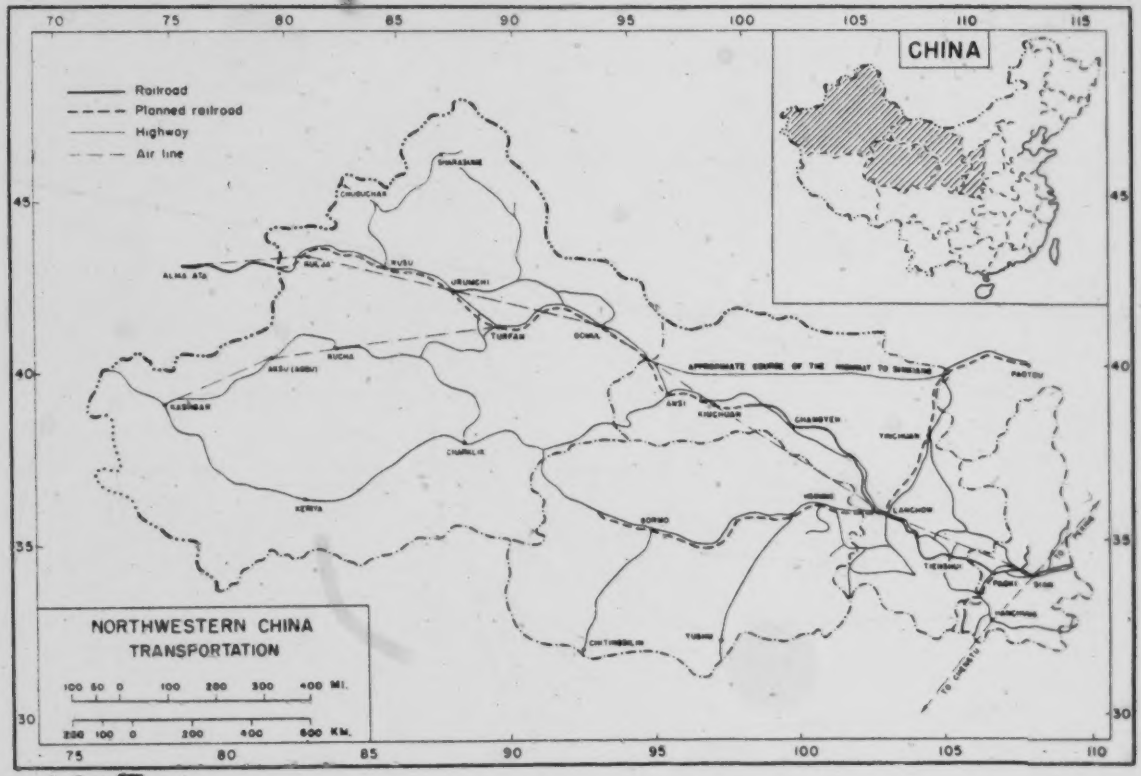
Most significant advances in the New Sinkiang have been those in the field of road transportation. The old caravan routes between China and Russia that run through Sinkiang have been readapted to modern truck travel. The only truck highway in Sinkiang before 1933 is said to have run only a short distance from the provincial capital, and there were then only some twenty military trucks in the whole area. But Ch'en Chi-jung has reported that by 1938 the following truck roads had been completed and put into use in North Sinkiang: 491 494

TRUCK ROADS IN NORTH SINKIANG, 1938

Main Roads	*Branch Lines*	*Termini*	*Distance Covered*
Ti-I		Tihwa and I-li (Sui-ting)	450 miles
Ti-Hsing		" " Hsing-hsing Hsia	470 "
Ti-T'a		" " T'a Ch'eng	430 "
	Ti-Tu	" " Turfan	
	Tu-Ch'i	Turfan and Ch'i-chio-ching	1,150 "
	T'a-Ch'eng	T'a Ch'eng and Ch'eng-hua	
Total Mileage ..			2,500 "

[p. 119]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1



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[following page 704]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers. 548

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne 443 511

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can inport the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above. 276 733

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

443 as they pass, and nobody minds, for the loss of one or two bundles matters little among so many. In this country everybody seems to
511 be eating all the time. Not only in the town but for miles along the roads leading to it there are wayside food-pedlars every hundred yards, the very poorest of whom has a few handfuls of nuts, slices of melon, and a pomegranate or two to sell; the grander ones have booths or large barrows shaded by umbrella-like canopies of matting and piled up with strange sloppy white sweetmeats and 'mantas,' which are made of minced meat enclosed in thin cases of dough, as well as with the usual melons, peaches and other fruit. No wonder that the Kashgaris are a fat and cheerful race."

465 The cost of living for Europeans at Kashgar is lower even than it was in India thirty years ago. Wages are absurdly low. The only one of our servants who drew a comparatively high wage was Ahmad Bakhsh, who received 60 rupees (£4) a month because he was an Indian and in exile. Our excellent cook, Daud Akhun, drew 10 taels or £1 6s. 8d.—and other servants in proportion down to honest, smiling Salih Akhun, who did third gardener, kitchen assistant and odd-job man, for the princely sum of 16s. a month. Salih Akhun's manners were delightful; whenever he saw you a grin spread over his rugged face and his right arm moved like clockwork across his
571 lower front in the Turki salute. As for food, here are some of
435 the average prices D. paid in the course of her daily house-keeping:

262 Meat (excellent mutton every day, beef Thursdays only), 2*d.* per lb.; ox or yak tongues, 8*d.*; kidneys, 5 for 2*d.*
Eggs, 2*d.* a dozen.
Chickens, 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to size; large fat ducks, 8*d.*
Milk, 1*d.* per pint; cream, 8*d.*, from which we made our own butter.
Wheat flour (poor quality), ½*d.* per lb., rice ditto.
Cabbages, 1*d.* each, spinach 1*d.* per lb., potatoes and tomatoes, 2*d.* per lb.
Apricots, in season, per basket of about 3 lb., 1¾*d.*; peaches and nectarines, 2*d.*; grapes, 3*d.*
Dried fruits (apricots, peaches, raisins), 1*d.* per lb.
Game in season: pheasants and wild duck, 6*d.*; teal and partridge, 4*d.*; snow-cock (twice as big as a pheasant), 1*s.* 4*d.*

262 Fresh fish was an item which often appeared on D.'s menus, the best kind being the *asman-belek* or "heaven-fish," which is very much the same as the "mahseer" of India, and is found in both the rivers which flow past Kashgar, the Qizil Su and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door. 352

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion. 161 [165] 164 [515] [356]

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns. 562

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N [798]

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death
754 to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-massi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were
164 recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice
756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

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539

Mother's Song

Kichik kīna, qāra kuz	Little tiny dark-eyed one
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Tili tātliq, shīrīn suz	Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Balam mandin airilde	My child is taken from me
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Uida yālghuz qālārman,	In the house I am left alone,
Wai balam, balam !	Alas, my child ! my child !

Daughter's Song

Man ānāmdin airilip	Torn from my mother's side
Sunde qanātim qāralip ;	My wings are broken and bent ;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun	Who may weep, if not I
Jānim ānamdin airilip ?	Torn from my darling mother's side ?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

" I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

" Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [901]

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Manti*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
971 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
35 caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles [785] the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [785] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection 796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open 184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed, 517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring 533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos- 535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum 517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

563 517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Com- [268] munist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[195] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

S N [792] [794]

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574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 563 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour. 522 I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

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said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy on his head ? " The problem of supplies was not so difficult as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

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262 must confess that the three or four favourite Chinese *plats* leave me cold. Shark's fin consists of a tangle of absolutely tasteless pieces of white elastic, stewed with shreds of chicken; sea-slugs are dark grey gelatinous substances with an unpleasant dead sort of flavour, swimming in a salty gravy; bamboo-root in slices has a nutty flavour and is not so bad, but very indigestible; another delicacy which is, I believe, a kind of seaweed tastes of—well, of seaweed. I can quite believe that all these things have a quite different flavour when fresh, especially the marine products which seem to appeal particularly to the Chinese; the trouble is that in Sinkiang, five months' journey from the coast, they can only be obtained in the dried form, and yet the Chinese like or pretend to like them better than the best-cooked fresh local products. The fact is, I suppose, that the exiled Chinaman has the palate of faith and to him even a dried sea-slug tastes of home.

574 What was almost always a trial at Yamen banquets was the drink. Except on great occasions when one or two bottles
273 of a sticky brand of French champagne were produced and administered in small quantities, there was nothing to drink but a peculiarly evil-smelling kind of brandy. One was seldom pressed to eat, for which one was thankful enough, but it was impossible to avoid at least sipping the brandy between every course. A Chinese host talks much more about his cellar than about his cook; to refuse to drink with him
574 means that you do not like his wine, an imputation which causes him much loss of face. Apart from the conventional
524 politenesses, which one soon learns to give and take as a matter of course, there is nothing stilted or ceremonious about Chinese conviviality, even on official occasions. The etiquette seems to be for a guest to behave as if he were in his own home, lolling about on his chair, getting up from table in the middle of dinner and walking about for a few minutes, and so on. When conversation flagged at our own parties it was generally safe to start the Chinese off on a kind of "fingers-out" game which was very popular. In this, two players put out their right hands at the same time, either closed or with one or more fingers outstretched, at the same time shouting a number which they guess will be the total number of fingers out for both hands. Whenever one of the players shouts the correct number, he makes the other drink his health. The fingers go out and the numbers are shouted with amazing rapidity, and when three or four such contests are going on at the same time

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

574 [524]

the effect on the gaiety, or at any rate noisiness, of the party and on the circulation of the liquor is remarkable.

The manners and customs of the table-servants were a never-failing source of delight to D. and myself. I have mentioned in a former chapter the staid Chinese butler at Yangi Hissar who clapped his master's bowler on top of his own Homburg and stood solemnly wearing the two hats throughout the tea-party. Often at dinner-parties in the open, when we had left the table and were sitting over tea and dessert in another part of the garden, I noticed the waiters going round the table and pouring back into the bottle any champagne or brandy left by the diners in their glasses. After one of our own dinners on the terrace, I happened to go back suddenly to the table to fetch something and found two attendants who had come with Chinese guests similarly occupied—but it was not into my bottles that they were pouring the remains of the drinks. At a certain ladies' dinner-party at Khotan D. was electrified to observe one of the waiters take away a guests' cup, drink off the cold remains of the tea and, without washing it, fill it up from the tea-pot and hand it back to its owner. After that, she said, she took care to drain her cup to the dregs every time!

Harding and I (D. fortunately was not invited) attended during our first week in Kashgar another meal which was very different from the civilized banquet described above. This was a lunch given by General Ma, Titai (G.O.C.) of Kashgaria, one of the worst scoundrels in Central Asia. This person was a Muhammadan of Yunnan province, aged over seventy yet full of vitality, who had held the chief military command south of the Tien Shan for seven or eight years and had taken advantage of his position to enrich and aggrandize himself by the most brutal and oppressive methods. He made everybody call him *Padshah* (king) on pain of death; he had a whole harem full of the prettiest Turki women in Kashgar, and his armed agents roamed the country-side "looking for new cows to milk," as the Titai facetiously put it. The only person in Kashgaria of whom he was afraid was Chu Tao Tai, and after the latter's transfer his extortions quadrupled. He had a pleasant way of trumping up charges against people whom he did not like, or who refused to pay him the blackmail he demanded, and cutting off their fingers or toes, joint by joint, in an immense hay-chopper he had constructed specially for the purpose. In fact, he emulated the exploits of the worst robber-Tuchuns of China Proper, the only difference being

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.' 485

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court[I] was again crowded, and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and we signified to him our desire to move on that day. He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it. [525] [681] 486

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G.

I [inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonally available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Manti*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264] have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo sheets, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and diced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272] Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545] Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535] it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526] with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor.* Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

526 A week before the end of our stay we proclaimed a *jour de fête* and invited all the Kirghiz of the Kaying and adjoining valleys to a feast. About twenty women came, some of them carrying babies over dizzy heights and through roaring torrents, and a similar number of men. The proceedings were opened by eight of the men playing an exhibition game of *oghlak* in our honour on the wide meadows half a mile below our camp. This game, also called *baigu* and (by the Afghans) *buzkashi* or "goat-pulling," is a kind of Rugby football on horseback played "all gainst all," with the headless carcase of a freshly-killed goat as the ball. It is seldom played except in honour of some distinguished visitor, who acts as umpire and pays for the goat. The umpire indicates a flat-topped rock or a mark on the ground as the goal; the players struggle among themselves for possession of the "ball," and whoever is successful dashes off with it across his saddle. The others chase and jostle him until he drops it; one of them, leaning right out of the saddle, succeeds in picking it up and the process is repeated. The object is to throw the "ball" on to the goal, and whoever does this oftenest wins the game.[1]

During the play we noticed that our lady guests sat by themselves in a picturesque group on the hillside some distance away; it seemed that according to Kirghiz custom women and children are not allowed to watch *oghlak* being played. After the game we all trooped back through the woods to camp, led by the winner with the goat as the prize of victory at his saddle-bow. Since the previous afternoon the Kaying Bashi women had been baking bread in their tents at our expense; three sheep—one for the ladies and two for the men—had been stewing half the morning in big cauldrons brought down from the encampment for the purpose, and tea by the kerosene-tinful had been brewing on our kitchen fire. The ladies and children sat in a ring on mats and felts near D.'s tent, while the men under my charge formed a separate circle on the grass thirty yards away. D. had cornered all the tea-cups and wooden soup-bowls in the valley for her guests, but the men did not mind; each one whipped off his waistband and spread it in front of him as his *dastarkhwan* or tablecloth, and waited for one of the orderlies or myself to heap upon it his share of the savoury contents of the cauldrons. Mean-

[1] For a detailed description of this game as played in the Chinese Pamirs, see Miss Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia."

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
179 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

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The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

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[177]
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The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

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"Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

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The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

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The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 or stencils; more typically the murals were sketched in with a free hand. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on outlines, which 778 are almost invariably darkened and slightly thickened.

532 In addition to these sculptures and frescoes, there were found several examples of smaller arts. Particularly noteworthy are 172 painted wooden panels which were deposited at the feet of Buddha statues as votive offerings. Some paintings on paper and on 778 fabric appear to have been designed for the same purpose, or for 531 temple banners. The illustrated Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Khocho are amazingly similar to the early medieval Christian book art.

Among the wooden items are small reliquary caskets and statuettes, as well as carved ceiling beams, brackets, and other structural elements.

Woven or embroidered textiles seem to have been in large part imported into Central Asia from China, Persia, and other areas. Although Khotan was reputedly famous for its rugs, it is impossible to prove that any particular rug fragments are of Khotanese manufacture.

172 Among the various ruins the earliest period is represented by the secular dwellings at the Niya site, and by the stupas of Miran. 531 Amid the shifting sands and scrub-covered cones in the desert north of the present village of Niya, Sir Aurel Stein was able to trace remains of a whole community. In addition to the ever-present stupa there were ancient houses. courtyards, cattlesheds, arbors, orchards, trellises, irrigation canals, and even a footbridge over the old river bed. Broken wooden posts rising above the gaunt earth proved to be the original supports of wattle and plaster walls of old residences.

Some houses of substantial size suggested that the occupants were men of position. From the drift-sand filling the floors of the rooms Stein was able to salvage fairly well-preserved wooden beams and brackets fallen from the ceilings, and fragments of furniture such as chair legs. These were carved with animals, rosettes, pots of leaves and other decorative motifs particularly characteristic of the Gandhara school of sculpture which flour-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

ished in the area of India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries after Christ. This art is often described as "late classical," or referred to as Graeco-Buddhist, since its content was Buddhist while the style was strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic (post Alexandrian) kingdoms of western Asia. 172 531

Stein also uncovered at Niya a large central hall with stuccoed walls still standing several feet high. These were decorated in tempera with a colorful design of floral scrolls and festoons. Coins and dated documents on wooden tablets indicated that the settlement was abandoned near the end of the third century A.D.

In the time of its prosperity Niya seems to have been included in the territory not of ancient Khotan but of the kingdom of Kroraina which stretched to the shores of the Lob lake. The rulers of Kroraina were probably most closely allied in culture and language with the Kushan kings of Gandhara and northern India; but in the Tarim Basin they came under Chinese hegemony. Ruins of a town called "Lou-lan" (the Chinese transliteration of *Kroraina*) were discovered by Sven Hedin near the edge of the old lake bed; and Aurel Stein found in the homes and shrines of Lou-lan carved woodwork of the same types as at Niya. 172

Further remains of the Kroraina realm are the third- and early fourth-century temples at Miran, where the earliest of the Central Asian wall paintings were found. The frescoes originally adorned the interior walls of two small domed shrines. Both were square structures on the outside and circular within, with a small stupa in the center. In each the passage around the stupa was decorated with a band of painted busts: youthful winged male angels in one shrine, garland-bearing lads interspersed with a great variety of cosmopolitan-looking men and women in the other. The upper wall and dome showed more conventional religious scenes such as Buddha preaching to a group of monks, and Buddhist legends. 172 532

In coloring, painting technique, and total effect, these Miran murals resemble amazingly the Hellenistic frescoes of approximately the same period which have been discovered at Fayum in Egypt and Dura-Europos in Syria. An inscription on the thigh

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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Turning to more modern times, it must be confessed that Chinese Turkistan is poor in arts and crafts compared with other Muhammadan countries such as Persia, Turkey or Kashmir. The reason is not far to seek. In these latter countries the progressive decay of taste and craftsmanship which marked the nineteenth century has been delayed and in some cases arrested by the commercial enterprise of the West. Close contact with the markets of Europe and America has maintained or renewed the standard, both in quality and in quantity, of the carpets of Persia and Turkey, the ornamental metalwork of Isfahan, the shawls of Kashmir and many other fine products of Oriental craftsmanship.[1] The length and difficulty of the few trade-routes connecting the Tarim Basin with the rest of the world have prevented any such maintenance or renaissance of its arts and crafts, and little of artistic value is produced at the present day. As recently as the middle of last century, however, the old skill survived; and though during the twenty years which preceded the War, Jewish and Armenian dealers did not neglect the bazaars and pawnshops

[1] A striking instance of this is the case of the Persian carpet industry, which towards the end of last century was threatened with ruin as a result of the introduction of German aniline dyes. Modern Persian carpets began to acquire a bad name in the markets of Constantinople and New York for the crude and fugitive synthetic colours used. Had this process been allowed to continue, irreparable harm would have been done, for the secrets of the old vegetable dyes would have been lost. A generation of weavers would have grown up which knew not where to look for the old herbs nor how to decoct them when found. But action was taken in time. Under pressure from the foreign interests involved, the Persian Government imposed a prohibitive export duty on aniline-dyed carpets; the great Armenian and Levantine firms which supply the markets of the West co-operated, and the situation was saved. Nowadays the colours of a Persian carpet are as fast as in the days of Shah Abbas, and it is only necessary when bargaining for one to murmur disparagingly "*rang-i-jauhari*" or "*masnu'i*" (artificial dye) to cause the would-be seller to burst forth into a torrent of indignant protestations. No such measures, alas, have been taken by the Chinese, with the result that the carpet-weaving industry of Yurungkash, Lop and other villages in the Khotan district is hopelessly debased. Not only are the natural dyes used until thirty years ago forgotten, but the beautiful old flower-patterns are seldom used, being replaced by unspeakably hideous modern Chinese designs of mauve tigers and magenta teapots. Only one manufacturer, all honour to him, keeps to the designs and colour-schemes of Persia, and that is Mr. Moldovack, whom I have already mentioned. Even he cannot dispense with aniline, for most of the old vegetable dyes have disappeared.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and even Keriya, it is still possible to pick up beautiful old carpets and ornamental metal-work, embroideries and other *objets d'art.* 531

In the course of some five years' service between Quetta and Kerman I had collected a number of specimens and acquired a little experience of the carpet-weaving industry of South-East Persia and Afghanistan, and I was therefore specially interested in the corresponding industry which had flourished for centuries at Khotan, or rather at Yurungkash and Lop near that town. Ninety-five per cent. of the specimens brought us were in bad condition, with the pile in many places worn right away, and we acquired only three of the genuine old Khotan flower-pattern rugs, together with about half a dozen pieces of more recent though still pre-aniline weave. Of the former the best, which measures 8 feet by 5 feet, is a fine specimen of the work of a hundred years or more ago. Its design is a most interesting mixture of Persia and China. The whole treatment—conventional flowers symmetrically arranged on a monochrome ground and enclosed in a broad-banded border—is unmistakably Persian; while the *besh gul* or five-rose *motif*, consisting of a straight stalk with three roses on one side and two on the other, though not (so far as I know) found in Persian or Turkish carpets, still belongs to the same *genre.* But many of the other details are Chinese, such as the wave- and key-patterns in the border and the *fleur-de-lis* interspersed in symmetrical groups of four among the roses. 286 531

The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan, of which we picked up several good specimens. Here, too, scarcely anything that has been done within the last thirty or forty years is worth a second glance. The stitch chiefly used is the Turkish chain-stitch, which is not found in the embroidery of China Proper and is done with the *ilmek* or hooked needle of the Turki races. Some of the flowers, particularly the single sprigs, as well as the "feel" of the whole composition are Western. But the wave- and cloud-patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers such as the purple iris, are definitely Chinese.

Apart from the silk needlework of Khotan, there is the gold and silver embroidery on velvet for which Kucha in the north has been famous for generations. The industry is still alive, though the materials are imported, the thread from India and the velvet from Russian Transcaspia. Women's indoor

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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caps are the chief article of manufacture. Really old specimens are exceedingly rare, and we were very fortunate in lighting upon six circular medallions, about ten inches in diameter, of green velvet embroidered in gold and silver with a Persian floral design. These, I was told on good authority, once adorned the State robes of the indigenous Princes of Kucha. Here again, though the design as a whole is Persian, there is a touch of China in certain parallel wavy lines, while the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is itself a Chinese device.

It was extraordinarily interesting to find, persisting in the south of the Tarim Basin right up to modern times, that same cultural mingling of Persia and China with the indigenous element which marked the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, when the T'ang Emperors ruled the Middle Kingdom and the last of the Sassanids reigned in Zoroastrian Iran.[1] In nineteenth-century Khotan we have a rug of Turkish weave with a design in which the colours and patterns of China and Persia are closely intermixed. We find also an embroidery with a peculiarly Turkish stitch done on Chinese silk or Bokharan velvet and showing designs in which Chinese and Persian art are represented in almost equal proportions. There could be no more striking illustration of that peculiar feature of the Tarim Basin's history, the cultural mingling of East and West, to which I referred at the beginning of this chapter.

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But carpet-weaving and embroidery were not the only arts in which bygone Khotan excelled. Among the most attractive products of its craftsmanship were brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work. This is another lost art, for though teapots and water-jugs of graceful shape are still made, their only decoration is a rough chasing of lines following the curves of the pot. The old pierced metal work, four specimens of which we were fortunate enough to secure, is strongly reminiscent of the similar work in silver and copper still done at Isfahan. Here I could detect no Chinese influence, probably because the *chainak* (tea-pot) and *aftaba-lagan* (jug and basin

[1] Cf. the discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein in the seventh-century cemetery at Astana, near Turfan, of fine figured silks both in Chinese and in pure Sassanian style ("Geographical Journal," June, 1925, p. 492); also the Sassanian embroideries on damask found in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Tunhwang ("Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. II, p. 208).

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

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Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

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b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
779 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[797] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
779 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
779 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably comple-
[213] mented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are definitely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its craftsmanship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

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286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
(177) sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
53 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
517 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
177 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of
178 Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
(177) Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

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tain landscapes made up of many small segments each of which illustrates a Buddhist legend. Winged Gandharvas (a kind of angel) and celestial musicians may be fitted into triangular spaces above eye level so as to give the impression of floating above the worshiper. Animals real and fabulous, flowers, trees, palaces, war equipment, and pleasures of the hunt are among the many subjects included in the relations of the various myths or the surrounding ornaments. Well-known divinities of classical Greece as well as many-armed Indian gods are to be found adopted into the Buddhist pantheon. Some frescoes consist of assemblages of these divinities. Others depict Buddhist heavens and hells. A frequent sight is that of Buddha preaching to a group of monks. Monks are also pictured together with benefactors — noblemen through whose contributions the holy work of temple decoration has been financed.

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The donors are typically represented in the clothing of the locality and the age, as contrasted with the monks and divine figures whose costume is prescribed by the canons of Buddhist art. Even more interesting are the facial and other physical characteristics of these patrons. Here we have an astounding variety of human types — European and Levantine as well as eastern Asiatic. The evidences would point to a succession of alien conquests with each new set of rulers inscribing themselves as patrons of the existing Buddhist monasteries. Since, however, the warriors generally came from peoples of lower material and artistic level, their tastes did not greatly or immediately affect the content and style of the monastic art. The paintings appear to have been made either by monks themselves or by artists working under rather close religious supervision.

All frescoes are in tempera or water color applied directly to the smoothed and plastered wall while the surface was still wet. In each group of shrines the palette is limited to a modest number of colors and tones. The few colors used are employed with considerable effect. Gold leaf is occasionally added. In some instances the drawing appears to have been by means of tracings

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172 or stencils; more typically the murals were sketched in with a
778 free hand. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on outlines, which are almost invariably darkened and slightly thickened.

● 532 In addition to these sculptures and frescoes, there were found several examples of smaller arts. Particularly noteworthy are
172 painted wooden panels which were deposited at the feet of Bud-
778 dha statues as votive offerings. Some paintings on paper and on fabric appear to have been designed for the same purpose, or for
531 temple banners. The illustrated Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Khocho are amazingly similar to the early medieval Christian book art.

Among the wooden items are small reliquary caskets and statuettes, as well as carved ceiling beams, brackets, and other structural elements.

Woven or embroidered textiles seem to have been in large part imported into Central Asia from China, Persia, and other areas. Although Khotan was reputedly famous for its rugs, it is impossible to prove that any particular rug fragments are of Khotanese manufacture.

172 Among the various ruins the earliest period is represented by
531 the secular dwellings at the Niya site, and by the stupas of Miran. Amid the shifting sands and scrub-covered cones in the desert north of the present village of Niya, Sir Aurel Stein was able to trace remains of a whole community. In addition to the ever-present stupa there were ancient houses. courtyards, cattlesheds, arbors, orchards, trellises, irrigation canals, and even a footbridge over the old river bed. Broken wooden posts rising above the gaunt earth proved to be the original supports of wattle and plaster walls of old residences.

Some houses of substantial size suggested that the occupants were men of position. From the drift-sand filling the floors of the rooms Stein was able to salvage fairly well-preserved wooden beams and brackets fallen from the ceilings, and fragments of furniture such as chair legs. These were carved with animals, rosettes, pots of leaves and other decorative motifs particularly characteristic of the Gandhara school of sculpture which flour-

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ished in the area of India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries after Christ. This art is often described as "late classical," or referred to as Graeco-Buddhist, since its content was Buddhist while the style was strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic (post Alexandrian) kingdoms of western Asia. 172 531

Stein also uncovered at Niya a large central hall with stuccoed walls still standing several feet high. These were decorated in tempera with a colorful design of floral scrolls and festoons. Coins and dated documents on wooden tablets indicated that the settlement was abandoned near the end of the third century A.D.

In the time of its prosperity Niya seems to have been included in the territory not of ancient Khotan but of the kingdom of Kroraina which stretched to the shores of the Lob lake. The rulers of Kroraina were probably most closely allied in culture and language with the Kushan kings of Gandhara and northern India; but in the Tarim Basin they came under Chinese hegemony. Ruins of a town called "Lou-lan" (the Chinese transliteration of *Kroraina*) were discovered by Sven Hedin near the edge of the old lake bed; and Aurel Stein found in the homes and shrines of Lou-lan carved woodwork of the same types as at Niya. 172

Further remains of the Kroraina realm are the third- and early fourth-century temples at Miran, where the earliest of the Central Asian wall paintings were found. The frescoes originally adorned the interior walls of two small domed shrines. Both were square structures on the outside and circular within, with a small stupa in the center. In each the passage around the stupa was decorated with a band of painted busts: youthful winged male angels in one shrine, garland-bearing lads interspersed with a great variety of cosmopolitan-looking men and women in the other. The upper wall and dome showed more conventional religious scenes such as Buddha preaching to a group of monks, and Buddhist legends. 172 532

In coloring, painting technique, and total effect, these Miran murals resemble amazingly the Hellenistic frescoes of approximately the same period which have been discovered at Fayum in Egypt and Dura-Europos in Syria. An inscription on the thigh

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of a white elephant in one of the Miran pictures records the name of the painter as "Tita," which Sir Aurel Stein takes to be a rendering of the Roman name Titus. Stein fancies that the artist was a "Roman Eurasian" who had followed his calling eastward along the highroad to China. A larger temple also at Miran displayed along its base a series of statues of seated Buddhas about double natural size. The stylized hair curls, elongated ears, and elaborate drapery of these figures once again suggested that they followed the Gandhara models.

Stein also discovered a vast gallery of statues of a similar type lining both the inner and outer faces of a wall enclosing the court of a great stupa at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan. Buddhas and other sacred figures of varying dimensions were ranged side by side, with little apparent order. While most of these figures were draped in classical flowing garments, the Dvarpalas (Guardians of the Gates) wore a secular costume consisting of long under- and overcoats, trousers, and boots. No manuscripts or coins, however, could be found to give definite clues to the age of the ruin.

Far superior to the Miran and Rawak sculptures and much closer in feeling to the art of the ancient Hellenistic world are the statuettes of wood and clay and the broken-off heads of statues found at Tumshuk, by Pelliot and Le Coq. Just north of the oasis town of Maralbashi, the Tumshuk ruins are not far from Kashgar and Yarkand, where routes through the high Pamirs lead into the Tarim Basin from the west. Three flat-topped cliffs rising above the marshy plain bear the remains of temple clusters of various dates. The earliest shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire before the beginning of the fifth century. It was in these that the Gandhara-style pieces were found. A few surviving fresco fragments include a frieze of kneeling monks and a scene of Buddha preaching to armed and regally garbed followers.

The great mass of painting and sculpture illustrating the middle period in Central Asian art — from the fifth century to the eighth century A.D. — comes from the neighborhood of Kucha.

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The *Ming Oi* of Kyzyl comprise several hundred rock-cut caves ranged along several levels on a series of steep cliffs overlooking the Muzart River. In addition to temples of various sizes there were workrooms, storerooms, and sleeping quarters. The most common type of shrine consisted of a square room with a niche for a sacred image in the center of the wall opposite the door. On either side of the statue, a corridor led back to a transverse passage, permitting the worshiper to make the required complete circle about the image. The ceiling was usually in the form of a barrel vault. A few temples had round cupolas and a few others had stone-cut imitations of the "lantern" roof (composed of a series of squares of diminishing size laid diagonally one above the other and leaving open a small aperture at the very top) still found today in Persia and Kashmir. Each of these cell-like temples was furnished with a small vestibule. Long stone balconies and flights of steps gave access to the temples and connected them with each other. Practically no daylight penetrated to the inside of the cells; the decorations must have been executed and enjoyed only by use of lamps. 172 532 778

Le Coq and Grünwedel were able to uncover wall paintings in some sixty of these caves. The frescoes abound in drama and motion. Buddha, in the scenes from his life and in the familiar teaching, meditating, and other poses, is given a human and gentle aspect. The Bodhisattvas, worshipers, kings, queens, Brahmans, ascetics, monks, dancers, musicians, servants, demons, and other personages who surround the Buddha or play roles in the illustrations of the Buddhist legends display a great variety of complexion, feature, figure, garb, expression, and pose. All appear to be active participants: a courtier turns his head to talk to a neighbor; two Brahmans carry on a lively dispute; a supplicant prostrates himself at Buddha's feet. In one particularly effective panel, a king who is taking a ceremonial bath in a tub of butter receives news of Buddha's demise by means of a painted cloth held up before him by a minister. On the cloth are pictured the four "great events": the birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and 172 532

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death of Buddha. Several depictions of the burning of Buddha's corpse are notable for the intensity of sorrow communicated by the mourners.

Although the compositions are intricate and the available space tightly packed with figures and background designs, the main contours stand out clearly. Color schemes are based on muted brown, flesh, and rust tones, accented with bright blue and green.

The donors portrayed in the Kyzyl caves (usually on the wall near the entrance) are at first glance astonishingly like knights and ladies of medieval Europe. Tall, fair-skinned, and red-haired, they wear dresses and armor of the style prevailing in Persia under the Sassanian Dynasty from the third through the seventh centuries. The cloaks and gowns appear to be of fine brocade or richly embroidered material. An unusual hair arrangement in which the top locks are cut to a length of about four inches and allowed to fall loose on either side of a center part is characteristic of both men and women. Frequently a stylized flower, perhaps a development of the classical cornucopia carried by certain figures in the Gandhara sculptures, is held in the hand.

Both the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed give evidence of a blending of Indian, Persian and late Hellenistic influences. Many resemblances can be pointed out between these Kyzyl murals and the famed wall paintings of the Ajanta cave temples in Central India, which were executed at roughly the same time. Only rarely, however, do the figures in the Kyzyl pantomimes approach the sinuous grace and delicacy of the best work at Ajanta. Perhaps the closest comparison, outside of the Tarim Basin, is with the frescoes in the caves surrounding the colossal Buddha in the valley of Bamian, near Kabul, in Afghanistan. Chemical analysis has indicated that identical pigments were used. This tie between Kucha and Bamian, which had been a Buddhist center since about 100 A.D., suggests one path along which Buddhist art progressed into Central Asia.

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At Kumtura, about nine miles east of Kyzyl along the Muzart River, is another group of cave temples. As at Kyzyl the various temples could be placed approximately as belonging to the fifth,

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sixth, seventh or eighth centuries. Similar architectural styles were followed and similar medieval-looking benefactors were depicted. In subject matter and treatment the paintings are clearly related, but in some of the Kumtura caves is an unmistakable Chinese element, nowhere glimpsed at Kyzyl. The eyes of the Buddhas are just slightly tilted, the landscapes are more freely drawn, and typical T'ang Dynasty cloud forms appear overhead.

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Sculptural remains brought from Kyzyl and Kumtura consist mainly of severed heads of goddesses, Bodhisattvas, Brahmans and other personages. The statues were sometimes grouped on balconies, sometimes arranged in separate niches along the walls. The heritage of the Graeco-Buddhist traditions of Gandhara is amply demonstrated in facial features, hair treatment, head ornaments, and, where full figures are shown, in the drapery.

Contemporary with the Kyzyl and Kumtura caves but quite different in style are the group of shrines belonging to an old monastery at Dandan Oilik (in the words of local treasure seekers, "the place of houses with ivory") in the desert near Khotan. Each shrine originally consisted of a square inner cell enclosing a large Buddha statue on a pedestal. This cell was surrounded by a square perambulatory. Both inner and outer walls were decorated with paintings — for the most part of large Buddhas or saints in a checkerboard pattern. On the whole these figures are stiff and rather indifferently drawn. A few representations of legendary scenes include one particularly graceful water nymph of decidedly Indian inspiration. The donors, pictured as tiny figures kneeling at the feet of the large Buddhas, are markedly Chinese or Mongol in appearance.

Decorative stucco reliefs of small Buddhas, saints, and flying Gandharvas, and remains of larger statues, followed the Graeco-Buddhist pattern but achieved no particular distinction. Perhaps the most interesting art finds of the Dandan Oilik site are the considerable number of rectangular wooden panels each about a foot long. They were apparently intended as gifts to the shrine from secular patrons. On these tablets appear sure-handed and

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spirited sketches of Buddhist divinities and legends, some in full color. A particularly attractive drawing shows Rustan, the great Persian hero, as a handsome four-armed Bodhisattva.

Dandan Oilik, by all indications, was abandoned gradually, because of increasing difficulty of irrigation, around the end of the eighth century.

The art of the ancient city at Shorchuk near the Kharashahr oasis reaches into the third and final stage of the Buddhist culture of the Tarim Basin. On the direct route eastward from Kucha to Turfan, Kharashahr was never so important a political power or Buddhist center as its neighbors. Nonetheless great numbers of temples and shrines were found both in the old town and on the ridges of the mountains at its side; there were also a few cave temples cut out of the hills. Most of the shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire in the tenth century, but to have existed for several hundred years before that. The ruins were particularly rich in statuary, many pieces retaining the original coat of bright paints. As well as the familiar Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses in more or less pure Hellenistic style, there were found deities of distinctly oriental appearance and some remarkably realistic horses and camels. Many examples were provided of the variety of heads which could be produced by skillful use of a limited number of molds.

The Shorchuk wall paintings ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries demonstrated even more clearly than the sculpture the intermingling of eastern and western peoples and cultures. The Buddhas, monks and Gandharvas of these frescoes have consistently Far Eastern features, but each monk carries between his prayer-joined palms a long-stemmed flower reminiscent of those held by the donors of Kyzyl. The benefactresses at Shorchuk are slant-eyed, long-nosed, and rather stocky women who can be identified with considerable confidence as belonging to one of the tribes of Western Turks which held sway over Kharashahr for some centuries. The use of deep colors and the presence of stylistic details such as very cursive outlines show strong Chinese influences.

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The latest phase of Central Asian art is most amply illustrated in the Turfan region. The oases of Turfan and Kara Khoja, strategically placed for intercourse both with China to the east and the grazing lands of Jungaria to the north, served as the seats of more or less powerful kingdoms from before the beginning of the present era. The various archaeological explorations found not only two old capitals, Yar Khoto ("the city on the ravine") and Khocho (Kao ch'ang in Chinese; also Idikutshahri and Dakianus) but a number of semi-isolated monastic establishments in the environs. Pieces of sculpture, paintings on paper and silk and various other small objects of art were purchased from local treasure seekers as well as directly excavated. In the circumstances, the dating of many finds is only conjectural. Several markedly Hellenistic heads fall in this category. 172 532

Certain buildings within the old city of Khocho and a few of the sites at Toyuk, Chikkan Kol, and Bezeklik have been clearly shown to belong to the sixth and seventh century. The extant wall paintings in these ruins are on the whole similar to those of the Kucha and Kharashahr oases. In some of these temples, painted medallions on the ceilings substitute for the earlier carved-out imitations of the lantern roof.

From the middle of the eighth century Turfan came under the rule of the Uighur Turks. Before coming to Turfan the ruling Uighur Khans had been converted to Manichaeism, a religion of Persian origin based on the opposition of Light (signifying Good) and Darkness (symbolizing Evil). In Turfan the Uighurs appear to have patronized Buddhism as well as Manichaeism and seem to have permitted Syrian or Nestorian Christians to follow their own faith. A mural which seems to be Christian in character was found covered up by an inner wall in a small temple outside the city walls of Khocho. A priest, in vestments which are clearly neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, holds incense in one hand, a vessel of holy water in the other. He appears to be blessing three persons of smaller stature who approach him, each carrying a long-stemmed leafy branch. The worshipers have the slant eyes of the Orient but the priest appears Byzantine. 174 532

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

172 532 A fine Manichaean wall painting showing a priest of Persian features, possibly Mani himself, dressed in full canonicals and followed by several ranks of white-gowned and tall-bonneted *electi* (devotees under special vows of purity and abstinence), was similarly discovered behind a single layer of bricks. Presumably temples were cleared in this way for other types of worship. Illuminated pages of Manichaean religious texts and Manichaean temple banners, also found in various places in and near Khocho, show the disciples in the same costumes. Both men and women (*electi* and *electae*) are pictured, sometimes with hands clasped at the bosom and hidden muff-like in the robe, sometimes carrying or writing in books. In the book roll fragments and pages, the pictures and text, in a special Manichaean script, are combined to produce a total effect very similar to the early Christian codices of medieval Europe. Bright clear colors are used and the designs are kept fairly simple. Although unmistakably related to the general development of Central Asian art, the Manichaean finds actually constitute a separate and exotic growth with roots deep in third-century Sassanian Persia from which Mani himself sprang.

172 532 778 Buddhist art in Uighur times is best exemplified by the wall paintings of the vast majority of the temples at Bezeklik ("the place where there are decorations") near the village of Murtuk. Here a great phalanx of free-standing structures and rock-cut caves, some with structural antechambers, occupied a protected ledge between the river and the mountains. Hundreds of separate temples were still preserved in various stages of disrepair at the beginning of the present century.

A splendidly preserved set of murals was discovered in the temple which Le Coq numbered 9. Separate panels depicted groups of Indian monks in yellow with their individual names supplied in an Indian script, and Far Eastern monks in violet with both Chinese and Uighur names. All carried single long-stemmed flowers. The main pattern of decoration consisted in a series of Pranidhi or prayer scenes. Each one shows a large standing Buddha elaborately garbed and bejeweled and surrounded by an

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elongated aureole. From five to ten figures are disposed about the Buddha in vertical columns on either side. Usually the two at the base kneel and present gifts such as food, lamps, or trays of flowers. A small Chinese house in a compound frequently is found in a top corner. Some of the worshipers are highly individualized and would seem to be portraits of particular monks or in one case of secular persons who are perhaps merchants. Other monks, however, and characters identifiable as Brahmans, spear-bearers, goddesses, youthful Bodhisattvas, and so forth appear in highly schematized fashion. The facial features of the Buddhas and the stylized attendant personages approximate a single type with narrow eyes, long noses, heavy jowls, and often a hairline mustache. The monks who seem to be drawn from life, however, exhibit much more variety. Several have red hair with blue or green eyes; some show red or gray stubble on the shaven pate, cheeks, and chin. Story elements are reduced to an almost unnoticeable minimum — a tiny raft underneath the feet of the Buddha, for instance, indicates that a seagoing legend is involved. Detail, in fact, rather than composition differentiates one Pranidhi scene from another. Profusion of ornament, sureness of line, and careful symmetry all contribute to an effect of great elegance and sophistication.

Occasionally tiny figures of donors are tucked in near the feet of the Buddha in the Pranidhi scenes. Full-scale pictures of the Uighur benefactors adorn small walls near the entrance of the inner temple. Like portraits of Uighur nobles in other shrines they show strong-visaged men with small mustaches and waist-length braids of black hair. They wear tall headdresses and floor-length gowns of embroidered material. The women have an elaborate puffed coiffure topped by a sort of crown. Once again each benefactor holds a blossoming stalk. Considerable care has been taken to present these donors as individuals and the names of many are inscribed on vertical tablets near the heads.

In addition to Pranidhi scenes and portraits of donors, the Bezeklik murals and the other wall paintings in the Khocho area dating from the Uighur period (ninth through twelfth century

172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular
778 heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context: deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millennium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excellence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into question previous references to the area as no more than a highway connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger population in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity, based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated, would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many monasteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of invaders.

563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manu-[538] scripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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centuries.

Most of the religious structures in general followed the Persian and Indian patterns of buildings. Every shrine had a square or circular cell with a large image of Buddha in it, and included a passage where religious processions could take place and go all the way around the Buddha statue. Additional images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and goddesses decorated the temples. The statues ranged in dimension from over-life sized figures in almost full relief to very small figurines of sitting Buddhas.

The inner walls of these temples and the ceiling were often completely covered with frescoes. Dramatic compositions illustrating scenes and episodes from the life of Buddha, stylized mountain landscapes and illustrations of Buddhist legends were the subject matter of these frescoes.

Several examples of smaller art were also found in these temples. Of particular interest are the wooden panels, which were painted, deposited at the feet of the Buddha statues as votive offerings. Among the other kinds of votive offerings were some paintings on fabric or paper.

Sir Aurel Stein discovered the site of the ruins which belonged to the earliest historical period in Sinkiang: the secular dwellings at Niya sites, and the Buddhist shrines at Miran. Sir Aurel Stein found fairly well preserved wooden brackets and beams which had fallen from the ceilings, and parts of furniture. These objects were carved with many animals, flowers, leaves and other decorative motifs. The decorative motifs are strickingly reminiscent of the style of the Bandhara school of sculpture which flourished in India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries A.D. This art is often referred to as Greco-Buddhist, as its content is definitely Buddhist while its style is very strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Western Asia.

Further remains of the third and early fourth century were found in the temples at Miran. The interior walls of these shrines were full of murals, containing scenes from the life of Buddha, Buddhistic legends, decorated with young men carrying garlands, and youthful male angels. The Miran wall paintings also strongly resemble the Hellenistic frescoes of the same period discovered in the Middle East, both in the techniques employed and in the general effect. Sir Aurel Stein holds the idea that they had been painted by a "Roman Eurasian." A large number of statues of similar nature were discovered by Stein in the temples at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan.

Paul Pelliot and Albert von le Coq found small statues of clay and wood, and some broken heads of statues, which resembled the Hellenistic ancient art even more closely than the murals of Miran and Rawak. They were found in the Tumshuk

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532 172 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.

Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

[177] A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art [177] were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 279 197 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the

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532 779 [797] region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 532 779 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expression is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 212 779 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamentation. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably complemented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover [213] books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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The Uighurs do not seem to possess the same propensity for song as the nomadic Turks, where the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. Uighur songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. They show none of the zest and strength of the nomadic songs and with a few exceptions are rather lyrics on personal themes. The majority of the songs which have been collected are love songs, primarily concerned with rejected love. They are highly erotic, ornamental, pictorial and sometimes almost dreamlike and show markedly the influence of Iranian lyrics, as in the following example: 533

On whatever path you may be walking
There I shall walk too.
If you are a flower blossom
I shall be its leaf.
The peach has blossomed, oh my love
On your body.
I have become a bad one,
Lying on your bosom, oh my love.
How beautifully you danced
In circling movements
Among our friends
Appearing in beauty.
Do you want to leave?
Who insulted you that you wish to go away?
You have left my body,
Whither will you bring my soul?

You cannot know, my love
The pain which is inside me.
I have burned myself on the flame of love.
You could not stand it if it were you who was burned.
The waters of Kara Hodzha
Flow from shaded gardens,
The dark-browed, beautiful young woman
Lights the flames of love in the heart.
My love, did you come to see me?
Or to burn me with the flames of love?

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533 Did you come, oh my love, to revive
The fire which first you enflamed
And then extinguished . . . ?[32]

Side by side with these personal songs, so strongly influenced by the Iranian poetic tradition, there is a small group of songs which are not personal in character, but are concerned with the past of the Uighur people. These are the songs which the Uighurs call *kuchak* or *kuchuk* and which Grenard defines as ballads, which are in essence "very short epics."[33] These songs are probably the closest approach of Uighur art to an epic tradition. In form at least they contain many epic stylistic devices, such as frequent repetition of key phrases and strongly rhythmic verse. It is only the form of these songs, however, which is reminiscent of the epos. Their content, as we shall see later, is usually not epic in character.

The *kuchuk* is not as alive among the Uighurs as the epic song is among the nomads. Grenard remarks on the difficulties he had in recording these songs because of the scarcity of people who knew them. Of the few people he found who were able to recall some of the *kuchuk*, only a few were able to recite more than part of the song.[34] This is in strong contrast to the nomadic cultures, where the epic tradition is still so strong that almost everybody can recite at least parts of an epic poem.

Most of the *kuchuk* which were recorded by Grenard tell of the Yakub Beg revolt, which is depicted as a purely religious war, the sole aim of which was to "raise the banner of Islam" against the Chinese infidels. There is nothing epic in the content of these songs. There are no descriptions of the brave, conquering hero who symbolizes the feeling of strength of the tribe, which we find in the epics of the nomads. On the contrary, here the hero does not conquer, but suffers a martyr's fate, as a result of his faith and his participation in the revolt. It is interesting to note that there

[32] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.
[33] F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la haute Asie*, Paris, 1898, III, p. 83.
[34] Grenard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85.

533

is not even an epic treatment of Yakub Beg himself (at least as far as Grenard's records, the only ones of the *Kuchuk*, indicate), although he would certainly have been the most likely figure to become a legendary national hero. He is only fleetingly mentioned in one of the songs as "the martyr of Kurla" (the place of his death).[35] In contrast to nomadic songs and epics about similar situations of revolt against a foreign intruder, the Uighur songs display no spirit of defiance and national resistance, no feeling of nationalism and social cohesion. They rather show a melancholy spirit of defeat and resignation to defeat. The events described in these songs are not the broader aspects of the national history of the Uighurs, but only specific events in a specific locality.

Typical of this melancholy treatment of a heroic epoch is the *kuchuk* about Mahmud Khan, a functionary of Yakub Beg in Artysh (a large village northeast of Kashgar), who was exiled by the Chinese to Komul.

If you come to the house of flowers,
You will see only wilted flowers . . .
When will Mahmud Khan return to his own town of Artysh?
Mahmud Khan is walking on the summit of the mountain of
    Komul,
A gun in his hands and a tear in his dark eyes. . . .
Mahmud Khan's children have become orphans.
Have you no more strength, Mahmud Khan?
Mahmud Khan has left Kashgar.
If he were still there, justice would be dealt out equitably
And the prayers of the orphans and of the travelers could be
    heard. . . .[36]

There are many more Taranchi texts than texts of the Uighur proper, because of the great interest of the Russians in folklore. Taranchi oral art seems to be identical with that of the Uighurs, with one major addition — the oral art which has sprung up since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. This "newer" folk-

[35] *Ibid.*, III, p. 100.
[36] *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 100–103.

533 lore is concerned with the tragic fate of a people driven from their homeland and forcefully settled in a foreign region. These Taranchi songs and tales are full of bitter complaints about oppression by the Chinese, about forced labor and about the constant struggle of the Taranchis for their rights against the Chinese, and are interesting because, unlike most Uighur folklore, they are not concerned with personal, private matters and grief, but with the social grief and oppression of a whole people.

A great tyrant by the name of Gong became Chiang Chun in the Ili Mountains,
He said: We must take a tax from the rich Taranchi . . .
[But] the imposition of taxes exceeded all measures of oppression.
Demanding taxes, they hit and beat the Taranchi and bound their hands.
The Chiang Chun lost all his sense. The cup overflowed and poured over.
Not finding means to pay the heavy taxes, the people had to sell their beloved children.
They took camels and horses from the rich and bread from the poor.[37]

These mountains, high mountains, impede the road of the poor.
If a poor man dies, who will cry over him? Only a poor man will cry over a poor man.
The tears of the resettled people have not dried yet on the Yamatu Ford and on the road to Tokuztara.[38]

Taranchi prose tales frequently exhibit the same kind of subject matter. A typical tale is the story of Nozugum.[39] This tale, which has a strong epic character, tells of the defeat of the Muslim rising against the Chinese in Kashgar. The Chinese massacre the men and send the women to Ili as wives for the Kalmuks. The

[37] *Ibid.*, N. N. Pantusov, *The War of the Moslems against the Chinese*, Introduction, Kazan, 1881, pp. 11–12 (in Russian).
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
[39] Pantusov, *Obraztsy*, pp. 49–60.

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heroine of the tale is the brave woman Nozugum, who refuses to 533
be married to an infidel and repeatedly tries to flee. She is finally executed by the Chinese and worshiped by her people as a martyr. The tale ends with a versified moral which reflects the strong spirit of national resistance, evidenced in so much of Taranchi oral art:

If a woman is like you, Nozugum, honest and pure,
Why should she fear the Chinese criminals?
If such be the action of women
Then these women will taste the joys of paradise.
May God have mercy on the soul of Nozugum,
May she achieve the virtues of a great martyr.

Although religious ideas and religious leaders have played an important part in Uighur society, it is possible to exaggerate their importance. A case in point is the common assertion by Western writers, who base themselves mainly on Uighur informants, that the great uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century were initiated by representatives of the Moslem clergy. Unpublished documents by Uighur eyewitnesses of the uprisings indicate, however, that they began among the peasantry and the poor of the cities.[40] Representatives of the Moslem aristocracy joined the movement later and made themselves the leaders.

The chief cultural heritage of the Kazakhs is in their folklore 538
and music; the two combine in their epic poetry. In addition there 533
is a body of literature known as the "book songs," predominantly religious in character, which were written for the propagation of Islam.

Unlike the literature and oral art of the Uighurs, Kazakh folk art is primarily social, concerned with the collective problems of

[40] During such risings, and especially in the period of turmoil under Yakub Beg, many people fled into Russian territory. Both the Tsarist officials and interested scholars took down a great many "depositions" or personal narratives of these refugees. The University of Kazan, which because it was in the heart of the Russian Tatar region was an important center of Turkic studies, became the great repository of such documents; many of which, however, were not carefully studied until after the Bolshevik Revolution.

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538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra,* represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in
538 contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They 533
echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the 585
will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased
by his successor in the family, and in general the totally sub- 538
ordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the 533
song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role 538
among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence 773
of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

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704 533 lowest note, like the dying moo of ten thousand stricken kine, the one in front would be finishing with its highest, which resembled a similar number of nails being drawn across a gigantic pane of glass. Each note went on for about two minutes, in an irregular diminuendo and crescendo as the various trumpeters lost their breaths and found them again. We have christened this performance "Ma noises" after the gallant Commandant, Captain Ma, a son-in-law of the Titai.

704 Apart from the dust they raise and the excruciating sounds they emit, the Karghalik Cavalry and their band are a pure joy. Yesterday as we rode past the guard of honour the *beau sabreur* in command gave us the "officer's salute" with the utmost smartness. I was much impressed and rode past wreathed in smiles, my hat raised with due civilian humility. The effect, however, was somewhat spoilt when, the officer's charger becoming restive, he whacked it soundly on the quarters with the flat of his sword several times before returning to the correct position! On another occasion, coming suddenly round a corner upon the cavalry, we caught the "Ma noise" merchant who led the band napping without his trumpet. Frantic shouting and hurrying to and fro, and all seemed lost, until the small street-boy who had been practising with the trumpet across the road dashed over and handed it to its rightful owner, who blew his first ear-splitting C just in time to make our horses shy as we passed. The situation was saved!

The presence of so many mounted troops here must have something to do with the fact that the grazing in the mountains above Karghalik is very good and it is a great horse-producing country, witness the thousands of ponies working on the Leh route which are owned by Karghalik carriers. The Amban here is a Manchu, the only Magistrate of that redoubtable race we have in Kashgaria; one notices at once the difference in type, the upper part of his face being almost like a European's, not flat like that of a Chinese.

Karghalik, 15th November.

000 The dinner with which we were entertained to-day at the Yamen was unique in that three Chinese ladies were present, including our Manchu host's wife, next whom I sat just as if she had been a "foreign devil" like myself. It was most interesting. The ladies were shy at first, but when D. and our Chinese secretary had succeeded in putting them at their ease they thoroughly entered into the joke and the party went very well. There were also some children present, one of whom, a girl of ten, was as pretty as a picture, and knew it; sad to say, she was painted up to the eyes. An amusing interlude was when an old and battered tin of asparagus was produced and our host asked me to read him the instructions. He explained that it had been given him by a former English traveller who had dined with him, but he had not been able to have it for dinner as no one in his household could read the instructions. We are now wondering how long it will be before symptoms of botulism appear.

Goma, 18th November.

Owing to the extreme knottiness of the points raised by the Amban, I had to extend our stay at Karghalik from three days to six; this

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105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

•533 The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, [534] two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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533

their strong voices are quite untrained and the sounds they emit are sometimes astonishing, but one can detect traces of melody even among the saxophone-like warblings of the donkey-drivers. D. is not a great musician, and my ignorance on the subject is "extensive and peculiar," but it was impossible not to be struck by the tunefulness and intelligibility of the local music compared with that of India and (still more) of China Proper.

In the course of my studies of the Eastern Turki language I transcribed many of the songs sung by the beggars and wandering musicians. There is no more difficult task in a foreign language, and it was only with the invaluable assistance of Murad Qari that I was able to puzzle out and translate the words; Qari himself was more than once at fault, for some of the verses are very old and the singers themselves could not always explain them. The "Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung" is of Kashgari origin, and my favourite quatrain, "My white hawk hath flown from my hand," would seem from its reference to the hills of Besh Karim, to be the work of an Artush bard. But it was at Yarkand, Khotan and—of all places—Polu, high up among the wild gorges of the Kunlun south of Keriya, a few miles from the lofty northern rim of Tibet, that Qari and I found our best "bits." It was most surprising to find a strain of true poetry in so remote a place as Polu. At a feast I gave in the house of the *yuz-bashi* (headman), a simple affair of tea, bread and boiled sheep, with a singsong to follow, there was a thin-faced lad with a great sheepskin cap who twanged his guitar like a master and sang verses of his own composition which would have done credit to the shepherds of Arcadia or Sicily of old. The material I collected may be divided into songs of poverty and exile, love-songs, comic ditties and popular snatches of various kinds, and ballads. Here are some specimens, with a Turki original in each class to show the verse-form:

539

(A) Songs of Poverty and Exile

(1)

Atam surse, ānam surse, "Yuraidur" danglār
"Kungle ghamda, kuze yāshda yiglaidur" danglār.

If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say "He is distraught."
Say "His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears."
Say "He weeps for you."

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000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[614] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

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563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[796] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[798] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

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000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

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563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The
[785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadān fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each
[574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all
[262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two
[184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a
[782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the
[775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus-
[735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

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563 538 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 533 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cultural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. [177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in [539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 538 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi literature and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads. [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 533 538 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the [539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 538 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
(177) sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
179 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
179 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
527 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
(177) Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

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[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

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668 and "The achievements in political and judicial work in Sinkiang in the past five years," also in Sinkiang Jih-pao, September 30, 1954, and numerous others.

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*668 5. Other campaigns

Besides the above, special propaganda campaigns as well as routine ones have been launched throughout the years. In the Northwest, at least the following campaigns took place:

1) "The march to wipe out illiteracy" in July, 1952
2) The three anti- and five anti- movements in 1952
3) The start of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953
4) The calling of People's Congresses and the establishment of the Constitution, 1953-54
5) Finishing the land reform missions in agricultural areas of Sinkiang, 1953
6) The practice of minority autonomy, 1953
7) The increase of production and the austerity movement, 1953
8) The strengthening education as a whole and training minority cadres in particular movement, 1953
9) The denunciation of the U.S.-Chiang Joint Defense Pact (over Formosa) in 1955
10) The criticism of capitalistic ideas among the peasant Party members in Shensi in 1955
11) The signature movement against the use of the atomic bomb, in 1955
12) The suppression of counter-revolutionary movements at various times
13) The killing sparrows movement in 1955 (Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao, December 24, 1955. Because of the extreme shortage of food, the Communists started to pay attention to all birds, rodents, insects and worms that might consume food. They singled out a few, including sparrows, as targets of campaigns. In this case, the movement started in Kansu and spread to the whole nation.)

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B. The Content

The flavor of the contents can be sampled in the following paragraphs:

1) A praising song used by a Sinkiang group:

You, Giant Mao Tse-tung,
Brought freedom to the people
You, Hero Mao Tse-tung,
Brought brightness to the people
You, Father Mao Tse-tung,
Saved the suffering people.
In the past we were ill-treated
And had no interest to produce;

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:

When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

342 duty as a chimney, open during heavy rain is solved in an ingenious fashion. The felt cover is pulled almost but not quite over it; the corner of the felt opposite to the direction from which the rain is coming is then lifted on the end of a forked pole away from the rim of the "chimney," thus making a kind of vertical ventilator facing away from the rain. The other end of the forked pole is held firmly in mid-air by means of guy ropes attached to the sides of the tent. *Aq-ois* stand a gale very well, their shape being such that the higher the wind the more firmly the structure is pressed to the ground; I never heard of one being blown away. To make assurance doubly sure, however, a large stone is sometimes placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof anchored to it by a rope.

The putting together of the *aq-ois* is always done by the women, who are remarkably quick about it. I have seen a large one put up by two girls in half an hour. A middle-sized *aq-oi* forms three camel- or yak-loads when taken down. For short distances it can be moved bodily by ten or twelve men, who range themselves round the *inside* of the structure and lift it at a given signal. As they cannot see where they are going, they have to be steered by some one outside.

353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq-oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. [534] [411] There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, [534] a two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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CHAPTER XV

UNDER THE NORTHERN RIM OF TIBET

IN the spring of 1924 official business along the south-eastern road once more demanded my personal attention. Leaving Kashgar on 1st March and spending a busy fortnight at Yarkand, we reached Keriya on 12th April after short halts at Posgam, Karghalik, Goma and Khotan. On the way home we broke new ground between Keriya and Khotan and again between Khotan and Karghalik; but on the outward journey we used the same direct caravan route which we had already twice traversed, and I will therefore confine myself as far as Keriya to a few passages from diaries and letters.

Yarkand, 7th March, 1924.

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On the wide grassy plain south of Yangi Hissar this morning we overtook a caravan of camels carrying Tashkend sugar and Baku oil from Kashgar to Khotan. They were fine shaggy brutes and as impressive as camels always are when you see them in long strings filing across the wide spaces of the earth. But what marked this caravan among all I have ever seen—or heard—was its music. Never was there such a carillon of bells as that which rose to heaven from this slow-moving train of unmusical-looking antediluvians. There were loud bells and soft bells, big clanging bells and little bubbling bells, high-pitched bells and low booming bells and cracked bells, double bells one inside the other, copper bells from Kashgar and iron bells from Toqsun far along the road to Mongolia. Some of these latter have as clappers—what do you think? Camels' bones. I bought one the other day as a curiosity. There is something grimly pathetic about the idea of camels padding week after week, month after month, across Asia with the bones of their predecessors tinkling in the bells at their necks.

We had a really brilliant day for our "triumphal entry" into Yarkand with about a hundred British subjects of all kinds and religions mounted on more or less unmanageable ponies behind us. Yarkand as a whole took the utmost interest in our arrival, for it had been rumoured that we had gone back to India and that a former incumbent of the post had returned. I was amused to hear a woman in the bazaar say to a friend as I rode past *Bulturki Consul shu* (This is last year's Consul).

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

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Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Mantu*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264] have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272] Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545] Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet motion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535] it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526] with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about

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[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [714] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 177 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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000 other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accom-
291 panied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tan[illegible] face.

364 Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were
[312] never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses
536 of the Chinese population is distinctly different from
636 that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accom-
636 plished in Shansi. The policy of this strong auto-
20 cratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from 563*
this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 174
they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was 563*
based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active 241
traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic 441
speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern [197]
group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to 563*
Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the 771
Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to con- 797
vert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small 563*
body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the 779
nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly 538
nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian 186
culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian 212
literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

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the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

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In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

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tapukci belonged: the Seid (*alevi*) physicians (*öteci*), conjurers (*apsunci*) and astrologers (*münejim*). To the government officials belonged: the Khan, the Wazirs, the army leaders (*su bashi*), the scribes (*bitikci*), the ambassadors (*yolaoci*) and the guards (*kapukci*).[9] Descriptions are given of the characteristics of each of these groups and their usefulness to the ruler. There are prescribed attitudes toward the peasants, the nomads, the artisans and the merchants.

About the nomads, the work has the following to say:

There also exist cattle breeders,
They watch after their herds of horses.
This is a very truthful group of people, but wisdom they do not possess,
Treat them well. . . .
Mix with them, carry on acquaintance, eat and drink with them,
Allow them to live as it behooves humans to live.
If you mix with them, keep yourself in hand.
Associate and treat them well.
Because they are constantly without laws and without directing thread.
Speak to them good words, but call them not friends.[10]

About the peasants there are the following utilitarian remarks:

These people are necessary to you,
so that your stomach's needs may be supplied. . . .

Associate with them,
speak good to them with your tongue. . . .[11]

A quite different attitude is expressed toward the artisans and the merchants:

[9] H. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachdokumente*, Innsbruck, 1870, pp. 5–6.
[10] M. Abdykalykov, and A. Pankratova, eds., *History of the Kazakh S.S.R.*, Alma-Ata, 1943, p. 72 (in Russian).
[11] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

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174 Another kind of people are the artisans,
538 They create art with their hands, so as to earn their living.
They are all indispensable to you,
Cultivate them, they will bring you advantage, O Great One,

From them come all the works of the earth,
How many amazing things they make.
With them you must associate and you must treat them well.
Make them happy and live yourself in happiness.
If they work for you, — give them gifts without fail,
Give them food and drink. Give them abundant food.[12]

As to the merchants, the ruler is advised to

Deal with them, hold open your gates for them.
Treat them well
so that your good name will spread.
It is these who will carry your name through the world,
who will spread your reputation, good or bad. . . .
If you want to be sure to become famous,
let the merchant have just pay for his goods.
If you want to create a good name for yourself, O Lord,
treat well the caravan people.[13]

Of striking interest is the rational philosophy which permeates the whole work. Knowledge and science are not only highly praised and recommended to the ruler as his most trusted guides, but are considered more important than princely glory and riches. The following section, entitled "Man's honor derives only from knowledge and understanding," may serve as an example of the high regard for learning expressed in *Kudatku Bilik:*

He created fire, wind, water, and earth,
And to Man He gave virtue, knowledge and intellect. . . .

Consider knowledge as high, intellect as great
With those two things He has elevated His slave. . . .

[12] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[13] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

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Know the sense of knowledge, know what knowledge is.
Evil will disappear because of Man's knowledge.
The ignorant ones are full of evil
If Man will not heal this evil, he will surely die.
So be it, O ignorant Man, cure your evil,
Heal the ignorant ones, O my knowing friend.[14]

This gives testimony to the high level of education among the ruling circles of Uighur society at this time, which is no doubt a result of the influx of Arabic science with Islamization. In spite of this new scientific attitude, strong remnants of the old Turkic shamanism are still found. Thus, the ruler is advised to treat the physician well, because he can heal him of disease. Following this however, the ruler is also advised to treat the faith healers (*mukasim*) well, because, while the physician heals disease with medicine, the shaman heals it with a talisman.[15]

Kudatku Bilik must have been extremely popular and it probably spread all over the Turkic speaking world. We have verses from the *Kudatku Bilik* on a piece of pottery which was found in *Saraijik* (Saraichikovskoe) at the mouth of the Ural River on the Caspian Sea.[16] Recently, a work of a somewhat later date, but representing the same kind of dry didacticism, was found in Turkey, the *Hibat al-haqa'iq*.[17] This discovery showed that *Kudatku Bilik* was not an isolated occurrence. It is said that in the eleventh century Kashgar was the center of Turkic culture for the entire Inner Asian region. When, however, the Turks regained sovereign status after the Mongol epoch, this cultural center shifted west, and there are no further literary works preserved from Kashgar, or any other Uighur territory.

Only the period of the strong Uighur Empire produced literary works, influenced both by Western (Iranian, Arabic) and Southern (Indian) culture. After the eleventh century we have no

[14] Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[15] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.
[16] *Zapiski kollegii Vostokovedov*, XXI, p. 42, quoted by Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[17] Comp. J. Deny, "*A propos d'un traite de morale turc en écriture ouigoure*," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 60, 1925, pp. 189–234.

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174 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural
538 production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs,
177 (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

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mice.[21] Another series of proverbs which develop the moral that man often provokes his own downfall takes us back to the Indian story cycle *Jatakam*. One of the *Jatakam* tales tells of the sparrow who, trying to stop two goats from fighting, flies between them and is crushed.[22] We have only to compare this with the Uighur proverb, "Two stallions are fighting and a fly is squashed," [23] to see the parallel. The Uighur proverb, "When the mouse shall die, it scratches the testes of the cat," [24] also has its counterpart in the *Jatakam* series, such as the tale about the goat which is about to be saved from slaughter because there is no knife, whereupon the goat digs up a knife accidentally from the ground and is slaughtered with it. This story also occurs in a Greek tale and is echoed in an Arab proverb "Don't be like the sheep which perished by digging with its hoofs." There is some controversy as to the way this story came to Sinkiang and became an Uighur proverb. Fraenkel [25] claims that its origin was Greece, whence it traveled to the Arabs and with Arab merchants to Sinkiang and India. R. Pischel, however,[26] avers that the fact that it occurred in the *Jatakam* proves its Indian origin.

Many of the Uighur tales belong to general Turkic and Iranian Inner Asian story cycles and are the offspring of Inner Asian written folk tales. Such is the story of Hamra,[27] which roughly follows the theme of the popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man.[28] Others again are retold versions of romances of the famous fifteenth-century Uzbek poet, Ali-sher Newai. Such are the tales

[21] Comp. *Panchatantra*, (T. Benfey,) Leipzig, 1859, II, pp. 194–195.

[22] Comp. R. Pischel; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 47, 86–87 (hereafter "ZDMG").

[23] C. Brockelman, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, Heft 1/4, 71, No. 255.

[24] Brockelman, *op. cit.*, No. 225.

[25] *Das Schaf und das Messer*, ZDMG, 47, pp. 737–740.

[26] ZDMG, 47, 88.

[27] V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur d. Turkischen Staemme Suedsibiriens*, VI, pp. 114–130; G. Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki*.

[28] H. Vambery, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 35.

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538 177 of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

773 538 A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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heroine of the tale is the brave woman Nozugum, who refuses to 533
be married to an infidel and repeatedly tries to flee. She is finally executed by the Chinese and worshiped by her people as a martyr. The tale ends with a versified moral which reflects the strong spirit of national resistance, evidenced in so much of Taranchi oral art:

If a woman is like you, Nozugum, honest and pure,
Why should she fear the Chinese criminals?
If such be the action of women
Then these women will taste the joys of paradise.
May God have mercy on the soul of Nozugum,
May she achieve the virtues of a great martyr.

Although religious ideas and religious leaders have played an important part in Uighur society, it is possible to exaggerate their importance. A case in point is the common assertion by Western writers, who base themselves mainly on Uighur informants, that the great uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century were initiated by representatives of the Moslem clergy. Unpublished documents by Uighur eyewitnesses of the uprisings indicate, however, that they began among the peasantry and the poor of the cities.[40] Representatives of the Moslem aristocracy joined the movement later and made themselves the leaders.

The chief cultural heritage of the Kazakhs is in their folklore 538
and music; the two combine in their epic poetry. In addition there 533
is a body of literature known as the "book songs," predominantly religious in character, which were written for the propagation of Islam.

Unlike the literature and oral art of the Uighurs, Kazakh folk art is primarily social, concerned with the collective problems of

[40] During such risings, and especially in the period of turmoil under Yakub Beg, many people fled into Russian territory. Both the Tsarist officials and interested scholars took down a great many "depositions" or personal narratives of these refugees. The University of Kazan, which because it was in the heart of the Russian Tatar region was an important center of Turkic studies, became the great repository of such documents; many of which, however, were not carefully studied until after the Bolshevik Revolution.

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538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra,* represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking
538 insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They 533
echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the 585
will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased
by his successor in the family, and in general the totally sub- 538
ordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the 533
song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role 538
among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence 773
of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

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are particularly popular because of the close association of the Kazakh cattle breeders with animals — and tales dealing with the struggle for good pasture land. Thus, for example, the tale of *Zhupar*[43] tells of the mother of a great family who leads her children away from the rest of the clan, which has become poor because of cattle starvation.

The heroic epos is of particular importance among the nomads. It is usually connected with actual historical events such as the falling apart of the Kazakh Khanate (*Shora Narokov*), the fight against the Kalmuks (*Er Targyn*), the struggle with the Uzbeks (*Kambara*). The authors of these epics are generally unknown and the epos is spread by the traveling epic bards, *zhyrshi* (from *zhyr*, song, which is the only term the Kazakhs have for the epos). The meter of the epos is usually a seven- or eight-footed verse, with a varying number of lines to a stanza. There is no steady rhythm in the verse. The musical quality is achieved by instrumentation and is built on tonal repetition and alliteration. The more dramatic parts of the epos are rendered in a fast and declamatory meter (*zheldirme* — the trotting race).[44] The origin of most of the epics appears to be very early. The fact that the term "Kazakh" rarely occurs, and that the heroes are called "emigrants from Nogaila" leads to the conclusion that at the time of the origin of most of the epics the Kazakhs were still part of the Golden Horde.

A typical heroic epos is that of *Er Targyn*,[45] which proclaims the virtues and prowess of the typical epic hero, who by his strength, alertness, and sometimes almost supernatural powers, is able to defeat singlehanded the greatest armies and the most powerful supernatural beings and to extricate himself from the most awkward situations. In this particular epos, the hero, a fugitive from his own Khan, finds refuge in the land of the Crimean Khan and by his great power helps him defeat the Kalmuks. For this he is promised the Khan's daughter, whom he wins only

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 140–141.
[44] L. S. Sobolev, *Pesni stepei*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 12–13.
[45] Radlov, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 153–205.

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social 538
status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long 773
and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which 538
are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for 538
their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, 186
their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence. 538

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian 177
exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

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538 ture, based not only on the traditional forms of Kazakh oral
177 poetry, but also on such Western literary forms as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The rapid rise in literacy enabled the new literature to become truly the property of the people. The new themes are concerned with modern problems such as the Civil War, the Five Year Plans, the building of a socialist society and the war against Nazi Germany.

Despite the fact that there are available no texts collected from the Sinkiang Kazakhs, it may be assumed that the social and national upheaval of the Kazakhs on the Russian side of the border has influenced the oral art of the Kazakhs in Sinkiang, particularly since the Russo-Chinese border never presented a serious barrier to the movement of nomads.

538 The main cultural heritage of the Kirghiz, like that of the Kazakhs, is in their tradition of oral art and in a strongly developed sense of music; but epic poetry is even more strongly developed. Many of the Turkic national tales, legends, and heroic episodes have been amalgamated by the Kirghiz into a huge national epos, which has recently been completely recorded for the first time by Soviet ethnographers and folklorists. This national epos, *Manas*,[47] deals primarily with the Kirghiz struggle against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth and eightheenth centuries, which is depicted as a religious fight of the Mohammedan true believers against the infidels. It gives a detailed picture of the life and customs of the Kirghiz, with descriptions of battles, family life, marriage, death ceremonies, feasts. According to Radlov in the nineteenth century and to recent Soviet ethnologists, this epos is still very much alive among the Kirghiz people, and practically every Kirghiz can recite parts of it. Since the Soviet Revolution, the Soviet Kirghiz have developed a considerable body of new literature, in which they have taken over the Western forms of the novel and the drama, in addition to the use of their old traditional epic and poetic forms.

[47] The most recent and most complete translation into Russian is: U. Dzhekishev *et al.*, eds., *Manas*, Moscow, 1946, 370 pp.

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for hand-washing) are "turban-head" utensils in which the Chinese took no interest. 326

The calligraphic art seems never to have flourished in Chinese Turkistan, and no Turki or Persian manuscripts of any merit appear to have been produced locally. Among the masses of "junk" brought to me at Kashgar, however, I was fortunate enough to come upon a genuine fifteenth-century Persian MS., in almost perfect condition. Noticing that the writing was exquisite and that a very early date appeared on the last page, I pointed out disparagingly that the book contained no pictures (this was not surprising) and few illuminated headings, and offered five taels for it. Eventually, after months of desultory bargaining, I acquired it for sixteen. It proved on examination by Dr. Edwardes of the British Museum and Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge to be a MS. of considerable importance, dated A.H. 150 or A.D. 1446, and containing four different Persian works, namely: 212

(1) The *Kulliyat* of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (twelfth-thirteenth century).
(2) The *Fihi Mafihi* of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi.
(3) A mystical work called *Tarab ul Majalis*.
(4) In the margin, the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

The *Kulliyat* and the two Rumi works are early enough recensions to be of some importance textually, while the *Tarab ul Majalis* is almost unique, only one other copy of the work being known, that in the India Office Library.

As might be expected from the isolated position of the Tarim Basin and the mediæval conditions prevailing, the country is a happy hunting-ground for the folklorist. Quaint customs and superstitions, most of them dating far back beyond Islam and even Buddhism, survive in remarkable profusion. Legends, too, are numerous and widespread; but these are more difficult to disentangle from the mythological web with which Islam has interwoven the mass of Buddhistic and Manichæan tradition. The legends and mediæval history of Chinese Turkistan have been treated very fully by M. Grenard in his work "La Haute Asie," embodying the researches of the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission to Tibet and Chinese Turkistan (1890–95), and I found afterwards that some of the material I collected had already been recorded by that Mission. The subject is of such interest, however, and the work done on it so little known, that I make no apology for recording some of 538

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538 my observations, including particularly those which do not appear in Grenard or other authorities, together with such of Grenard's data and conclusions as are necessary for their elucidation.

In Vol. III of "La Haute Asie" the author discusses the mass of tradition, pre-Muhammadan in origin but "captured" by Islam, of which the chief repositories are the *tazkiras* or sacred books of the various sanctuaries. At Imamlär, among the foot-hills of the Kunlun 45 miles south-west of Keriya, I bought from one of the mullas a modern copy of the *tazkira* of the shrine. With the help of Murad Qari I translated this quite short work, a matter of considerable difficulty owing to the badness of the writing and the obscurity in some places of the Turki. The legend proved to be that of the "Four Imams," Nasir-ud-din, Zahur-ud-din, Mu'in-ud-din and Qawam-ud-din, the last of the twelve descendants of 'Ali who according to local tradition came from Arabia at various times during the ninth and tenth centuries and were martyred in battle for the Faith. The narrative tells how the Four Imams sent one of their captains, Yusuf Qadir Khan Ghazi, with an army of 40,000 men to Kashgar, which showed signs of reverting to paganism. Yusuf Qadir Khan reported by letter that the people of Kashgar refused to believe in the Prophet unless His descendants (i.e. the Imams) came in person. The Four Imams accordingly set out for Kashgar with an army of 140,000 faithful.[1]

The psalm which the Imams sang at Madain in Arabia before they marched is worth repeating:

539 PSALM OF THE FOUR IMAMS WHO SET OUT FROM BAGHDAD TO CONQUER THE LAND OF KASHGAR

Ai igizlärni qelghuchi pasti
Bär-ni yoq, yoqni qelghuchi hasti;
Zikrgha järi qelsäne
Lashkarni qäri qelsäne;
Salmä konglegha ghair yädini
Ber bu 'äjiz til-lärning murädini;
Konglegha 'ilm o 'ishq tushqärghil
Ber 'amal räst, yollgha bäshqärghil;

[1] The method by which they numbered the army is quaint, and is reminiscent of Herodotus' description of the numbering of the Persian host by Xerxes. They took a grain of maize for every ten men, and then weighed the maize, which was found to amount to one *charak* (about 20 lb.); the number of grains in one *ching* (1/16th of a *charak*) was then counted and the total arrived at.

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Būbākam hurmatidin, ai Bārā
Barja mushkil ishigha ber, Yārā;
Hama mushkil-lāreni āsān ait
'Ishq o faiz o futuh ahsān ait.

(Translation)

O Thou who makest high places low,
Who makest Nothingness out of Existence and Existence out of Nothingness;
Make (our mouths) worthy to utter Thy name,
Make our army worthy to read (Thy word).
Put not in our hearts the thought of anything other (than Thee).
Grant the desire of these our humble tongues.
Implant knowledge and love (of Thee) in our hearts.
Grant that we may act aright and guide us in our path;
By the virtue of our Ancestor, O God,
Deliver the infidels to adversity, O Beloved (God);
Make all our difficulties easy;
Grant us Thy love and favour, grant us victory.

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In Bokhara and Ferghana the Imams were joined by further large armies of adherents under the command of local notables. When they arrived at Kashgar "the troops filled the city so full that if anything had fallen from Heaven it would have fallen upon the shoulders of the army, for there would have been no room for it upon the earth." The Kashgaris had therefore no choice but to embrace Islam. Leaving Yusuf Qadir Khan as governor of Kashgar, the Imams set out for Khotan. At Yarkand, which was then quite a small place, the inhabitants became converted at once; as a reward the Imams informed them that one day Yarkand would be the capital of the country. At Goma a body of people were seen on the road ahead; some came to the Imams and were converted, others ran away. The Imams were suspicious of these latter, wherefore the place was afterwards Goma, from *guman*, "suspicion." Pialma (two marches west of Khotan) received its name from the fact that the people brought presents of quinces and apples (*bih* and *alma*) to the Holy Ones.[1]

Meanwhile the princes of Khotan, named Juqta Rashid and Nuqta Rashid, were preparing to resist. The first encounter between the infidels and the Mussulman army was at Qumrabat Padshahim, where in a skirmish the Imam Shakir

[1] Similar explanations are given for the names of Moji and Zanguya on the Yarkand-Khotan road, but I could not elucidate them. Such stories are obviously "etiological myths."

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538 was killed.[1] The luck of the Imams had turned. The princes of Khotan had a very powerful sorcerer, who caused the whole city to become invisible to the Mussulmans just as their attack commenced. The Imams, unable to take a city they could not see, stayed where they were for forty years. At the end of this period, as the invaders would not go, Nuqta Rashid and Juqta Rashid, together with most of their army and the sorcerer, escaped secretly from Khotan and fled to the mountains, leaving an aged champion called Khalkhal[2] in command at Khotan. The city now once more became visible to the Imams, who had no difficulty in entering it and converting Khalkhal after a sharp battle. They then went after Nuqta and Juqta, who had built themselves a city of stone on the top of a mountain.[3] They turned the infidels out of this stronghold by cutting the copper conduit by which water was brought to it from the river. The final battle, which took place further to the east, raged without result for two days. On the night of the second day two men of a village called Ujat, magically disguised as dogs, stole into the Mussulmans' camp and cut all the fastenings of their harness and other gear, so that next day the Imams and all their host were defeated and killed.[4] Only forty believers survived to bring the news of the martyrdom of the Imams to Yusuf Qadir Khan, who proceeded to the spot to bury them and establish the shrine which bears their name. As a punishment for their part in the martyrdom of the Imams, a curse fell upon the people of Ujat; it was decreed that their sons should always be born with four legs and a tail. The only way in which they could rid themselves of this curse was by giving their daughters to the Sheikhs of the Imamlär shrine in marriage and thus purifying the stock.[5]

[1] Two pigeons flew from his body after the battle, thus enabling it to be identified; these pigeons are the ancestors of the thousands of sacred pigeons at the shrine of Imam Shakir at Qumrabat Padshahim. This story does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*.

[2] From a comparison with other *tazkiras*, Grenard thinks that Khalkhal was the king of Khotan and Juqta and Nuqta his ministers—possibly leading Lamas.

[3] Local tradition places this stronghold at Hasha, two marches south-east of Khotan at the foot of the Tikkelik Tagh. Here there are remains of a Buddhist monastery (Grenard). See also Stein, "Serindia," pp. 1320–1.

[4] The date of the martyrdom of the Imams is given as 10th Muharram, A.H. 391 (A.D. 1000).

[5] Grenard gives a résumé of this *tazkira* (Vol. III, pp. 38–41), but does not mention some of the interesting points such as the method

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The author of "La Haute Asie," who collected all the *tazkiras* of the various shrines (a fact of which I was unaware when I acquired and translated a copy of the Imamlär one), shows that in their present form they all date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are Sunni editions of the original Shi'a legends of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Even the Shi'a legends, however, were not original. They were adaptations by the early mullas of pre-Muhammadan traditions connected with ancestor-worship at local shrines. None of the Twelve Imams came to Kashgar at all; the heroes of the legends were almost certainly eighth to tenth century Shi'a adventurers escaping from the persecution of the Ommiad Caliphs and other Sunni authorities. With small bands of followers, these bold Saracens raided Chinese territory in much the same way as their Western brethren raided Europe, and their exploits became legendary, like the eighth-century Saracen raid into the south of France which ended in the Battle of Poitiers. These "Imams" accomplished little, and they were all either killed or taken prisoner by the natives. None of their raids, Grenard thinks, preceded the authentic attempt of Qutaibah to impose Islam upon Kashgaria in the tenth century; it was Qutaibah who led the way, and yet he is not mentioned at all in the *tazkiras* and is entirely forgotten. This is because he was a Sunni.

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The complete conversion of the Tarim Basin to Islam was a slow process. In the tenth century the official religion of the country was Buddhism, with its chief stronghold at Khotan, but it was a debased Buddhism, and a pagan Manichæism was the real religion of the people. Paganism died hard in the Basin; indeed, as we shall see later, it is not by any means dead yet. The destruction of the old Buddhist theocracy at Khotan and the conversion of the whole country to Islam were begun by Qutaibah and the so-called Imams, and continued by Sadiq Boghra Khan, the Uigur Prince who first embraced Islam. Then came the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, and the Faith received a set-back. It was not till the fourteenth century that Islam could be definitely called the religion of the country. In the meantime the Muhammadan element had been evolving its tradition and consolidating its position *vis-à-vis* the pagans.

of numbering the army of the Faithful; the Psalm; the derivations of Pialma, Goma, etc., and the punishment meted out to the men of Ujat (see next paragraph). Prof. Huntington, who visited Imamlär in 1905, mentions this same *tazkira* ("Pulse of Asia," p. 164).

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771 Its method was simply to appropriate the pagan heroes with their local cults and identify them with its own pioneers. The cult of the Imams and other Mussulman saints, as Grenard points out,[1] goes back to religions older than Islam. The Mussulman priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship at certain shrines, adopted those shrines and christened them with the names of Islamic personages.

538 I came across several such survivals of pre-Muhammadan traditions during our travels, though I did not always recognize their true significance. At Chira, half-way between Khotan and Keriya, is the shrine of one of the foremost "Imams," Ja'far Tairan. The local legend is that this Imam came flying through the air from Mecca to convert the Kingdom of Khotan. Now Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century tells of a sacred image at Keriya, 20 feet high and luminous, which at the death of the Buddha flew by itself from Kochambi in India, where it was made, to a place in the north of the Kingdom of Khotan.[2] A still more striking instance is that of the story in the Imamlär *tazkira* about the men of Ujat who entered the camp of the Imams by night disguised as dogs and rendered the arms and armour of the Mussulmans useless, thus helping the King of Khotan to defeat them. This is evidently an adaptation of the legend of the sacred rats recorded by Hsuan Tsang and quoted by Sir Aurel Stein.[3] Khotan was being invaded by a great force of Hiong-nu or Huns, and its king was in despair. One night he was visited in a dream by the King of the Rats, who offered him his help. The King of Khotan accepted the offer, and next night a great army of rats "as big as hedgehogs, their hair the colour of gold and silver," invaded the camp of the Huns and ate all their bow-strings and the leather fastenings of their harness. This altogether incapacitated the Huns, who were easily defeated next day. Thenceforward the rats which lived near the scene of the battle were regarded as sacred and fed regularly by pilgrims. The curious thing is that, according to Stein, the scene of this battle is the same as that of the defeat and death of Imam Shakir where now stands the "Pigeon Shrine" of Qumrabat Padshahim; and Stein thinks that the pigeons are the lineal descendants, as it were, of the golden-haired rats. It will be remembered that the Ujat men assumed

[1] Vol. II, p. 240.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 195.

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animal shape when they entered the Mussulman camp, and the curse which fell upon their village was that all male children in it should be born with four feet and a tail—an ingenious adaptation of the pagan tradition.

Another priestly legend of lineage older than Islam is that which was told me by the Chief Qazi of Opal, a charming village situated some 28 miles west of Kashgar on a plateau of loess between two winding valleys. These valleys, called the Qizil (red) and Qara (black) Jilghas, have been cut in the loess by two streams which flow one on each side of a low hill clothed with ancient planes and crowned by the picturesque shrine of Hazrat Maulam. They join about five miles below Opal, where there is the mausoleum of the Hazrat with another shrine over it. Near the foot of the hill is a cave, and the story is that this was once the lair of a dragon which preyed upon the countryside after the manner of its kind. This went on until the Four Imams came to free the country from the dragons of idolatry and of superstition. They commissioned one of their captains, Hazrat Maulam, to slay the beast, and gave him a magic belt which enabled him to do the deed. Unfortunately the dragon's poison was too strong for the Hazrat, and he died in the hour of victory. The question then was, where should he be buried? The people of the two valleys, the Red and the Black, fought for the honour of providing his burial-place. Finally it was decided to cut the Hazrat in half and inter his head and shoulders in one valley and his legs in the other. But when the Holy Imams heard of this they were angry, and ordered that the saint should be buried at the place where the two valleys meet.

At Lamus on the Duwa stream, twelve miles south of Pialma, I was interested to hear from a delightful old Haji a legend about the Four Imams which does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*. On the day before the battle at Qumrabat Padshahim in which, as already described, the Imam Shakir was killed, the Four Imams encamped at a place called Takhtuban in the desert, 20 miles north-east of Lamus. There was no water, and the Imams thirsted; so their followers, 40,000 of them, formed a line, standing side by side all the way to Lamus, whence they passed water in buckets from hand to hand until the thirst of the Holy Ones was quenched. Thenceforward the place was called Olam-su, afterwards corrupted to Lamus, because the water (*su*) was "grafted" (*olamak*) from its spring to Takhtuban.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could 669 possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

538 The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

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The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
  He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
  The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
  Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
  Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
  The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

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[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [827] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
971 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz nave a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical charaeteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[212] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
[538] Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that tl ey live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
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563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

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The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

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The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

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"Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

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The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

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The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an [197] [177] impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, nd the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
533 tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
[177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi litera-
• 538 ture and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads.
[101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the
533 Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life
538 and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the
[539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of
538 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

563 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles
538 against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists
538 The Western forms of the novel and drama have been intro-
177 duced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fic-
668 tion produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

538 my observations, including particularly those which do not appear in Grenard or other authorities, together with such of Grenard's data and conclusions as are necessary for their elucidation.

In Vol. III of "La Haute Asie" the author discusses the mass of tradition, pre-Muhammadan in origin but "captured" by Islam, of which the chief repositories are the *tazkiras* or sacred books of the various sanctuaries. At Imamlär, among the foot-hills of the Kunlun 45 miles south-west of Keriya, I bought from one of the mullas a modern copy of the *tazkira* of the shrine. With the help of Murad Qari I translated this quite short work, a matter of considerable difficulty owing to the badness of the writing and the obscurity in some places of the Turki. The legend proved to be that of the "Four Imams," Nasir-ud-din, Zahur-ud-din, Mu'in-ud-din and Qawam-ud-din, the last of the twelve descendants of 'Ali who according to local tradition came from Arabia at various times during the ninth and tenth centuries and were martyred in battle for the Faith. The narrative tells how the Four Imams sent one of their captains, Yusuf Qadir Khan Ghazi, with an army of 40,000 men to Kashgar, which showed signs of reverting to paganism. Yusuf Qadir Khan reported by letter that the people of Kashgar refused to believe in the Prophet unless His descendants (i.e. the Imams) came in person. The Four Imams accordingly set out for Kashgar with an army of 140,000 faithful.[1]

The psalm which the Imams sang at Madain in Arabia before they marched is worth repeating:

539 PSALM OF THE FOUR IMAMS WHO SET OUT FROM BAGHDAD TO CONQUER THE LAND OF KASHGAR

Ai igizlärni qelghuchi pasti
Bär-ni yoq, yoqni qelghuchi hasti;
Zikrgha järi qelsäne
Lashkarni qäri qelsäne;
Salmä konglegha ghair yädini
Ber bu 'äjiz til-lärning murädini;
Konglegha 'ilm o 'ishq tushqärghil
Ber 'amal räst, yollgha bäshqärghil;

[1] The method by which they numbered the army is quaint, and is reminiscent of Herodotus' description of the numbering of the Persian host by Xerxes. They took a grain of maize for every ten men, and then weighed the maize, which was found to amount to one *charak* (about 20 lb.); the number of grains in one *ching* (1/16th of a *charak*) was then counted and the total arrived at.

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Būbākam hurmatidin, ai Bārā
Barja mushkil ishigha bér, Yārā;
Hama mushkil-lāreni āsān ait
'Ishq o faiz o futuh ahsān ait.

(Translation)

O Thou who makest high places low,
Who makest Nothingness out of Existence and Existence out of Nothingness;
Make (our mouths) worthy to utter Thy name,
Make our army worthy to read (Thy word).
Put not in our hearts the thought of anything other (than Thee).
Grant the desire of these our humble tongues.
Implant knowledge and love (of Thee) in our hearts.
Grant that we may act aright and guide us in our path;
By the virtue of our Ancestor, O God,
Deliver the infidels to adversity, O Beloved (God);
Make all our difficulties easy;
Grant us Thy love and favour, grant us victory.

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In Bokhara and Ferghana the Imams were joined by further large armies of adherents under the command of local notables. When they arrived at Kashgar "the troops filled the city so full that if anything had fallen from Heaven it would have fallen upon the shoulders of the army, for there would have been no room for it upon the earth." The Kashgaris had therefore no choice but to embrace Islam. Leaving Yusuf Qadir Khan as governor of Kashgar, the Imams set out for Khotan. At Yarkand, which was then quite a small place, the inhabitants became converted at once; as a reward the Imams informed them that one day Yarkand would be the capital of the country. At Goma a body of people were seen on the road ahead; some came to the Imams and were converted, others ran away. The Imams were suspicious of these latter, wherefore the place was afterwards Goma, from *guman*, "suspicion." Pialma (two marches west of Khotan) received its name from the fact that the people brought presents of quinces and apples (*bih* and *alma*) to the Holy Ones.[1]

Meanwhile the princes of Khotan, named Juqta Rashid and Nuqta Rashid, were preparing to resist. The first encounter between the infidels and the Mussulman army was at Qumrabat Padshahim, where in a skirmish the Imam Shakir

[1] Similar explanations are given for the names of Moji and Zanguya on the Yarkand-Khotan road, but I could not elucidate them. Such stories are obviously "etiological myths."

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796 During Ramazan it is incumbent on the good Mussulman to give to the poor the food he denies himself, and children go round singing quaint begging songs, which must be very old. Miss Sykes gives a translation of one she heard ;[1] here is another :

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Song of the Child-Beggars at Ramazan

Ramazan allah bu shahrim Ramazan !	God's Ramazan be to this town, God's Ramazan !
Ramazan aitip keldoh Danduklärdin.	From Danduklär I have come crying Ramazan.
Bizgha birnima qoilär miki qoimaqlärdin [2]	Surely a bit of sacrificial bread has been put out for me ?
Aq tukhe, appaqtukhe qamghaqda dur.	There's a white fowl, a nice white fowl on your perch.
Bizgha qoighan kakcha [3] *nän sanduqda dur.*	There's a round of bread stored in your cupboard for me.
Oining arkasi taining izi, taining izi ;	Behind your house there are the hoof-marks of a foal, of a foal ;
Bizgha mu nan biredur, Baining qizi ? [4]	Won't you give me a little bread, O daughter of a rich man ?
Ramazan-ning uniörtida buz ala qoi	Let *me* have the brown piebald sheep on 14th Ramazan ;
Kalc pächakini Mullagha qo'e ! [5]	Its head and feet you may keep for the Mulla.

It is not only at the nocturnal "Mi-Carême" of 14th Ramazan that a sheep is sacrificed. I well remember how under the old régime the streets of Constantinople used to swarm at "Qurban Bairam" with *hamāls* staggering under great fat sheep destined for the sacrifice ; and this festival is similarly celebrated at Turki Kashgar, though the slaughter is much less than in rich Stamboul. Sheep are only sacrificed at the houses of the well-to-do ; those who cannot afford one of their own go round in batches to the houses of their wealthier friends for the "salaam" ceremony. Standing

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases," p. 174.

[2] *Qoimaq* is a kind of bread baked in oil, only used for sacrificial offerings.

[3] *Kakcha* is a sort of large round biscuit-bread always put before guests. It is seldom eaten and the same *kakchas* turn up at party after party. Some glutinous substance is mixed with the flour of the *Kakcha* to make it durable.

[4] The possession of a yearling or two-year-old horse (*tai*) is a sign of wealth in Turkistan.

[5] i.e. "Don't try to palm off the customary mosque offerings on *me*—I want something better."

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Mother's Song

Kichik kīna, qāra kuz	Little tiny dark-eyed one
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Tili tātliq, shīrīn suz	Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Balam mandin airilde	My child is taken from me
Wai balam !	Alas, my child !
Uida yālghuz qālārman,	In the house I am left alone,
Wai balam, balam !	Alas, my child ! my child !

Daughter's Song

Man ānāmdin airilip	Torn from my mother's side
Sunde qanātim qāralip ;	My wings are broken and bent ;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun	Who may weep, if not I
Jānim ānamdin airilip ?	Torn from my darling mother's side ?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

" I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

" Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [901]

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their strong voices are quite untrained and the sounds they emit are sometimes astonishing, but one can detect traces of melody even among the saxophone-like warblings of the donkey-drivers. D. is not a great musician, and my ignorance on the subject is "extensive and peculiar," but it was impossible not to be struck by the tunefulness and intelligibility of the local music compared with that of India and (still more) of China Proper.

In the course of my studies of the Eastern Turki language I transcribed many of the songs sung by the beggars and wandering musicians. There is no more difficult task in a foreign language, and it was only with the invaluable assistance of Murad Qari that I was able to puzzle out and translate the words; Qari himself was more than once at fault, for some of the verses are very old and the singers themselves could not always explain them. The "Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung" is of Kashgari origin, and my favourite quatrain, "My white hawk hath flown from my hand," would seem from its reference to the hills of Besh Karim, to be the work of an Artush bard. But it was at Yarkand, Khotan and—of all places—Polu, high up among the wild gorges of the Kunlun south of Keriya, a few miles from the lofty northern rim of Tibet, that Qari and I found our best "bits." It was most surprising to find a strain of true poetry in so remote a place as Polu. At a feast I gave in the house of the *yuz-bashi* (headman), a simple affair of tea, bread and boiled sheep, with a singsong to follow, there was a thin-faced lad with a great sheepskin cap who twanged his guitar like a master and sang verses of his own composition which would have done credit to the shepherds of Arcadia or Sicily of old. The material I collected may be divided into songs of poverty and exile, love-songs, comic ditties and popular snatches of various kinds, and ballads. Here are some specimens, with a Turki original in each class to show the verse-form:

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(A) Songs of Poverty and Exile

(1)

Atam surse, ānam surse, "Yuraidur" danglār
"Kungle ghamda, kuze yāshda yiglaidur" danglār.

If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say "He is distraught."
Say "His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears."
Say "He weeps for you."

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(2)

The choughs are among the mountain-tops
  The torrents flow through the foot-hills;
Poverty has left its mark upon me.
  Where are my father and my mother?

(3)

The road to Andijan is sandy,
  None has e'er put sickle to it;
We are two poor brothers,
  None was e'er so poor as we.

(4)

My horse is gone from before me,
  My whip is no more at my side.
E'en though this be my native land
  Poverty is come upon me.

(B) Love-songs

(5)

Rabābimning dastasi	The neck of my guitar is painted like a partridge
Keklik-qāshi, yilān-bāshi;	And like a snake's head inlaid;
Izd'sām tapilmaedur	But search where I may I cannot find
Sikilak jawān qalam-qāshi.	My Love of the curls and the pencilled eyebrows.

(6)

The cocks are crowing to each other:
  Surely it is the dawn?
At the street-corner men are weeping to one another:
  Surely a famous Lady is dead?

(7)

Is there a pea within the twanging,
  Twanging of my lute?
Is there a stone within the breast
  Of her who sets me afire?

(8)

I became a butterfly, I flew away,
  I came to thy garden of flowers.
Though my stature be so tiny
  I am afire with love for my mistress.

(9)

So great is my love for my dear one,
  E'en though I planted it, it could grow no taller;
So fair is the river of my tears,
  If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied.

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(10)

Altunda chilim bolse	Let my pipe be of gold
Marwārid kuze bolse	Let its eyes be of pearl [1]
Bir chaksām tamākungnī,	Let me smoke but one puff of thy tobacco,
Kuyak ute adā bolse	The fire that consumes me would be appeased.

(11)

Behind my back the banks of my canal are broken,
No one can keep them from falling;
This mistress of mine is a mischievous mistress,
No one knows what she will do next.

(12)

Oh that I had a samovar!
I would have tea ready boiling,
And while she drank but one cup
My Love would sport with me awhile.

(13)

My white hawk hath sped from my hand
To the hills of Besh Karim;
Howsoe'er I lure her, she will not come back to my luring,
She hath flown to the Garden of Paradise.[2]

(C) Miscellaneous

(14)

If I would have a red rose blooming
I must not pluck it in the bud;
If I want not to fall in love
I must not stay in this city.

(15)

Fine white cloth, fine red cloth,
Fine cloth dyed all colours;
No word is there of the lads that are gone
And all the maids are sighing.

---

[1] I.e. let it be inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

[2] The white hawk (*toighun*) is very highly prized in Central Asia (see p. 233). Besh Karim, to the north-east of Kashgar, is the most fertile and picturesque district of the oasis.

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(16)

Taqdir-ullah tāghni yeratde
Tāghni yeratde;
Tāgh-ārasini qaranghu dep
Aini yeratde.

Almighty God created the mountains, the mountains;
Then because it was dark in the depths of the mountains, He created the moon.

(17)

If I sow maize upon a mountain-top,
"I'll scatter to the winds," it says;
If I take a sweetheart from a far country,
"I'll throw you o'er," she says.

(18)

A fearful tiger lying on the path
Can keep even a lion at bay;
He upon whom has fallen his father's curse
Can go no further on, life's way.

(19)

(Refrain)

Keling, yārim, kullawalilé
Khursand bolup oinawalilé:

Come, my Beloved, laugh with me,
Let us dance and happy be.

Some of the rhymes about particular towns are amusing; Keriya, for instance, has a reputation for gallantry:

(20)

On my right hand are ten rings,
The stones are false, only the hoops are true;
Of ten pretty things the lads of Keriya say
Only one is true.

(21)

Aqsu halalāre simiz, surun yerni khalaidur;
Keriya balalāre yaman, ch'ailik yarni khalaidur.

Aqsu kine are fat kine, they love a luscious meadow;
Keriya lads are bad lads, they love a pretty woman.

(D) Ballads

These are sung (never written) either in the tripping eight-syllable metre of "Hiawatha," or in rhyming quatrains. They are composed by anonymous minstrels on passing events of importance; no one, I was told, seemed ever to know who had

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composed a particular ballad. Of those sung in quatrains the following stanzas are typical; they concern the murder of a British subject called Qadir Haji at Karghalik in 1910:

(22)

Āla ātning ālasi	Like a piebald mare
Sungachida balasi	(That has lost) the foal at her side,
Qushuq qushup yighlaidur	Weeps and wails, lamenting
Qādir Hājimning ānasi.	The mother of my Qadir Haji.
Āq almaning chichake,	White buds were on the apple-tree,
Nimalār bolde pichake?	What has become of the blossom?
Yollda tushup qālipdur	On the highway where it fell
Qādir Hājimning tilpake.	Lies the cap of my Qadir Haji.

Some of the ballads are comic, as for example a short one I heard at Khotan beginning delightfully:

Mulla Tokhta 'kam Unbāshi,
Kirde bazargha Mingbāshi.

(23)

THE SAD STORY OF MULLA TOKHTA AND THE FARTHING'S WORTH OF TRIPE

Brother Mulla Tokhta, headman of our village,
Swaggered into market as if he were the Mayor.[1]
He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a halfpenny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the beggar in the stomach.
(Mulla Tokhta) walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said "Let's have a feed," and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away.

The best ballad I got was a Kashgar one which appears to be the latter part of a long epic dealing with the exploits and death of Said Nochi, a famous "Gangung" or brigand and popular hero of Kashgaria in the early years of the present century. Owing to his popularity the Chinese did not dare to arrest him openly and send him to Kashgar to be dealt with by the Tao Tai, for fear of his being rescued by his friends on the way. The lines literally translated below describe the

[1] *Mingbashi* means literally "headman of a thousand families," and *unbashi* "headman of ten families."

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stratagem by which they inveigled him to Kashgar and the manner of his end. The minstrel who sang it began with a quaint prologue consisting of a quatrain of the "Songs of Poverty" type, followed by another quatrain in a different metre in praise of Kashgar. The ballad itself is in the same metre as "Mullah Tokhta 'kam."

(24)

The Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung

(Prologue)

I am twenty-six years old,
Poverty has fallen upon my head:
To whom shall I tell my story?
To my dear one, my brother.
Of ninety-nine thousand cities
Is Kashgar the queen,
Kashgar is the city
Whence Said Nochi Gangung came

* * * * *

Said Akhun[1] went away,
Six months he travelled from city to city,
Twenty-five cities did he visit.
Then came he to Old Turfan[2]
At its famous shrine.[3] (5)
Forty days he kept the Fast of Silence.
On the forty-first day,
Having completed his Silence,
He returned whence he had come.
Then he came to Uch Turfan. (10)
As he was sitting in a tea-house there[4]
Magistrate Wang happened to see him.
"Oho, Nochi, Said Gangung,
Five hundred soldiers have I here,
Be captain over them, I pray thee. (15)
Ninety-five taels monthly pay
And thy rations will I give thee."
When he had finished speaking
Said Akhun, whom men call Gangung,
Answered and said "So be it." (20)
In the city called Uch Turfan
Of five hundred soldiers
Became he commander and took up his abode.

---

[1] "*Akhun*" in Kashgaria is practically equivalent to "Mr." or "Sir."

[2] An ancient town situated in a depression below sea-level, 100 miles S.E. of Urumchi; so called at Kashgar to distinguish it from Uch Turfan.

[3] Literally "like the Ashāb ul Kahf," which, I believe, is a famous shrine in one of the Holy Cities.

[4] Literally, "at the samovar," because all tea-shops use them.

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In the city called Uch Turfan
Fifty months he sojourned.[1] (25)
When the fifty months were over
Magistrate Wang summoned him.
"Oho, Gangung, Said Nochi,
Since thou camest to this city
Fifty months have passed and gone, (30)
And no high office hast thou held.
I will give thee a sealed letter;[2]
This paper take with thee (sc. to Kashgar)
And give it to the Tao Tai
Of one of the four gates (35)
He will appoint thee Captain."
When his enemy had spoken thus
(Said Nochi took) his own death-warrant[3]
And fastened it in his waistband.
At the time of evening prayer (40)
Brought he it to Kashgar city.
When he came to Kashgar city
To his mother's house he went
And knocked upon the door.
His mother, prudent woman, (45)
Opened the door and came out.
Seeing Said Akhun,
She asked him how he fared;
"O my son, Sait Gangung,
I have been separated from thee (50)
These fifty months past.
After all these fifty months
If thou'lt stay one night with me
I shall attain my heart's desire."
When his mother said these words (55)
He stayed one night with her.
On the morrow at dawn's first light
He sought out Mamat Khan
Expounded to him the matter;
Then went they out to Hazrat Apak (60)
And on a couch by the big lake
Were sitting at a tea-house.
Suddenly came four men-at-arms;
"Oho Gangung Sait Nochi
The Lord Tao Tai summons thee." (65)
When he heard the words, Lord Tao Tai
He leapt up in his place.
"God's will be done," he said.[4]

---

[1] "Fifty months" is used vaguely to express a long interval of time.
[2] The Sino-Turki word *yudan* is used; it means a written order from a magistrate or high official.
[3] Note the "tragic irony" in the best Greek Tragedy style.
[4] *Alhukm'ullah*, the words prescribed by the Qur'an to be said on the point of death. Tragic irony again.

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When he came before the Lord Tao Tai (70)
He said his say, word by word,[1]
Made deep obeisance and sat down.
They placed a cup of tea before him.
When he had drunk the Chinese tea
He unfastened his waist-band (75)
Took out the death-warrant and gave it (to the Tao Tai).
When (Nochi) gave him the death-warrant
The Tao Tai took and read it
And bowed down his head.
Looking closely at Said Akhun, (80)
He gave order to fire a salute of one gun
And spoke as follows:
"O Nochi Said Gangung
If thou hadst stayed in Kashgar[2]
And hadst disported thyself like a red rose-bud (85)
Thou needest never have gone to that city (Uch Turfan)
Nor stayed there until thou brought me
Thine own death-warrant. (90)
Now, O Gangung Said Nochi
Thou hast brought thine own death-warrant to me.
The names of seven Lords are upon it,
It is sealed with the seal of office. (95)
Tell me, dost thou believe in the Power of God?"
When the Tao Tai asked this question
(Nochi replied) "O Amban, Lord Amban,
This is indeed an order of the Government;
I believe in the Power of God; (100)
Whatever thou hast to do this day, do it."
When he had spoken, the Lord Tao Tai
Ordered his carriage to be made ready,
Ordered a waggon to be brought;
A salute of nine guns was fired. (105)
Sait Akhun went off in the waggon
Five thousand men followed after him.
When he came to the city gate
Six executioners passed before him.
"Oho Nochi Said Gangung (110)
Shall we shoot thee from in front
Or shall we shoot thee from behind?"
"Shoot me from behind," he said.
The Chief of the Six Executioners
Fired but one shot. (115)
From this world to the next
With God's name on his lips journeyed Said Nochi.

The following is a selection from a number of proverbs and popular sayings I came across while studying the Eastern

[1] The meaning of the Turki line is doubtful. It may refer to his ceremonial greetings to the Tao Tai.

[2] The next seven lines are extremely involved and I have been obliged to paraphrase somewhat.

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Turki language. I was interested to find scarcely any of them identical with the Persian proverbs I had collected at Kerman, in spite of the strong Persian influence in the language. What is still more remarkable, however, is the fact that only two of them (Nos. 4 and 16) correspond with proverbs current in modern Turkey; this, at any rate, is what I found on examination of that most exhaustive collection of Osmanli Turkish popular sayings, "Osmanische Sprichwörter"[1]

Proverbs and Popular Sayings

(1) *Ishak mīnmagan ādam ishak mīnip ulturedur.*
When a man who has never been on a donkey gets one to ride, he kills it. (Cf. "beggars on horseback").

(2) *Ishak khotake minmaganlār emde minār tai*
Arpabadiān ichmaganlār emde ichār chai.
Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea. (Nouveaux riches.)

(3) *Mushukni bir ishgha buiradem, mushuk quruqini buirade.*
I gave an order to the cat, and the cat gave it to its tail. (Refers to a habit of Oriental servants of passing an order from one to another right down through the household, with the result that the thing never gets done.)

(4) *Haiwān-ning a'lasi tashida, insān-ning a'lasi ichida.*
A beast's spots are on the outside, a man's on the inside. (Cf. the Osmanli Turkish proverb *haiwan a'lasi tishinda, insan a'lasi ichinda.*)

(5) *Tügening qosaqe āchse, yentaq-qa boinini uzutedur.*
When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush.

(6) *Yitkān mālning sape altun.*
The whip that's lost always had a golden handle.

(7) *Bai baigha, su saigha.*
The rich stand by the rich as the stream seeks the desert.

(8) *Hunjur marjān tāsh iken* Jewels and coral are but stones
Arpa puchāq āsh iken. Barley and beans make soup.
(i.e. riches are no use to a man who is lost in the desert.)

(9) *Abdāl yamānlase, khurjingha ziyān.*
If a beggar loses his temper, it is his pouch that suffers. (Cf. the Persian proverb *qahr-i-darvish ru-y-i-darvish*, "the wrath of a beggar is on his own head." For the Abdals, see Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 242.

(10) *Hawaning guldūre bar, yamghūre yoq*
Buwaning āchiqe bar, maqdūre yoq.
If the wind roars, there'll be no rain;
If an old man storms, he storms impotently.

(11) *Bermās qizning nirkhe ustun.*
The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high.

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[1] "K. K. Orientalische Akademie," Wien, 1865.

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(12) *Oghre birnima tapalmase, uzining tilpakini oghurla'edur.*
When a thief can't find anything else, he steals his own cap.

(13) *Puli-barning gepe ong, puli-yoqning gepe tong.*
A rich man's word is always right, a poor man's talk is always silly.

(14) *Az yegan un yer, ʃik yegan bir yer.*
He who eats sparingly eats ten times, he who eats too much eats once.
(i.e., he gets ill and in the long run eats less than the other.)

(15) *Ustun bāqip tukursang, yānip chushūr yuzung-ga.*
If you spit up into the air, it will fall back upon your face.
(i.e. don't bandy words with a low fellow or you will get worse than you give.) The Osmanli Turkish proverb is *Ruzgāra tukurān yuzina tukurur.*

(16) *Sui-bar ja'ida ut yoq*
Uti-bar ja'ida su yoq
Hawa salqin pasha yoq
Ata birlan āna yoq.
At the camping-place where there's water, there's no grazing; where there's grazing, there's no water; where there are no mosquitoes, the wind is bitter; when you've got your father, your mother isn't there.
(Cf. "Never the time and the place and the loved one all together.")

(17) *Ishak-ga taghārni ebarmang*
Don't send the load after the donkey (sc. bring the donkey back to the load—"putting the cart before the horse").

(18) *Khurūs waqtni ma'lūm qeladur, manzilni ishak.*
The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting-place is (by braying).

(19) *Bar baqīr, yoq altun.*
Where there's copper, there's no gold.
(i.e. a man is either gold all through, or copper all through.)

(20) *Ādam uttuz, Khuda toqquz.*
Man says thirty, God says nine (Man proposes . . .).

(21) *Ishengan tāghda kik yatmās.*
The mountain-goat does not lurk among frequented mountains.
(i.e. if a thing is worth getting, you have to go far afield and take trouble to get it.)

(22) *Qūsh qanātin, ār ātin.*
The eagle has his wings, the man his horse.

(23) *Buyerda tukhe-sutdin bilak hama nersa tapaledur.*
You can get anything here except chicken's milk (said of a very fertile country).

(24) *Man aldurāiman ketghalé, ishakim aldurāidur yatghalé.*
I am in a hurry to go on, my donkey is in a hurry to lie down.
(one man's meat is another man's poison).

(25) *Ishak hangraghān ja'igha barmang.*
Don't go where the donkey brays (if you want to avoid your fellows; in Chinese Turkistan, where there are people there are donkeys and where there are donkeys there are people).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The most curious and amusing piece of popular lore I came across was a quaint litany which I took down at Khotan. The refrain *Panah berghil Khudayim* means, almost literally, "Good Lord, deliver us" and there must be some echo of Christianity in it; but whether it dates back to the Nestorian Church which flourished in these parts between the 7th and 14th centuries, or whether it is of more recent origin, it is difficult to say. 539

A Khotan Litany

Yollgha tushgan patikdin
Tinjip qalgan qatikdin
Panah berghil, Khudayim.

From quicksands on the road
From curds that have gone bad
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the thorny branch of the wild apricot
From the old of womankind
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the nose-bag of a stallion (i.e. from being within reach of his teeth),
From a wife who has taken to thieving
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the hard clods of a salt plain (because they hurt when they hit you),
From the hard words of an old wife
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a horse that trots with his tail straight out behind him,
From a policeman who arrests you without a warrant
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a learned man without manners,
From a hen that is perpetually clucking
Good Lord, deliver us.

From rats in the hay-loft,
From a child-bride who runs away back to her parents
Good Lord, deliver us.

From a threshing-floor with nothing to thresh on it,
From a guest who comes just at harvest-time
Good Lord, deliver us.

From the weirs of Daraskal (because they are so slippery that you fall in if you try to cross the canal by them),
From the pencilled eyebrows of a woman
Good Lord, deliver us.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could 669 possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

538 The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

539

The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
  He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
  The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
  Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
  Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
  The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

---

[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

539

It was rumoured that Ma Darin, who was young and good-looking, had fallen in love with the fairest of his slain foe's daughters, Shujia Khan :

> Word came from Peking
> That Ma Darin was to return ;
> Ma Darin refused to go
> Saying " They must give me Shujia Khan."

I regret to say that so far as I could discover there was not the slightest foundation for this romantic story.

Satisfaction at the destruction of the Titai was not confined to the Turki population. Shortly after the " war " D. lunched with a Chinese friend whose husband, an official of high rank, had lost much " face " in an encounter with the Titai two years before. The old lady, chuckling mightily, told D. that when she heard that fighting was going on at the Hsieh Tai's Yamen she ordered her carriage at once and drove over to see the fun. To her intense disappointment the officer in command would not let her in and sent her back to her garden with an escort of twenty rifles. Next day, when she heard that the Titai had been shot and his body exposed, she drove to the New City to see it. " There he was," she crowed, " the ' King ' who had lorded it over us all and robbed people right and left for so long, nailed up to a wooden stake and all full of holes ! Twenty-five holes there were in him, I counted them. There was an extra big one in the middle ; Ma Darin says he made that. And all the Turban-heads were spitting on him and throwing mud at him and calling him " Padshah." His hands and feet were cut off, just as he used to do to people who annoyed him ; they've been sent packed in a box to the Governor at Urumchi. I went to see the Hsieh-Tai too ; he hadn't nearly so many holes in him, but he was just as dead as his father. Yesterday all the Titai's wives went in carts to Ma Darin to ask for food, as they said they were starving. He gave them a lot of rice and flour and two hundred taels to go on with. Some one offered to get carriages for them to drive to Ma Darin's in, but the Hsieh Tai's mother said ' No, we can't have carriages now, we must go in carts like common folk.' "

* * * * * * * * * * * *

By the time that the excitement of our small "war" had passed, midsummer was upon us and we realized sadly that the sands of our happy time at Kashgar were fast running out. My leave, two years overdue, had at last been sanctioned ; during twelve years' eastern service I had only had six months'

193 e.g. baɣïm "my garden" baɣïmïz "our garden"
baɣïŋ "your garden" baɣïnïz "your garden" (pl.)
baɣï "his, her, its garden" baɣlæri "their garden"

The suffix forming the present participle: -æ , -ɛ
qïl "do, make," qïlæ "making, doing"

The suffix forming the conditional: -sæ , -sɛ
bolmɛq "to be, to become," bolsæm "if I were"

The suffix expressing impossibility: -al-, -ɛl-
ber "give", berɛlmɛdi "he was not able to give"

The suffix forming verbs out of nominal stems: -la, -lɛ, -læ
tišlɛmɛk "to bite"

The suffix forming the negative participle in the present tense: -mas, -mɛs, -mæs
körmɛs "not seeing"

The suffix forming the past tense:
1. pers. sg. -dïm, -dim, -dum, -düm, -dɔm, -döm
2. pers. sg. -dïŋ, -diŋ, -duŋ, -düŋ, -dɔŋ, -döŋ
3. pers. sg. -dï, -di (refers also to the plural)
1. pers. pl. -doq, -dɔq, -dük
2. pers. pl. -dïŋiz, -diniz, -duŋïz, -düŋiz, -dɔŋiz, -döŋiz

e.g. qïldïm, qïldïn, qïldï, "I did, you did, he (she, it) did," etc.

The suffix forming the past participle (converb): -ïp, -ip, -up, -üp, -op, -ɔp, -öp
čir "enter, come in," čirip "after having entered"

The suffix forming the past participle (converbum terminalis): -ɣač, -gɛč
qïl "do, make," qïlɣač "when you do"

The suffix of the participle expressing habitual activity: -ɣaq, -qaq, -gɛk, -kɛk ; ur- "to push, to beat, to strike, to hit," urɣaq "beating something habitually"

The gerundial suffix expressing "in order to": -ɣali, -ɣæli, -gɛli ; kör- "see," körgɛli "in order to see"

The suffix which forms a gerund: -ïɣ, -ïq, -uɣ, -uq, -ig, -ik, -üg, -ük
qïl "do, make," qïlïɣ "the doing, the making"
bil "know, understand, comprehend," bilik "the knowledge, learning, erudition, comprehension"

The suffix forming the future participle: -ɣo, - u, -qu, -gü
kel "come," kelgü "one who wants to come, will come, wishes to come"

539 H. Specimen of Eastern Turkish Literature
Turkish text (transcription)

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AII

539

4 *haq_yasu l ikrem ucun jete dəja: ja'rat*
mapa usta bolsaniz dʒ[illegible] (dʒava dim) bol du

5 *ala kim du arəğr qad'm qoydi*
ala kim du jemej iemej toydi

6 *ala kim du oylin qurban etti*
oylom a'əq bolsaniz mapa dʒava.b be

7 *pajyambəjm du arəğr qad'm qoydi*
melajk du jemej iemej toydi

8 *ibra him du ismaqbl qoydi soydi*
mapa usta bolsaniz dʒava bim bol du

English translation:

1 Peace be with you, my dearest Gharib
Out of what has God created the honored prophet?
2 Peace be with you also, Juneid of Baghdad
God has created the highly honored prophet from light
3 How many rivers has God created because of the highly honored prophet?
4 Because of the highly honored prophet God has created seven rivers
If you are my teacher, this is my answer
5 Who is it, who became satiated without eating or drinking?
6 Who is it, who has sacrificed his son?
My son, if you love me, give me an answer
7 It is my prophet who has set his foot upon the heavenly throne
It is the angels who became satiated without eating or drinking
8 It was Abraham who slaughtered Ismail like a sheep
If you are my teacher, then this is my answer

I. Other Turkic Dialects of the Northwest

19 1. Phonological differences

The remaining Turkic dialects of the Northwestern region, namely Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar, Salar and Sarigh-Uighur are somewhat different phonetically from New Uighur. Since all these Turkic dialects stem from one and the same original Turkic language, namely Common Turkic, phonological differences on the basis of the latter may be discussed if they are

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, nd the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

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563 538 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 533 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cultural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. [177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in [539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi litera-
538 ture and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads.
[101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the
533 Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life
538 and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the
[539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of
538 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and [177] musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar [263] and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

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779 515 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

164 The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks [515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in [539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan 759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice 756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk.: bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

S 668 and "The achievements in political and judicial work in Sinkiang in the past five years," also in Sinkiang Jih-pao, September 30, 1954, and numerous others.

N *668 5. Other campaigns

Besides the above, special propaganda campaigns as well as routine ones have been launched throughout the years. In the Northwest, at least the following campaigns took place:

1) "The march to wipe out illiteracy" in July, 1952
2) The three anti- and five anti- movements in 1952
3) The start of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953
4) The calling of People's Congresses and the establishment of the Constitution, 1953-54
5) Finishing the land reform missions in agricultural areas of Sinkiang, 1953
6) The practice of minority autonomy, 1953
7) The increase of production and the austerity movement, 1953
8) The strengthening education as a whole and training minority cadres in particular movement, 1953
9) The denunciation of the U.S.-Chiang Joint Defense Pact (over Formosa) in 1955
10) The criticism of capitalistic ideas among the peasant Party members in Shensi in 1955
11) The signature movement against the use of the atomic bomb, in 1955
12) The suppression of counter-revolutionary movements at various times
13) The killing sparrows movement in 1955 (Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao, December 24, 1955. Because of the extreme shortage of food, the Communists started to pay attention to all birds, rodents, insects and worms that might consume food. They singled out a few, including sparrows, as targets of campaigns. In this case, the movement started in Kansu and spread to the whole nation.)

S 668 533 • 539 B. The Content

The flavor of the contents can be sampled in the following paragraphs:

1) A praising song used by a Sinkiang group:

You, Giant Mao Tse-tung,
Brought freedom to the people
You, Hero Mao Tse-tung,
Brought brightness to the people
You, Father Mao Tse-tung,
Saved the suffering people.
In the past we were ill-treated
And had no interest to produce;

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:
When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China

Wei-wu-erh ladies bother with the convention of the veil, however, and 291
some merely keep it thrown off the face and trailing down the back.

Good food is the watchword of the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar, and his 262
restaurants and shops are well provided. An abundance of melons, mulberries, plums, pears, pomegranates, peaches, and apricots, are seasonably available; and they are sold from open stalls in the local bazaar. *Mantu*, a dish of small meat dumplings, is a favorite repast, and there is also an abundance of steaming soups, fresh salad greens, and a local style of doughnut. The principal diet is, however, mutton and rice. This is accompanied by cooked onions, turnips, spinach, or potatoes. The common man usually partakes of only two meals a day, but feasts [264]
have been known to begin in early morning and to end only at sunset. What delightful, varied-tasting Chinese dishes can be served at Kashgar banquets! A few samples of such festive dishes are: ducks'-egg soup, stags' tendons, sharks' fins, bamboo shoots, wild duck, preserved eggs, all manner of pungent sauces, roasted mutton, sweet-sour fish, and many, many kinds of chicken—boned, broiled, roasted, fried in quarters, chopped, and sliced and fried in strips.

There are also many types of Wei-wu-erh entertainment. In the 517
narrow streets a fortune-teller, sitting cross-legged, will ever be ready
to promise good fortune for a few cents. The tea-shop, where the [272]
Wei-wu-erh, unlike the Han Chinese, drinks his tea with sugar, is
another congenial spot. Theaters were for a long time unknown, but a [545]
Chinese performance is nowadays a pleasant diversion; and Soviet mo-
tion pictures have also been brought to town. There is dancing, too, but [535]
it is not the kind common to the Occident; and it is for the men. Only
in rare instances do the women join in the dance. Kite-flying is popular [526]
with the young Wei-wu-erh, while the most strenuous sport for the adults is the game of *ulagh*. This is played on horseback in teams and has a distant resemblance to polo; the object, though, is to retrieve the carcass of a goat or a sheep. It is a wild, uproarious, racing *melee*, and the source of endless excitement and laughter.

"Han" Chinese

**Tu Chung-yüan states that the "ruling" Chinese (he calls them 162
"Han" by way of contrast to the rest of the population) constitute about**

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang A11

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

563 517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities. [177] [668]

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[195] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

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4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

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A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

546 668 177 According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

563 595 872 The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Pashraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers. 548

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne 443 511

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can inport the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above. 276 733

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548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated
[588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

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582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

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584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former
[583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

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585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 738,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV: Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6, 754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S N a. Religious rites

563 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
779a pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
782 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
563 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
796 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
785 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
779 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S N b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N * 563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The New Uighurs/

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[854] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

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624
554

Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

S
W A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e.? migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
199 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[613] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
[554] this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[554] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
[422] and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
771 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spir-
itualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two baks to settle the case, or each selects a bak, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort
681 of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
563 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 586 563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high
554 status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] [361] N [342] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

SN 795 621 793

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

SN [554]

SN 795 185 [175]

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

SN 795 792 185

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

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/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, (178) internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- (596) stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this (614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of (619) banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and (701) the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and (622) hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect (554) and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- (634) stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of (242) a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, (634) are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present (242) generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to S N (361) a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N 829 *563 III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

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Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and
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563 to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed,
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648 set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

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175 In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and inter-
668 national complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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668 These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of
[565] nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of poli-
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668 tics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and perse-
669 cuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only
• 554 when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would
[175] then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the
political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the
Communist Central People's Government were the same men who
had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of
local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many
of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the
underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-ap-
pointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
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S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the
large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who
had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Repub-
lic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic
of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the
Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties,
such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing
and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions.
They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili
faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on
the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to
march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as
Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and
the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to
the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since
1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and
the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To
recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant,
Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

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*175 A. Top Echelon Officials

*668 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
554 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
635 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[588] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

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556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.
621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bek, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the beks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is
621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
596 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
563 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a) to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
993 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
995 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides
a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home
of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at
her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband
and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy,
gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the
women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik
toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears
with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-
chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the
home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a
tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would
rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan
than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
241 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
267 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

who had entertained her for ten minutes at Mintaka Aghzi on the journey up. This lady had then been living with her father, the Beg of Mintaka, but had since married into Nadir's family. She rushed at D., patted her all over and began re-arranging her hair, which had suffered from the gallop across the meadows from Tashqurghan. She also kissed her when leaving. A quite poor Tajik woman at Yurghal Gumbaz told D. that she had had nine children, of whom seven had died. One of her daughters had been very beautiful. "She died when she was still a bride," said the old lady. "She was very lovely, her eyes were full of fire.[1] She was so beautiful that I used to sit making clothes for her all day long."

The Tajiks use the word *chokan* for "bride," i.e. a wife who has not yet borne a child, whereas the Turkis as already mentioned reserve the term for an unmarried girl. Similarly the word *jawan* is used for a woman who has borne children, not as at Kashgar. A Tajik married woman wears big mother-of-pearl buttons over her ears, and at intervals of about two inches down each *chach* or braid of hair. The appetite of the Tajiks for medicine is in no way inferior to that of the Kirghiz. A lad was sent with us all the way to Yurghal Gumbaz to fetch back from our camp doses of castor-oil and anteczema which D. had prescribed for a baby and an elderly widow respectively. D. gave most careful and explicit instructions to the messenger, but it is quite likely that they rubbed the widow with the castor-oil and administered the anteczema internally to the baby.

Three days later we reached Lopgaz at the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, 14,000 feet above the sea. It had been cold even at Paik, the stage before, and I had adjured the Beg who was looking after us, to be sure and provide good *aq-ois* and plenty of firewood. Imagine our disgust, therefore, when we arrived at the bleak and open Lopgaz camping-ground, just as the sun was dipping behind a snowy ridge, to find nothing but two miserable little huts, full of holes and smelling strongly, and not a scrap of firewood. The Beg was a long way behind with our loads, and there was nothing for it but to set to work and collect fuel for ourselves. All that was to be had in the valley was the tiniest growth of *burtsa* imaginable, plants the size of face-sponges and damp at that. After an hour we had collected a heap about two feet high, which

[1] The Turki word for fire (*ut*) is also used for love.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

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cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this respect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939, 76.3 per cent were literate.

*563
771
562

The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Mohammedanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they remained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563
101

Kirghiz. There has been considerable confusion in the use of the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak*." These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000

The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is 627 a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door. 352

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion. 161 [165] 164 [513] [356]

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns. 562

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 the exception rather than the rule, and most of them simply treat the men as their equals, though perhaps finding them a little stupid!"

In the Chopkana Jilgha there was a Turki girl from Yangi Hissar married to a Kirghiz. D. noticed at once how different she was from the others, more sophisticated and not nearly so efficient. She was a fish out of water, poor girl, and not at all happy. The only specimen of a Turki-Kirghiz hybrid we came across was a youngish, unhealthy-looking little man called Tash Mulla who attached himself to us in the Yapchan Jilgha. He was rather too clever and pushing, and we did not like him as well as some of the pure Kirghiz.

462 The strength and hardiness of the women are astonishing. They are splendid workers, not only doing all the household work but milking the yaks, cows, sheep and goats, weaving the rugs and other woollen articles, making the rope, pitching and striking the *aq-ois* and performing many other duties. The men are inclined to be lazy and are fond of twanging the guitar until a late hour and lying abed of a morning. But they are wiry and capable of great exertions, and they do not by any means leave all the work to the women, as is usually said of the men in other Kirghiz communities. They are responsible for the cultivation of the barley-fields, as well as for the safety of the flocks and herds on the mountain-side. Anyone who thinks that Kirghiz men enjoy a sinecure can try looking after thirty self-willed yaks or a couple of hundred sheep on a grazing-ground 5,000 feet from top to bottom and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

136 There could be no more interesting hunting-ground for the naturalist than these narrow but well-watered and sheltered valleys, islanded between the belt of utterly barren foothills on one side and the snowy wastes of the great ranges on the other. There must have been many interesting local variations, possibly even new species, among the plentiful fauna of the Kaying Valley alone, had we but possessed the knowledge and skill to collect them. Snow leopards exist, but fortunately for the Kirghiz are uncommon; one killed a yak calf and ten sheep just before we arrived in June 1923. I saw several herds of ibex; it was hard not to be able to go after them, but a man cannot serve two masters and I had to choose between the delights of the chase and the sterner but more fruitful cult of the plane-table. Wolves exist in some of the valleys, but the Kirghiz had cleared Kaying of them. Red foxes, as I have already mentioned, are occasionally trapped,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that.

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her."

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 who holds the purse-strings and does the selling of the farm-produce as well as the buying. Nowadays it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have her own profession, dress-making, cap-embroidering, cotton-spinning, midwifery, cooking at restaurants, dyeing, soap-making, sorcery, laundering, brokering and so on. Out of doors they wear the *chumbal* or stiff rectangular veil, but most of the time this is thrown back over the head; only when some important male personage comes along, such as a Chinese official or an Aqsaqal or a British Consul-General, do they pull the veil hastily down again for a few moments. This is in strong contrast to India, where only the women of the lowest castes go about unveiled.

It must also be remembered that the average Turki man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going, rather slow-witted person, so that the sharper-tongued, quicker-witted and more energetic woman more than holds her own—so long, at any rate, as she can keep her husband at her side. On the whole, the term *mazlum-kishi* (oppressed person), which is the regular word for "woman" in Kashgaria, need not be taken too seriously. A woman above the average in looks or wit profits as much by the looseness of the marriage tie as her less-favoured sister suffers from it; she can exchange an uncongenial husband for a better one with very little difficulty. A Kashgar beauty dates her past life by her successive husbands, just as a racing enthusiast in this country dates his by Derby winners. I cannot say, however, that I heard of any woman approaching the matrimonial record of a certain good-looking Mussulman British subject of scarcely more than middle age, who was credited with having espoused over sixty different wives in his time, and was still going strong when we left.

854 A married woman does not reach her full social stature until she is thirty years old or more, when she attains the dignity of *jawanlik*. A *jawan* is a woman who has attained years of discretion and is entitled to the privilege of braiding her hair in two long plaits. This "coming of age" is an important and festive event, like a wedding; the husband gives a large party called the *jawanlik toi*, to which both men and women are invited (they do not, of course, mix); at this feast she appears for the first time with her hair braided and wearing a special kind of shirt, known as the *jawanchi konglak*. She is now more important and respected than before; she is also worth more in the marriage market, for men do not like child-brides who know nothing and may at any moment

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
• 562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
59 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[582] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

563 The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
628 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
233 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
423 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

S N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
595 religious person will not exceed four wives.

778 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
S N loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
779 man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
829 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has
S more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as
S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
[562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] [582]

The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

563 592 593 182

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178

The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 [671] [779]

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[111] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children.

[868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
[793] and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

a. Marriage

563 562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 764 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

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The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

As soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,

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[For a discussion of the cultural, ethnic and political differences among the several nationalities in Sinkiang, see Category 116, pp. 107-151.]

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

829 114 563 662

The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province."[11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 241 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 563 241 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace nomads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

080 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

648 everywhere in Inner Asia the Soviet frontier is in one sense artificial: because it originated in the Tsarist conquests, and stops where the Tsarist conquests stopped, it everywhere divides similar peoples from each other instead of separating different peoples from each other, as has been pointed out in previous chapters. The same languages are spoken on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Afghan, and Soviet-Sinkiang frontiers. And, in most cases, they are spoken by people who are minorities under both the sovereignties under which they live. The effects in Inner Asia of the Soviet Revolution must therefore be studied especially from the standpoint of peoples who are minorities in the states under which they live, and who talk in the same language and against the background of a common cultural and social tradition about the different conditions under which they live on the two sides of the frontier that divides them. Five principal phases, which followed each other in chronological order, can be distinguished among the long-term effects of the Soviet Revolution.

565 563 1. As the possessors of advanced skills, refugees from the Soviet Revolution became an elite in Sinkiang. Among the Russians, especially, there were doctors, geologists, and other scientists; engineers, mechanics, and many artisans. Among the Uzbeks, Tatars, and others there were also many whose literacy, skill, and experience in trade — or proficiency as carpenters, builders, leather tanners, or metalworkers — put them above the average level prevailing in Sinkiang. Having escaped from the disorder and insecurity of revolution, they now found that the country to which they had come was culturally and politically even more backward than the one from which they had escaped. They learned that if the superior skills which gave them the qualities of an elite were not enough to make them a political elite, and frequently not enough even to assure them economic security, it was because of the backwardness of the society in which they had settled, and the corruption or incompetence of the officials to whom they now had to defer.

000 2. Having fled because there was no force in Russian Inner

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Asia capable of resisting the Revolution, the refugees now found that there was no adjoining state capable of intervening successfully against the Revolution. As the years of the interwar period went by, they found that in Sinkiang and in every other territory in Asia adjoining their old homes there was not a single anti-Russian government that was able to build up political and military strength as fast as the new Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, or to open up educational and employment opportunities as fast. In their old homes, there was still suffering, and often persecution of those who had belonged to the old order of politics and society; but this was the suffering of revolutionary dislocation, and the same dislocation also offered new careers for those who were willing to work hard and those who were able to profit by education. In their new homes, however, there was also suffering: the suffering of old and stagnant societies, in which opportunities were decreasing, rather than increasing. Even the rich man might suddenly be impoverished if he fell foul of a corrupt official; and there was a steady production of landless peasants in the rural districts and beggars in the towns.

3. In the atmosphere of rapid change and spreading insecurity after the second World War, both the refugees and the peoples among whom they live have begun to fear the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, and the Russia standing behind them, more in some ways but less in other ways. They fear them more, as the source of a power that may reach out and take over the adjoining territories or parts of them. They fear them less, because in comparison with most of the adjoining territories, such as Sinkiang itself, Afghanistan, and Iran, and even to some extent Turkey, they have become a focus of stability and of that "law and order" which all stabilizing empires proclaim. The Soviet Republics do not offer security for the investments of the rich, but they do offer a new kind of security, never known before in the "back blocks" of Asia — in a multiplying number of careers, especially for the young and especially for those who pass through universities and technical training schools of all kinds.

4. A cycle has, in fact, been completed. The old Russia was

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

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175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical. First, as a military leader with an independent following, he
662 sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Russian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood
• 563 between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

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touch the Inner Asian Soviet Republics, the most important block of territory in the Soviet Union inhabited by peoples who are not Russians and not Slavs. 175 563 648

This situation gives a new aspect to old problems and creates new problems of its own. There is the question whether, in the Soviet Union, the interests of the Russians are to override the interests of the other peoples, and the question whether, in the Chinese Republic, the interests of the Chinese are to override those of all others. These are old problems, the development of which has long been watched warily by the neighbors of Russia and China. In addition, there is now the new problem of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China: are the interests of the Soviet Union, as a state, to be made paramount over those of China, as a state?

If statesmen were efficiency engineers, and no more than that, a very good case could be made for annexing parts of Sinkiang to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Republics of the Soviet Union, and for setting up most of the Tarim Basin as an Uighur Republic, also to be annexed to the Soviet Union. In terms of the affinities of peoples, languages, and cultures, geographical accessibility, the most economical laying-out of modern communications, and the rapid promotion of material progress, the natural orientation of Sinkiang is toward Mongolia and the Soviet Union, rather than toward China. On the other hand, however, the material and sentimental interests of China in Sinkiang, though they have been much abused, are real; and so are the interests of Sinkiang in its connection with China, if this connection is wisely handled. 000

The probability is that the Chinese Communists will, as Chinese, renounce no sovereignty in lands long claimed as Chinese. At the same time, it is to be expected that they will attempt to apply new policies — not only to Sinkiang, but to Inner Mongolia, to the districts in which Chinese Moslems predominate in Ninghsia and Kansu, and to such parts of Tibet as they can penetrate. It is to be expected that, as Marxists, they will model these policies on those of the Russians in Soviet Asia. The Sinkiang of

Uighur

VI

RACIAL EQUALITY

THOUGH ESTIMATES of the Sinkiang population have run from as low as one to as high as six million, since the present Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power the local people speak of their population as "four million persons." The great majority of these "four million" appear to be a combination of so-called Turkic-Tatar and "Alpine" racial stocks. The remainder are divided between a "ruling" group of so-called "Han" Chinese, a group of "Tung-kan" or Moslem Chinese, and groups of other minorities which include Manchus, Mongols, Kirgiz, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Russians. 162

So far as Occidentals are concerned, "Racial Equality" in Sinkiang might, in general, mean justice and equal opportunity for and between these little known ethnic groups. So far as Sinkiang herself is concerned, however, it would seem to mean mainly a military, political, economic, and social readjustment between a minority of "Han" Chinese overlords and a majority of Chinese subject peoples. The "Han" overlords of Sinkiang, it turns out, are the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has normally been acquainted; under their rule in times past the natives of Sinkiang were not given their full measure of freedom and equality. The fact that old-style Chinese rule has been in recent years confronted with the neighboring system of Soviet Russian cultural autonomy, has in the main forced the need for change. 563

The Moslem Wei-wu-erh

Most of the Turkic-"Alpine" ethnic groups in the province speak a relatively pure Eastern Turki tongue and believe in Mohammedanism. This majority, whom Chinese from farther east have given a name which may have a rather derogatory meaning—*Ch'an-t'ou* (Chanto or "Turban Head")—are to be found almost everywhere and yet each local group has in a way been able to retain or to develop some claim to distinctiveness. Thus there is a tendency to call the people of Kashgar "Kashgarliq;" those of Turfan, "Turfanliq," those of Korla (K'u-erh-

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—

175 815 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang. 167

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion. 101 563

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

563 167 Many of the Tung-kans have traditionally settled in Ha-mi, Karashahr, Sui-ting and Tihwa. It was Moslems from Ha-mi, near the Kansu border, who summoned the Tung-kan leader Ma Chung-ying from Kansu to lead the revolt of the early 1930's (see pp. 40-5). As a consequence of the civil war Tung-kans are now scattered almost throughout South Sinkiang. In 1935 when they gave up Kashgar they were assigned their own "domain" at Khotan, which they had previously fortified and made the focus for their abortive Mohammedan state. Some of them may even still be under arms. Recent news concerning the Tung-kan armies of Central Asia has not always been freely available, but reports have said they have been strongest in the outlying towns of Southern Sinkiang—Posgam, Karghalik, Guma, Khotan, Chira, Keriya, Cherchen, and Charklik. The 1942 appointment of Ma Pu-ch'ing, famous Tung-kan leader of Shensi and Kansu, as Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, is of interest in this connection. For the attitude, belligerent or otherwise, of the Chinese Tung-kans of neighboring provinces carries great weight among their kinsmen in Sinkiang.

Manchus and Manchurians

Manchus came to greatest prominence in Sinkiang during the expansionist periods of the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty of China. K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) sent thousands of Manchu "Bannermen" to fortify the Turkestan frontier. Thus Sinkiang was garrisoned at one and the same time against Imperialist Russian aggression and against uprisings of the Tung-kans.

These Manchus at one time were scattered throughout the larger cities of Sinkiang but today they appear to have been mostly assimilated into Han Chinese ways of living. Two of the most notable exceptions have been the Sibo and Solon peoples in the Sui-ting and the T'a Ch'eng areas. The Sibos *(Hsi-po)* and the Solons *(So-lun)*, though from Manchuria, actually are of Tungusic origin, only indirectly of Manchu stock and distinct from the other Bannermen who for the most part made up the Manchu military organizations sent into Sinkiang. Most of the Bannermen gradually lost their identity because they

Manchu
Mongol

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the 563
Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a 167
resolute way.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated [162]
Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to 563
only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia.

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long vari- [291]
colored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and
cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly [273]
good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka
to a rare imported brandy.

563 to a rare imported brandy. The rough, unkempt Kalmuck Mongols of the Tekes Valley of North Sinkiang are especially devil-may-care fellows; but they have, at times, got amazingly rich from their countless horses and sheep.

175 A vast sweep of nomad devastation, which won them the throne of China and carried their warfare as far west as the Danube, brought the Mongols to Chinese Turkestan. What is now both Chinese and Russian Turkestan, once those areas were subjugated, came under Jagatai, second son of Genghis Khan, and he and his successors remained in power for almost two centuries. But in 1368 the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China was overthrown by the House of Ming and soon afterwards Turkestan also seceded from Mongol rule. Thus temporarily the Mongol star seemed to have set, and differences between the peoples of Mongolia proper and those in the Altai area (the Western Mongols) set in.

563 One of the subordinate leagues of the Western Mongols, the Ölöts (Eleuths), soon came into military prominence in Turkestan under a [103] Khan by the name of Galdan. Galdan's nephew, Rabdan, gave the name of his branch of the Ölöts—the Jön Gar (Jungars, sometimes written Dzungars, Zungars)—to the kingdom when he succeeded to the Mongol possessions. The name has since stuck in geographies as Jungaria (Dzungaria or Zungaria), and it has reference to the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai, i.e., North Sinkiang. These same Ölöts took advantage of political differences to the south of them and came to dominate South Sinkiang, Ch'inghai, and Tibet for a brief historical period; this epoch has even been viewed by one Chinese historian as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions. Yet the fount of Ölöt power, for the Ölöts as for others of the Western Mongols, was Jungaria and the steppes, not the oases of South Sinkiang, where Uighur (present Wei-wu-erh) civilization appears to have persisted. For Mongol life has been the phenomenon of nomadism, and life in South Sinkiang has been that of the isolated, petty agriculture of the oasis. The power of the nomad is his mobility, and he requires extensive pasturage for his cattle; yet the life of oasis agriculture is essentially fixed and in South Sinkiang it seems to have continued with

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demonstrated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang. 563

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, to the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 302
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

of the Russian cavalry), have called one type of this Turkestan nomad 101
the Kara-Kazakh and another the Kirgiz-Kazakh. C. P. Skrine, a British authority, even describes the Kara-Kazakh as a branch of the Kirgiz. Yet Owen Lattimore emphatically states that the Kirgiz and Kazakh are not the same, that the Kara-Kazakh is actually purely and simply Kazakh and calls himself that, while the Kirgiz-Kazakh is purely and simply Kirgiz and looks down upon the Kazakh as inferior. The Kirei, an outstanding people of former Turkestan history whom Douglas Carruthers has identified as Kirgiz but who, Mr. Lattimore indicates, are Kazakh, are said to have been probably the "purest Turks of all . . ."

Some Other Peoples of Sinkiang

There are still other ethnic groups in Sinkiang, including a large 563
section of White Russian refugees who fled from their native land in the early years of the Soviet Republic, a considerable number of Soviet Russians, and other foreigners. The Tajiks or Sariquolis, found in a "few secluded mountain regions" of the Pamirs and especially in the Sariquol area, are said to be a nearly pure specimen of the so-called *homo alpinus* and do not speak Turki. Other types include two groups of South Sinkiang known as the Habdals and Dulanis, a colony of Turki stock known as Taranchis who are settled in the I-li Valley, and the Uzbeks who appear to be mostly migrants from adjacent Uzbekistan.

The "Fourteen" Races of Sinkiang

The authorities of the New Sinkiang in recent years have tried to 101
popularize the idea that there are "fourteen racial types" among all 563
these people of the province. These the Chinese name as *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-ch'i, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun,* and *Kuei-hua.* The inclusion of such a primarily political and geographical term as Han and religious category as Hui (both already briefly discussed) would tend to eliminate this as any "scientifically" worked out ethnic list. The same comment applies to the *T'a-t'a-erh* (Tatar), the *Ko-erh-k'o-*

101 563 *tzu,* or Khalkha (both related to the Mongols), the *Hsi-po* (Sibo) and *So-lun* (Solon). The other types mentioned might be identified in their order as Manchu, Mongol, Uighur, Kazakh, Tajik, Taranchi, Uzbek, and White Russians. It is worth while to notice, however, that in the list of the fourteen racial types the name Tung-kan is not mentioned except as it is "swallowed" up in the general categories of Han or Hui. This may be (though it probably is not) due to the equating of the name Tung-kan with the name Hui or (more likely since Wei-wu-erh also are identified as among the category of Hui) to a looseness of racial classification. Yet might not the omission actually be a way of evading mention of a pressing problem and an actual negative indication that all is not yet completely well so far as Sheng and those particular Chinese Moslems are concerned?

Though there has been a certain looseness of expression throughout the fourteen-fold list, so far as Chinese usage is concerned no real error has been made. *Min-tsu,* the Chinese term translated here as "race," literally means a "clan of people," "a tribe," even "a nation." As "clans" or ethnic types the fourteen groups mentioned here certainly deserve to be distinguished, though they may not all represent "races." In fact the naming of them is especially valuable as indicative of the kinds of "people" that are locally prominent now among the Sinkiang "peoples" themselves.

Policy: Old and New

563 It was the resentment of most of the people in this tremendous racial mixture over the former treatment accorded them, which confronted the administrative authorities of the New Sinkiang almost from the first. "Formerly," Tu Chung-yüan writes, "the people were permitted to read only Han books . . . and even if they read those they were not permitted to hold office, but could serve only as half-slave translators. As a result, none of the races wanted to do such work. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But . . . just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading."

Since Sheng Tu-pan began to stress "Racial Equality," Tu says, change in the traditional policy has come:

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> . . . each race and every educational institution has received help from the government; and, though reading of Han books is required, each race can also read its own literature. Since this has happened readers have multiplied like the spread of mist. Government positions have since been opened to all the educated, and the self-respect of each race has been restored . . .

The unfortunate omission of detailed information relating to the place or lack of place of the Tung-kans under this policy, leads one to feel that the Tung-kan question may not even yet have been solved in Sinkiang, and in this respect the policy of "Racial Equality" as practiced in the province may possibly be vulnerable to criticism. Yet, otherwise, the policy seems to have been intended for all racial types in Sinkiang and has become more and more widely effective. During the autumn of 1938, for instance, the "fourteen" ethnic groups of the province met as a body at the All-Sinkiang Conference in Tihwa. Even more long-run evidence which Tu Chung-yüan gives of progress toward solution of the racial questions in Sinkiang is to be found in the broader base of education. Not only is "Racial Equality" practiced in the schools but the cultural contributions of each racial group in the province have been particularly emphasized through organization of what Sinkiang calls Cultural Progress Societies. Both of these developments are described in more detail in the chapter on "Reconstruction."

"Racial Equality" has been, withal, a praiseworthy experiment and it could have great promise for this province. It has affirmed in a land where race and mixture of race have for centuries brought sharp contrasts and rich interchange as well as bitter conflict, that henceforth in Sinkiang there was not to be discrimination against either minority or majority because of lineage. It has promised that each clan may develop its own cultural heritage to the fullest, and that no one clan or combination of clans shall impose its or their way of life forcibly upon any other clan. It has posited for all groups of men, any one group of men, and any one man, equal bestowal of both benefits and duties of society. Surely in such a concept, among the others of the Six Great Policies, could not the peoples of Sinkiang and of all the United Nations well find an intimate community of interests?

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574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting
563 of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour.
522 I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

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said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy on his head ? " The problem of supplies was not so difficult as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

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(Translation)

764 When you arose, oh my Lord, it was with God's name on your lips;
When you lay down, it was in God's name.
In summer you fed me, oh my Lord;
In winter you were my cloak.
I am left in a lake with no water in it,
I am left in a garden in which there is no shade.

105 •563 In considering the manners, customs, folklore, etc., of the Tarim Basin, it must be remembered that considerable differences exist between the four or five chief oases, corresponding roughly to their geographical positions. To differentiate between them and make a comparative study of material from the different towns would be impossible in the space at my disposal, even if I possessed the necessary knowledge. Speaking generally, however, it may be remarked that Kashgar is the least mediæval and at the same time the most Mussulman of the Six Cities. Culturally it belongs to the Transcaspian Khanates, Khoqand, Bokhara, Samarqand and Khiva, strongholds of Islam. Owing to its proximity to the Russian frontier and the strong interest taken in it by the Muscovite Government since the seventies, it has a thin—a very thin—veneer of Russian culture. Aqsu, 300 miles nearer Urumchi and separated from Russian territory by the tremendous barrier of the Central Tien Shan, is a predominantly Uigur city with strong Mongol and Chinese strains. Kucha, 200 miles further east, is also an ancient Uigur city, and has a history and an art of its own. Further east still, Qarashahr is the chief centre of that formidable and unpleasant race, Chinese by culture and Mussulman by religion, the Tungans. Yarkand is the meeting-place of the nations; in its culture neither China nor Russia are of much account, and such foreign influence as there is comes through Afghanistan from Persia and through Kashmir from India. The great oasis of Khotan or Ilchi is in many ways the most interesting of all, for it is the part of the Tarim Basin which has been least affected by outside influences, including Islam. It was probably a flourishing pagan State long before Buddhism reached it from India. For a thousand years it was the seat of an Indo-Scythian civilization under Chinese influence, with a rich and ornate Buddhism as its official religion; was it not to Khotan that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent in A.D. 65 the famous Mission which brought back Buddhism to Cathay? The Kingdom fought hard against Islam, holding out for

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105 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With 563 this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, [534] a two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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Sunset in September 12,000 feet up—must have been freezing hard. Of course the oil froze and clogged your bolt. Wonder the rifle went off at all."

•563 233 We were surprised to find a family of "Sarts" or ordinary Turkis sharing this small valley[1] with the Kirghiz. Coming down from the ibex-ground one day I overtook them trekking down from their summer grazings, a pretty sight. On the opposite side of the stream a lean-visaged Sart shepherded a couple of hundred sheep and goats up an almost perpendicular cliff and along narrow ledges literally overhanging the torrent; this was necessary because the current was too strong for short-legged muttons to cross. Behind, a quaint procession came filing down the track and splashed across the stream; half a dozen mares with their foals, a man and two boys perched on masses of bedding on top of ponies, a neat smiling Sart woman with her baby and another man leading a camel piled high with the framework and felts of the family mansion.

484 Descending to the plains once more, we camped two glorious days on wide meadows near the long yellow loess bluffs of the Taushkan River. A hundred and fifty miles of the snowy Mountains of Heaven sparkled in the sky to west and north and north-east of us. It was advisable to give the baggage ponies (we had hired new ones at Uch Turfan) and our own animals a day or two in clover before the next lap of our journey; for we were to march 164 miles across the southern face of the Central Tien Shan and down the lower Muzart Valley to Bai on the Kucha road.

We were sorry to leave the Uch Turfan neighbourhood and the lovely valley of the "Hare River." We found the people delightful and quite unspoilt, especially the women. The latter, poor dears, seemed to be even more at a discount than at Kashgar; not one in five appeared to have a husband to herself, and they complained bitterly to D. of their hard lot. They came in streams to our camp among the meadows to "salaam" D. and beg medicines for blind, crippled, tuberculous and otherwise incurable relations. And not one of them came empty-handed. All tried to pay D. for her medicine or advice in peaches, eggs, melons, cream, corn-cobs or some such agricultural product. And when she not only made them take back most of their "widow's mites" but distributed (as she always did wherever we went) little presents of buttons, imitation jewellery, safety-pins, pieces of muslin, beads and

[1] [The Yangi Art Jilgha — Analyst]

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had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 knew so well, four hundred miles to the north-west. At mid-day we were met by the friendly people of Polu who had pitched for us a tiny tent made of sacks on a cliff-top 800 feet above the river-bed. With the indefatigable hospitality of remoter Asia, they had brought all the way from Polu, several miles further up among the mountains, an enormous meal of boiled sheep, bread, tea and hard-boiled eggs dyed bright blue, the favourite colour of Khotan.[1]

361 Polu is the largest of the hill-villages at the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a branch of the Kunlun stretching for a thousand miles to the E.N.E. until it merges with the Nan Shan. The relative importance of Polu is due 487 to the fact that it commands the only possible track leading up over the Kunlun to the northern plateau of Tibet and so to Ladakh and India. The defiles on the north side of the pass are exceedingly narrow and almost, if not quite, impossible for pack transport of any kind; but for a distance of 530 miles, from the Hindu Tash Pass (17,750 ft.) over the Sanju range in the west to the Qarasai gaþ above Cherchen in the east, there is no other path at all by which men can cross the tremendous barrier of the Kunlun. Polu is picturesquely 361 situated at a height of 8,500 feet on a ridge between two branches of the Keriya River's chief tributary. Its fields are lined with tall poplars and dotted with clumps of fine planes and walnuts. The village consists of closely-packed, flat-topped houses of wood and stone with curious raised skylights in the middle of the roof, and has a look of Baltistan or Tibet which differentiates it at once from the settlements of the hill "Sarts" and Kirghiz of the Kashgar Range and the Tien Shan. [563] Stein thinks that there may be Tibetan blood in the people, and certainly they do not regard themselves as belonging to the same race as the people of Khotan and Keriya. Polu and neighbouring villages do not belong to Keriya district, as one would have expected; they are grouped with Imamlär, Chakar, Hasha, Nura and other oases of the great "bay"

[1] The word *kōk* (blue) is often used in Khotan as a synonym for "beautiful," without conveying any particular colour. I heard a minstrel sing:

Sai buida tōrt tufak
Tōrtilärsi kōk tufak.
Four heifers on the desert's edge
And all four of them blue (i.e. lovely) heifers.

The reason why the shells of presentation eggs are always coloured is because white is unlucky, being the colour of death and mourning.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only 563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had S existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners S N ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend- 647 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese 631 military-staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. 647 Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 649 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
S [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

36

S N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
59 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
62 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a N 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

N 563 794 [795] [596] [241] [438] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] [233] [464] S [422] S [592] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Sheng Yügur:

S [233] S [614] S [792] [422] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

N 563 M 233 241 198 [177] Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige. N 563 M 231 [554]

N 563 M 596 [603] [421] The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 182 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S N [167] S N [651] S N 563 669 182

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society [182] in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks 563 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in 795 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been 797 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only 668 true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern 563 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized 795 Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it 563 can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 563 668 177

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

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The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 771 [769]

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
971 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
[554] subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
771 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spir-
itualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

S 563 181

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN [668]

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

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SN 563 153 799 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [829] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

S N 563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols 771 and Turks.

N 181 While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively [162] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were 166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu 167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed N [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N [668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

S 635 [131] [6] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

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A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

S 175 487

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
175 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
159 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
669 protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the
[563] arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

000 N *175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 162 The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

[563]

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S
N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy
642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S
167 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
708 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
466 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

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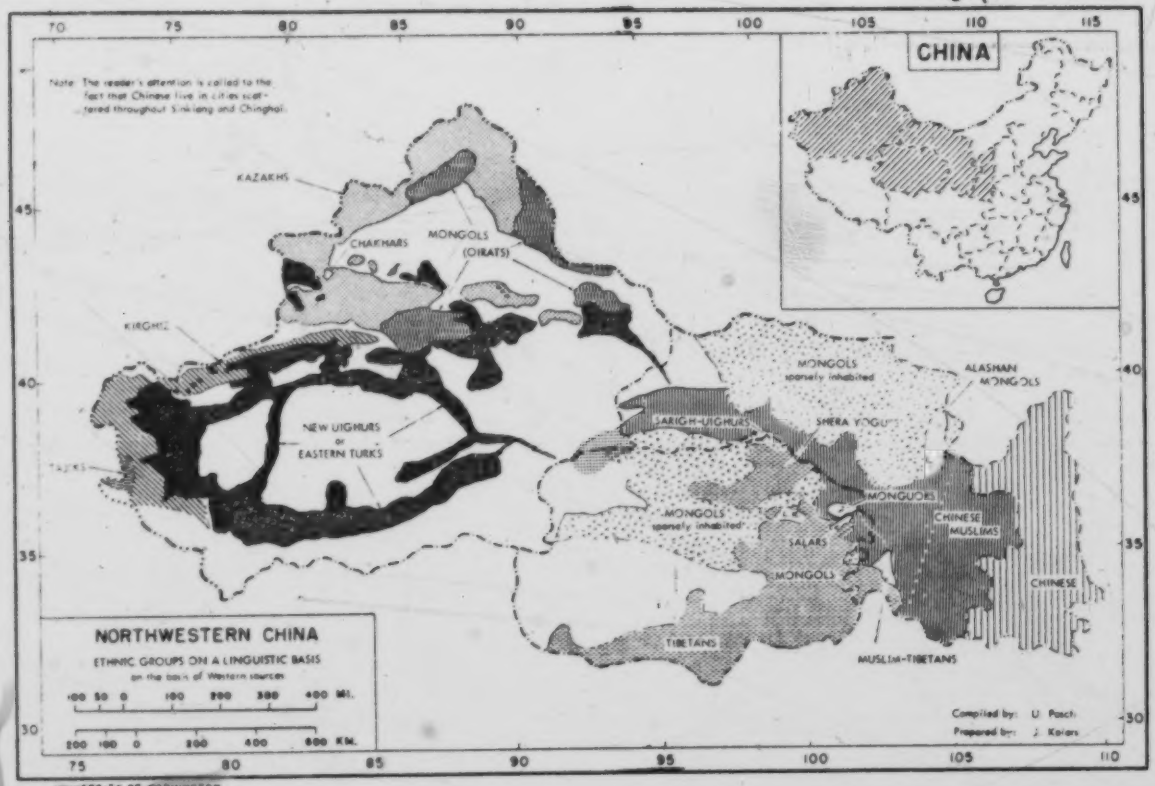

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S
N I. Introduction
121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S
N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S
162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

S
[114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Öläts	15,000	people
2) Torguts	18,000	"
3) Khoshuts	21,000	"
4) Chahar	8,000	"

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Sinkiang AI1

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)
101 The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563 1. Physical characteristics
144 .In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [187] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy
433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion
271 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization
178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
618 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature

538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.
The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:

(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
B. History of Islam in Kansu

*563 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
•563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

19 6) The Common Turkic spirant *s- is preserved as such in all five dialects; e.g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč < säč, Kazakh: šaš < saš.

7) The Common Trukic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *-z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e.g. Uzbek: qīz "girl", Salar: kïs, Tatar: kêz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e.g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bär- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e.g. Uighur: tobïq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *ü becomes o in Tatar: e.g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolet (ə is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e.g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *ï resulted in a reduced vowel ə̂ : e.g. kïz "girl", Tatar: qə̂z.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e.g. Uzbek: köl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in ə in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: kən.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

101 563 II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöün gar "right wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan,
[131] anot[illegible] small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egü, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaʃaɣar "bridle	qaʃaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣ
*čiɣiraɣ < *tiɣiraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīrəG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣari- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bürü
miqan "meat"	maχn
sira "yellow"	šar
milaɣa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dǰid < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn
čisun "blood"	tsusn
ǰekegün "cold"	zekün
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkē

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- an d u-

S c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

N d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
S U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers,
• [563] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e.
[167] Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
*175 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
197 texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
S These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
175 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The
197 striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

S Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak
N Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are
191 bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World [S 191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

[S 197] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

[S 167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۶ while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 611 428 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of [425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 [592] The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] [622] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bak, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the baks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 614 596 563 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

[829] A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a 614 563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
423 ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two baks to settle the case, or each selects a bak, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
563 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
583 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price,
584 payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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Kazak RQ2

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      - Sikhym
      - Jamys
      - Tämir
      - Shymyr
      - Botpai
      - Kurulus
      - Bäsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      - Sirgäli
      - Ysty
      - Otakshy
      - Jalair
      - Shapas
      - Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      - Kara keshäk
      - Shar Jitim
      - Janshar
      - Tört aul with aa) Atygai
        - bb) Altai
        - cc) Terbish
        - dd) Tabakty
      - Borshy
      - Karpak
      - Bashäntin
      - Agysh Kalkanam
      - Kanjygaly
      - Kosugan
      - Kök shal
   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      - Bulatty
      - Türs tamgaly
      - Baganaly
      - Sadyr
      - Ergänäkti
   c) Tribe Kypchak
   d) Tribe Kiräi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kuräi with the clans:
         - Jantykai
         - Jadyk
         - Shiräüshi

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/The Kazakh Nation/

Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Märkit
Itängmän
Jäs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kiräi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitä
Tört kara
Shümökäi
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jätti uru (the seven confederated tribes)
with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptä
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Telä
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

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The Kirghiz Nation

1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)

a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:

Tselek	Bor	Shykmayat
Torgo	Dölös	Kala
Bapa	Kongrat	Assan-tukum
Yeldän	Monguldur	Aryk-tukum
Talabai	Sayak	Küchük
Serike	Udu	

b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:

Saru	Sayak	Mundus
Kala	Assik	Kitai
Monguldur	Dölös	Yetigän
Shykamat	Kongrat	

c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:

Yetigän	Monguldur
Kuchu	Mundus
Saru	Assyk

d) Tribe Edigäna with the clans:

Dölös	Mundus
Saru	Sayat (incomplete)
Kongrat	Kaba
Monguldur	Shykamat

e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:

Askaly	Kandabas
Toro	Kosh-tamga
Macjak	Kuan-duan
Ush-tamga	

f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:

Ak-chubak
Bai-chubak (incomplete)

2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)

Known clan names are:

Saru
Besh-beren
Mundus
Töngtöröp
Kuchu
Kükürön
Yetigän

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

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The Uzbek Nation

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1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)
2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)
3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly
4) Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pürchüyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Künägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    a) Mesit
    b) Yaby
    c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bükhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[167] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the rulingleader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

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563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
*563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
792 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
*563 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
121 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear con-
175 cepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[177] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

5

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, 793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment [871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the [423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In [428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc- [562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

S 563 178 [31] S [464] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] N [342] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589] Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 595 563 S [562] [152]

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

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592 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide
562 the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically
before they establish their own households. Among the lower
[565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always
a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will
bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing
[582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up
a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden-
563 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the
592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper.
593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family
182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the fam-
ily nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolu-
tions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among
the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are sub-
ject to constant permutations.

563 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the
593 basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by
178 local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal
593 or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the hus-
562 band and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes
563 toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered
a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and
whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of
the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the
[671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and
[779] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be
generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

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593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

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563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[591] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are
[593] not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

563 548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated [588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563 582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563 584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former [583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563 585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

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563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

121 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions: (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

563 In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
592 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
[162] festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[184] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children [369] of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but [434] no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

563 184 562 583 [586] Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be 563 584 expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

N
121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S
101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S
The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and
• 563 habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S
Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
178 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-
563 honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N
Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
S our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese
121 Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or East-
*563 ern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N
A. The Han Chinese
*563
The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
*175 farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imper-
[463] ial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is

N *563 829 N [558] more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

S N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

● 563 101 1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [197] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S
N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S
N In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S
N d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S
N Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
563 playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
265 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
262 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S
N Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
563 money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
463 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
779 serve this taboo is not known.
784

3. Social values

S
N a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S
N This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
563 lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
571 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
186 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
183 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
[576] the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[196] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S
N b. Concept of charity

563 Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
183
779
431

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became debted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 799 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N [798]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
563 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
796 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
785 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
779 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 764

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 199 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

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000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

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563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

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000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

a. Marriage

563 562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

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000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 587 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 843 844 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 846 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 852 [553] [851] [302] When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 764 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 764 793 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set, three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

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563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

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563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The
[785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each
[574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all
[262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two
[184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a
[782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the
[775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus-
[735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
519 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
519 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

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S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, K [361] adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [171] [292] The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 291 [171] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 171 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

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/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and *otherwise enjoy* themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

N 462 533 535 [191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 361 311

1: The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

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*563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N
*563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N [776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N
*563 787 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N
*563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S
H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

• 563 181 Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac-
000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
267 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

563 517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Com- [668] munist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[195] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an [197] [177] impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, and the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 538 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 533 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cultural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. [199] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The [539] Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 533 539 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 538 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi literature and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads. [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 533 538 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the [539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 538 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 538 179 668 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

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563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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658 The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in
871 lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to estab-
179 lish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In
*563 Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the
importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the
S number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:
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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

S According to another source, the schools were mostly es-
871 tablished and operated by the cultural associations of various
• 563 nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain
offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in
Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head
men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they
had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sin-
kiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of
schools operated by these cultural associations and the number
of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as
follows:

Table 2

S
[162] Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

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Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

N 871 *668 177 *563

The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

2. Higher education

N 873 *563 *668 177 S [873] [874] S [563] [873]

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
• 563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
219 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
177 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec- [692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. [796] Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 796 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 793 [692] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is S [794] purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is S N [361] the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They S N 795 themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all 101 Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

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According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

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The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128

I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164

Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563

A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S [272] [263]

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539]

The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272]

The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [787] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [199] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

A. The Diet of the Chinese

N *563 262 [272] The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food S 563 262 [272] are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N [252] considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

N *563 S 563 [146] Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. S N [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
• 563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
S lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
N In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
[184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.

S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who S • 563 164 364 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the S N [415] [312] passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants S 563 164 [165] [844] and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. *563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still S 759 563 go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S N 744 E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 578 669 186 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese

The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the traditional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebellions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 779 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies

Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

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N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
•563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

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Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

S N [178] [596] [614] [619] [701] [622] [554] Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

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III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

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An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of ~~the~~ respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.

Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:

"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.

Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.

Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."

Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

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B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers

563 1) "Comrade Editor:
423 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
431 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

668 but gave a certain degree of good care to the liberal-minded land-
423 lords during the procedure of confiscation. To those obedient landlords we only carried out confiscation but not the struggle. Besides land, other properties were left to them for a while before actual confiscation. Thus we isolated the stubborn landlords, reduced the resistance and increased help. Under the threat of the peasants, the majority of the landlords expressed willingness to be obedient.

"But there were still defects and mistakes...(1) We were not able to build up the poor farmers and hired hands to be the nucleus of the movement as we had planned...(On the contrary), it was the middle farmers who led the poor farmers, and the poor farmers who led the hired hands...(2) Some farmers...gave sympathy to the landlords during the confiscation and dared not accept the land in distribution...(3) During the distribution, there was illustrated a serious domination of the party cadres over the farmers...." (Yang Tseng-wen, "Victoriously concluded the work of the second stage of land reform in Shu-le County" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1953, April 3.)

Some basic facts in this statement can be summarized as follows:
(1) Natives were used to fight against the natives.
(2) Native workers were selected and built up through various devices.
(3) Enemy groups were divided and isolated by discriminating treatment.
(4) Only a few of the most stubborn enemies were selected as targets at one time. Thus most of the people were kept hopeful and cooperative.
(5) Religious groups and the local leaders with great influence among the minorities were handled with care.

668 The policy of controlling the minority groups through minority
• 563 cadres is further shown in the following report: "In the whole special district...of Ili, there originally were 3243 cadres at the hsiang, ch'U, county and special district level. During 1952...the number increased to 4736. It was a 46.3% increase over that of 1951.... During the past one year,...more than 30,000 common workers and farmers became 'positive elements' who executed the policy and orders of the Communist Party and the People's Government....

"During the past year, 90% of the cadres of the special district received education and drill through the struggles of the suppression of the counter-revolutionists movement, the American Aid-Korea movement, the reduce-rent and anti-despot movement, the land reform movement, the 3-anti and 5-anti movement...and joined the Communist Party and Youth Corps. Some of them became leading workers. According to the incomplete statistics, in the whole special district there were 274 persons promoted from 'positive elements' to become new cadres; 88 persons promoted from cadres to leading

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668 cadres; (among these 17 were at the level of county head, 2 were
• 563 at the level of division head in the special district, 46 were at the level of division head in the county, 23 were at the level of ch'ü head); 22 persons promoted from servants to be cadres; with a grand total of 384 promotions. Among these, 93% belonged to the minority groups and 7% were Chinese. 84% of those being promoted from 'positive elements' were selected from the workers and farmers." (A report from Ili in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 18, 1953. Cf. Chao Hua-Sheng: "A report on Party construction in the 1st hsiang of Aya ch'ü in Hami Qumul County" in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 24, 1953.)

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*668 With this control of the minority groups from inside, the Com-
*563 munists claim to be promoting the minority autonomy and inter-
S nationality harmony with unprecedented success. The following
[668] are some of the reports: 1) "A report on the life of the Tibetan
[563] minority in the Northwest, 'Improvement of the political, economic and cultural life of the Tibetans in China during the past year,' given by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, Tibetan Vice-chairman of the Chinghai Provincial Government, appeared recently in the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih pao and was released by NCNA from Peking on November 2, 1950, stating:

'In political life, Tibetans now participate in the work of the people's government on all levels and spheres. They take part in local, and national conferences, where they study the work of the government, discuss and adopt government decisions and enjoy the right to vote and to be elected. They also visit other parts of the country to study conditions and exchange experiences. Like all other fraternal nationalities, they have become masters in name and in reality. Any dispute arising among nationalities is solved by ways of arbitration and discussion on the principle of equality, through which they have realized the importance of unity among various nationalities!'"

2) "In the past three years, the people's governments at all levels in the Northwest region have correctly and definitely implemented the nationalities policy, carried out nationalities work, and made great achievements. More than 3000 cases of internationality conflicts were mediated, of which some had not been solved in the past decades or in hundreds of years. Nationality democratic coalition governments have been established in various places. 11 autonomous areas, equivalent to first grade district and counties have been established. Besides, the Yu-shu autonomous area, equivalent to a first grade special district with a dense population of Tibetans, has been established in Chinghai province. About 30,000 cadres of the national minorities have been trained throughout the region to take part in political work, and some of them have become the backbone of the local political work." (NCNA, Sian, May 12, 1952.)

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*668 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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*668 D. Minority Languages
*563 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of
[642] the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
• 563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of
19 the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

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*668 Ch'en Shih yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
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(635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
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(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
(668) region on October 1, 1955.
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Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
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*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
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668 in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
631 1955, are shown in Table 9.
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After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
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175 ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
631 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
563 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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*668 with the local governmental divisions down to the county level, is
*563 shown in Table 10.
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TABLE 10

Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'uan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-chih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi sha, and Su-fu

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POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of *federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards* the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were established for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
S 175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.
668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.
Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).
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• [563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

S 175 668 871 graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

• [563] Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N *175 *668 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at

N *[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by

S 175 668 873 provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Gov-

[563] ernment and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist

S 175 668 874 873 Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

N *175 *668 871 The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

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Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

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As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

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cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this appeared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.

Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

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The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng, December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80 counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the number of national minority cadres employed in government work

N in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*175 January 8, 1952).
*668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
*563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
• 563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

N A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*175 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
*668 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
578 cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)

Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

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*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in N nghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

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175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
• 563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

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175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 S 175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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C. The General Election of 1953-54

*175 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
*668 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
666 tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's
(641) Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

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*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
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175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
*563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
S tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
• 563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

N To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*175 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
*668 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and
166 workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
668 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
• 563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
177 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and n ationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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177 under the leadership of the local party and government organs."
668 (JMJP, August 28, 1954).
642 Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three
563 autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four
631 were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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177 Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung
668 Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist
642 Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional
563 period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
[666] officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and
578 by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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*175 During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the
635 eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police
625 system and the problems of public order and safety were simi-
184 lar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule
S 175 of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was
701 to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily
669 administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole,
N *175 however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the
625 northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

S In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors.
175 First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia
625 and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the
[648] Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of
[563] the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
• 563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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648 The Altai region has been an area of conflict all the more critical because of the potential value of its mineral resources. In imperial time some control had been exerted over part of the area by the Imperial Amban in Kobdo in Outer Mongolia. The border between Chinese and Russian territory was also not clearly delineated, and the Chinese claim that the highest mountain ridge formed the border being at times contested by Soviet Russia. The area was mainly inhabited by Kazakh tribesmen who were closely related to similar groups at the other side of the border in Russian Turkestan. During World War I a number of Kazakhs from the Russian side had moved over into Chinese territory to escape the draft for labor conscription, and no control had been exerted over these groups. Of all the Turkic people of the province [563] of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs were the most nationalistic and unruly. The attitude of the Kazakh people played, therefore, an important role in the relations between Russia and Chinese Turkestan.

At the critical time, in 1920, when the White Russian influx became a problem, the Chinese governor negotiated with the Soviet authorities an agreement which established friendly relations across the border but at the same time enabled the governor to deal successfully with the problem of White Russian immigrants. He gained a Soviet promise of amnesty for all those White Russians who wanted to return to Russian territory and encouraged as many as he could to go back to Russia, while others continued their journey to China proper. At the same time, he asked for Soviet support in removing the armed White Russians from the Altai region and strengthened the Chinese position in that area by dividing it into regular Chinese districts and sub-district administrations. Connected with this political agreement was a trade agreement in which the Ili valley area was opened to Soviet economic activities. Two soviet consulated were established in this area, in contrast to the seven consulates which the Czarist government had maintained in its last years in Sinkiang. In exchange for the Soviet consulated the Chinese administration was permitted to maintain two consulated in Soviet territory. These consulates were to be established at Semipalatinsk and at Verkhenevelinsk on the border of Outer Mongolia. The agreement also abolished extraterritoriality, and in opening economic relations with the Soviets, Governor Yang gained Soviet release of the property of Chinese merchants in Russian territory which had at first been confisfacted by the new Soviet regime. Through this agreement of 1920 Chinese-Soviet relations were established in Sinkiang long before the beginning of official relations between the government at Peking and the Soviet government and even before the arrangement of Soviet support to Sun Yat-sen at Canton. The agreement of 1920 was broadened by the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1924, signed at Peking, which provided for the opening of additional Soviet

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic." These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih=chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
• 563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

S 668 708 208 545 4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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N *668 208 IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

S [668] [208]

N *668 796 *[563] [791] [651] A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opp;rtunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

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N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader

159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
63 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang

159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous, dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little
• 563 boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but 563
the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious 262
mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volun- 137
teered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude 361
to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The 485
Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found 133
a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had 000
only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were 463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated 366 as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

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All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke of themselves as coming from Tientsin; the banks and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people; coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as to warrant an old name for Hami—'The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of 'Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

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175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

• 563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned [647] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

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conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

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563 but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem [291] nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinctive cap and high heels to his top-boots. We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper is a Russian subject, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. [291] The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large [179] number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

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Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the ' Solon ' and ' Sibo ' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders.

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other

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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind-erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
• 563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

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the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it. The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

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439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, form-
344 less, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.
205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters
206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the
471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

• 563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished
[648] refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

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563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
437 but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

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A missionary journey does not supply many entertainments of the kind usually connected with the music-hall stage, but in this village there was a strange-looking man, wearing a Cossack cap of shaggy, black sheepskin, whose eyes danced with irresistible merriment. Our attention was drawn to this remarkable creature, who was sitting crouched in a corner of the courtyard, when all of a sudden the sound of a dogfight came from that direction. It was quite unmistakable—a big Tibetan dog was attacking a little, sharp-voiced Pekinese, such as the 'tai tai' loves to pet. We turned to see what was happening, but there were no dogs, and the sudden silence was broken by peals of laughter at our amazement. A moment later a flock of sheep and lambs were heard bleating and baaing, through every tone of the gamut. Then, most surprising of all, as the sound of the sheep ceased, a gramophone struck up a strident song in Russian, and this was followed by a visit to a poultry yard, the theatre, and other amazing ventriloquist feats. This clever performer subsequently told us that as a youth from a Shantung village he had placed himself for three years under the tuition of a renowned ventriloquist, who had trained him in the art of both hearing and reproducing sounds. The entertainment was really of the first order, far surpassing any Western performance to which we have listened, and most surprising of all, was the fact that without knowing Russian he was yet able to reproduce its sounds as conveyed through the gramophone.

We rose at 2.15 the next morning for the day's journey of seventy miles, and after a six hours' drive we saw a small, ragged tent pitched near the roadside at the back of which three camels were grazing. A woman stood by the tent door watching the road for passers-by. Her attitude and bearing showed her to

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563 be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-
291 fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq
563 women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing
372 response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is
354 the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came
167 running to see us. Accepting her invitation we
[574] entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his
[733] side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

494 While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

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which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine 494
animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles.

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down [491]
hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as 563
the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any 294

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563 294 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While 563 231 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

491 We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming 080 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

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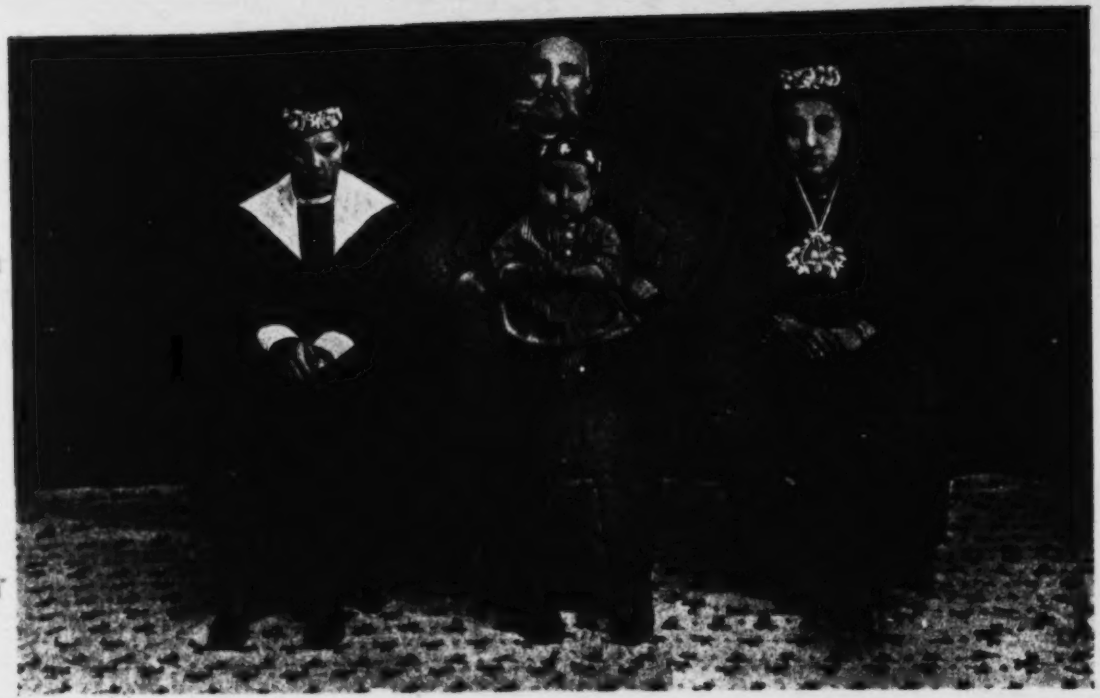

A NOGAI.

Seated with a Turki wife on his left and a Qazaq wife on his right. The Turki woman is mother of the little boy.

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*175 against the Tungans or Chinese Moslems, in order to obviate future rebellion. He employed many of his own relatives and supporters from Hunan Province in his administration, and this accounts for the fact that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Hunan officials almost completely dominated the Sinkiang administration. While Tso regarded the Uighurs as rebels, he regarded the Tungans as traitors, because they were Chinese in language, and largely Chinese by descent. Partly out of hatred against them as traitors and partly in order to "divide and rule," Tso massacred the Tungans in great numbers but showed the greatest clemency to the Uighurs, the Kazakhs, and the Mongols.

Even after the conclusion of Tso's military campaigns in the Tarim Basin there were debates among high officials and in the Imperial Court as to the status of the reconquered region. Finally the view championed by Tso Tsung-t'ang was adopted by the Manchu Emperor. On November 18, 1884, an Imperial Edict was issued which made Sinkiang a province (*Hsin-chiang*, "the New Territory," or, as it is frequently translated, "New Dominion").[9] Urumchi, under the Chinese name of Ti-hua, was proclaimed the capital and more than twenty district administrations were organized.

565 167 The Chinese in this new province may be classified in four categories, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. First are the descendants of criminals and officials who were banished from China during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Second are the families of military and civil officers in Sinkiang, mostly from Hunan, Yunnan, Kansu and the Northeastern (Manchurian) Provinces. Third are the merchants, including money-changers from Shansi, traders from the Tientsin area, and brick tea merchants from Hupeh and Hunan. Fourth are the peasants, whose immigration began in 1776, when an Imperial Edict provided for a subsidy for those who would settle in Sinkiang.[10]

[9] *Tung-hua hsü-lu*, 1*a*–1*b*, Kuanghsü 66; *Ta Ch'ing Te Tsung Ching Huang-ti Shih-lu*, 190, 27a–28a; and *Ch'ing Shih Kao, Pen-chi*, Vol. 23, 17a.

[10] Wang Hsien-chien, *Tung-Hua Lu* (Collection of State Papers), Imperial Edict of June, 1776.

Uighur

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common
● 565 saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."
793 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

648 everywhere in Inner Asia the Soviet frontier is in one sense artificial: because it originated in the Tsarist conquests, and stops where the Tsarist conquests stopped, it everywhere divides similar peoples from each other instead of separating different peoples from each other, as has been pointed out in previous chapters. The same languages are spoken on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Afghan, and Soviet-Sinkiang frontiers. And, in most cases, they are spoken by people who are minorities under both the sovereignties under which they live. The effects in Inner Asia of the Soviet Revolution must therefore be studied especially from the standpoint of peoples who are minorities in the states under which they live, and who talk in the same language and against the background of a common cultural and social tradition about the different conditions under which they live on the two sides of the frontier that divides them. Five principal phases, which followed each other in chronological order, can be distinguished among the long-term effects of the Soviet Revolution.

565 563 1. As the possessors of advanced skills, refugees from the Soviet Revolution became an elite in Sinkiang. Among the Russians, especially, there were doctors, geologists, and other scientists; engineers, mechanics, and many artisans. Among the Uzbeks, Tatars, and others there were also many whose literacy, skill, and experience in trade — or proficiency as carpenters, builders, leather tanners, or metalworkers — put them above the average level prevailing in Sinkiang. Having escaped from the disorder and insecurity of revolution, they now found that the country to which they had come was culturally and politically even more backward than the one from which they had escaped. They learned that if the superior skills which gave them the qualities of an elite were not enough to make them a political elite, and frequently not enough even to assure them economic security, it was because of the backwardness of the society in which they had settled, and the corruption or incompetence of the officials to whom they now had to defer.

000 2. Having fled because there was no force in Russian Inner

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

S N 175 631 647 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

SN 181 991 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, SN 181 but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and SN government, can be described as the average conception of 342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives 35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor SN altar being almost the only furniture.

517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by 571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, 565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials 571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time 423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a 178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, 668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep SN inclination towards Communism.

563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, 233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called
[565] aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. [671] Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. [651] The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
S
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N
*563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
621 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
[592] or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N
[622] and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N
*563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
592 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irrigation practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
565 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high
554 status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] [582] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

563 592 593 182 A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 108 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage. [671] [779]

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[801] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are
[593] not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.

[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
233 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
(192) tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also
a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's
own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional asso-
181 ciations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
183 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
668 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
177 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the
people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth
to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political
freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's
history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of
its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domin-
ation. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroach-
ment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feel-
ing of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated
sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is
also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made
attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in
their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to
sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the
nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way
of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested
the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independ-
ence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated
with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads
today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them
'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and
rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy
(Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine
their social and material status. The general population aspired
to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the
same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have
always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question
that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of
change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in
the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes,
with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was
forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial
product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to
inflict upon itself.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: ~~Al~~ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.
Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:
"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.
Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.
Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."
Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

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563 B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers
423 1) "Comrade Editor:
431 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
• 565 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during S [177] the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to S N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. [671] [674] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that 681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted 184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much 674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); [565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: 681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit 184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is 674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble
●566 the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much
*563 more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of con-
[792] stituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar,* "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setder. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

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566 households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the
cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the mainte- 691
nance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the
authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for
farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
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[161] tion. Less than forty years ago the population of Sinkiang was registered at 2,003,931.[31] The latest official figures give 3,730,051. 178 Neither figure has the reliability that is demanded of statistics in 458 advanced countries, but it is probably true that the population has 47 increased by at least a third and perhaps more. This increase means more peasants on the land in the oases, more who are willing to settle as colonists in nomad territory thereby increasing friction with the nomads, and more who migrate every summer as seasonal laborers from the Tarim oases to Jungaria and even into the republics of Soviet Inner Asia.

Pressure on the land has had a number of bad effects. Peasants are compelled to plant all land every year, leaving none fallow. As a result, one village sampled in the Yarkand oasis showed a decrease in the yield of wheat from fifteen-fold to only five-fold. The example may be exceptional in its severity, but it is representative of a trend.

Pressure on the land also aggravates the problems of land tenure. Increasing trade, especially trade with Russia since 1890, speeded up the change from diversified, self-sufficient agriculture to commercialized agriculture. After 1884 the old *mulkdar* or feudal landholders, who had been exempt from taxes, were compelled to pay a land tax to the Chinese provincial authorities. These two trends together caused money standards to supersede the old standard of hereditary status. The landholder with feudal rights called "the Beg," a term of aristocratic connotation, began to be replaced by a new class called *bai* — a term meaning simply "wealthy," a curious parallel to "plutocrat," which began to come into general use in England in the period of rapid social change marked by the Reform Bill of 1832. The parallel is made closer by the fact that many new *bais* were former Begs, just as in England many new directors of joint stock companies were holders of old landed estates.

[566] The condition of the peasant is governed by the fact that while he lives in a system which is increasingly penetrated by money values, he is also bound down by strong survivals of the old order

[31] Wang Shu-nan, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, Ch. 1, pp. 5–7.

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of things, such as the obligation to render labor services to his landlord. In money values, it was calculated in 1943 that the earnings of an agricultural laborer in Khotan for a full year were equivalent only to the value of one twelfth of an acre of medium-grade land. Share rents, however, dominate the lives of most peasants. If the landlord supplies only the irrigation water, the peasant must deliver to him half of the crop. If the landlord also supplies working animals, seed, and implements, he receives two thirds or more of the crop. As, in addition, taxes and other assessments sometimes amount to as much as one third of the crop; the peasant not infrequently has no legal claim to anything whatever at the end of the year, and is dependent on what the landlord thinks it necessary to leave him to keep him alive. This dependence of the peasant on the landlord takes the form of a debt which gives the landlord full control. 178 458 566 47

The economic crisis in Sinkiang is, in fact, a crisis of interacting and steadily mounting pressures, with no safety valves to give a margin for adjustment. 178 458 47

The exploitation of mines and of industry based on minerals would not automatically solve the agrarian problem. The experience of China has shown that if there is no agrarian reform the agrarian crisis gets worse, not better, in the near neighborhood of industrial centers like Shanghai; and at the same time urban labor, instead of creating a higher standard of living, finds its standards undermined by the rural unemployed. In Sinkiang, as everywhere else in Asia, a higher standard of living on the farm could improve buying power and give an impetus to industrialization; but industrialization alone cannot put an end to the agrarian crisis.

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so-
cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly
178 evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal, both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level, but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal." [1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

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feudalism to which equal acceptance is given by all students of the subject. Thus Dr. Helen Maud Cam, writing of English feudalism, points out that "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian approach it with different mental assumptions." To the social historian, it is the consecration of inequality or the insistence on subordination. To the economic historian it is the organization of land cultivation by the exercise of rights over persons. To the legal historian it is the contractual relationship guaranteed by land and determined by tenure. To the constitutional historian landholding is the source of political power, and government functions are bound up with land tenure.

"Thus in studying different periods," she concludes, "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian will each apply his own test to the state of things he finds, and declare that this is, or is not, 'genuine feudalism,' while his conclusions will be hotly questioned by those who use a different criterion." [2]

On the other hand a great deal of the most important modern literature on Inner Asia, including Sinkiang, is in Russian; and even in Tsarist times the vocabulary of feudalism was usual among Russian scholars in dealing with the societies of Asia. With the Soviet writers, this practice becomes universal. On the other side of Sinkiang, Chinese sources are of the greatest importance for early and medieval history, and Chinese scholars are doing increasingly important work in the analysis both of historical data and of contemporary problems. The terms of feudalism are quite as important in the work of these Chinese scholars as they are in the Russian literature. In China today, scholars are divided by a controversy similar to the famous nineteenth-century debate between "Westerners" and "Slavophiles" in Russia. As in Russia, the heart of the discussion is whether the Chinese culture is so much a thing apart that it is inappropriate to use the terms used in discussing other cultures, or whether the phenomena of Chi-

[2] Helen Maud Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 203; paper originally read before the International History Conference at Zürich in 1938.

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566 174 114 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[3]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[3] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlation in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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service. In 1812, however, an imperial decree allowed the garrison commander at Kulja to divide the Manchu-held land as permanent private property, exempt from tax. Under the terms of grant, such land was not to be leased to others for cultivation, and if farm hands were hired, they must be Manchus.[23] In the course of time, however, these terms became a dead letter and the land was freely leased and even sold to Chinese cultivators, officials and merchants.

In their main lines the structures of both the settled and the nomad societies of Sinkiang, as administratively revised under the Manchu Empire, outlasted the great Moslem rebellions of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. They even proved strong enough to contain the gradual commercialization of economic life during the past hundred years. Only now are they finally breaking down, caught between a securely established socialized state in Soviet territory and a rapidly spreading social revolution in Chinese territory.

As they break apart, these structures reveal a multiple stratification, the layers of which can be classified both socially and historically. Socially, they are graduated from arbitrary powers and privileges at the top to disfranchisement at the bottom. Historically, the stratification is more confused. In the alternating cycles of feudalism centralized under a strong imperial overlordship and feudalism decentralized under local oasis-states and rulers of nomad tribes, the incoming phase never completely swept away and replaced the institutions and administrative practices of the outgoing phase. Some of the characteristics of decentralization always lingered here and there, though unevenly, in the strongest phases of centralization; and conversely, even when oases were most completely independent of each other politically, and nomad tribes rejected the overlordship of other nomad tribes, the larger community of the oasis society as such and the society of the pastoral nomads as such was never entirely obliterated.

[23] *Institutes of the Manchu Dynasty*, edition of 1818, section "*Shih Li*" ("Precedents"), Ch. 842, p. 13 (in Chinese).

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178 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure
631 of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy rep-
566 resents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization
566 in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal
438 characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

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monopolists, sometimes locally and sometimes on a provincial scale. In this way the provincial revenue from trade was cut down, but individually the protected merchant got rich, and enriched the individual bureaucrat or the clique of associated bureaucrats to whom he paid a tribute for his protection. 178 566 438

At the bottom level the individual cultivator and herdsman collected tribute from none, and paid out — in rents and taxes, in forced labor for special projects and in "customary services" to his immediate rulers — the tribute which those above him divided according to their position in the stratification of privilege. Though no legislation declared them to be serfs, both cultivator and herdsman were in fact survivors of the feudal system of enserfment, having duties but no rights, and being prevented from selling their services in a free market by administrative enforcement of the rights of all those above them to collect tribute in kind, forced labor for the community or the province, and "customary services" to individuals. Even the nominal significance of private property in land or cattle, among the poor, was blurred by debt obligations which prevented them from acting as free agents.

When a society breaks up, it never breaks up at random. Every society has its own kind of cohesion, and usually its cohesiveness is unequally distributed over different parts of the society. Between the units of cohesion are lines of stress; and cleavages, when they take place, usually follow these lines of stress. In considering the influences coming from Russia now at work upon the societies of Sinkiang, and the influences that may be expected to develop rapidly from a China in which Communists are consolidating their power, we must take into account both the influences themselves and the balance between cohesion and cleavage already existing within the societies on which they work.

614 563 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by [602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is [621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. [672] The clan also takes collective action [681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Grazing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great- [423] aul or clan. [565] Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 565 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 622 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
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S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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quality not seen in lower snows, makes it an impressive spectacle. The wide floor of the Sariqol Valley is dotted with homely little farmsteads, each nestling snugly beside a clump of willows. The soil is remarkably good; wheat, barley and oats sown in May are reaped in October, and two crops of lucerne are usually taken. Sweet-smelling purple orchises, gentians, vetches of all colours and primulas of large size line the paths in June and July.

The Amban of Sariqol, our first acquaintance in the Chinese official world, was not a favourable example of his kind. He was an opium-smoker, and shortly after our arrival at Kashgar was relieved of his post. I called on him my first morning, as I was determined to be polite in spite of his having practically ignored us the previous day. As I arrived only half an hour after the appointed time, nothing was ready, and the Aqsaqal and I had to stand in the waiting-room of the "Yamen" or magistrate's quarters amid an interested crowd of bottle-washers and hangers-on, while a servant hurriedly brought in a small table, two chairs and some uninviting-looking sweetmeats. Finally the Amban came in and we both sat down. Pale green tea tasting strongly of hot water was our tipple; conversation, I regret to say, somewhat flagged, the old Amban being obviously under the influence of opium while my style was cramped by the "gallery" standing close around and following every syllable, every mouthful. I was relieved to be able to escape after twenty minutes or so of this entertainment.

The Amban was in better form when he returned my call the same afternoon, and did his best to make amends for his previous remissness. This encouraged us to invite him, his young son, the Commandant of the Garrison and his adjutant, and the Pir of the Maulais to tea the following afternoon. I found out afterwards that it was a mistake to ask the Pir, as the Chinese seldom sit at table with their subjects. D. spent the whole morning making scones and sweets, and the party was a great success. Conversation flourished, the Amban being quite talkative. He spoke in Chinese to the Adjutant, who translated into Turki to Nadir Beg, who translated into Persian to me and I into English to D. So:—

AMBAN (to Adjutant): How old is the *Tai-tai* (lady)?
ADJUTANT (to Nadir Beg): How old is the *Khanum*?
NADIR BEG (to me): How old is the *Mem-sahiba*?
I (to D.) How old are you?

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•574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 563 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from 522 their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour. I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

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said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy on his head ? " The problem of supplies was not so difficult as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

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Art (13,340 feet) and the Kashka Su (12,900 feet) respectively. They were very much alike; winding ravines among high rocky hills; a glen thickly carpeted with alpine flowers, narrowing and steepening as we ascended it; a last back-breaking ascent, and then the col, a rounded ridge with out-cropping rocks and turf enamelled with tiny blooms. We lingered long on the Kashka Su; we had been travelling over or among mountains for such an age—a golden age—that it was difficult to believe that we were crossing our very last pass. From the summit we looked with interest towards the north, hoping to see the plains of Kashgaria spread out below us, but as far as the eye could reach lay a jumble of green ridges surmounted here and there by a snow-flecked crag and deeply seamed by silver torrents, the music of which floated gently up to us. Behind us to the south and south-east a magnificent array of giant peaks, the little-known mountains of the Upper Yarkand River valley, bounded the horizon with walls of cliff and glacier.

Descending steeply for 1,500 feet over meadows covered with asphodel we found a small tent pitched for us and a way-side tea-drinking prepared by a delightful old Father Christmas of a Beg called Mirza Ahmad Beg of Taumtara, a side-glen to the north-west. We greeted our host in the tent and were at once confronted with a mountainous collation of freshly-killed and exceedingly tough mutton, leather-like bread, a kind of oily and very indigestible pastry and tea with salt in it. Being fortunately left to ourselves with this repast, we were able, ostensibly at any rate, to do our duty as guests by disposing of quite a large quantity of the food; this we effected by the simple process of eating our own sandwiches and putting the Beg's viands in the haversack thus emptied. Meanwhile the Beg's wife and sister, who must have heard of D.'s fame from Yambulak, were round the corner in gorgeous robes and exaggerated Kirghiz head-dresses, awaiting their opportunity. As we emerged from the tent after our deceitful meal, we saw them in all their glory crossing the stream on their ponies, a picturesque sight. A lengthy interview with D. in the tent followed, while I talked to the old Beg outside. When the ladies had at last finished sampling D.'s medicinal stock and wisdom (for that is what they had really come after), we continued on our way. D. said that they had been rather heavy on hand and had no small-talk; they gave her the impression of being *mazlum-kishis* indeed (I may explain that

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been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village " general shops " at home.

Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

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bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined. 574

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very confortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in 622 our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing 574 over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which [353] we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, 487 but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

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251 pits were filled up with a layer three feet thick of branches, matting, straw and leaves, a small hole closed with straw only being left for the gardener to get in and out by.

245 With regard to fruit, nearly everything that is found in a south of England garden grew well in our garden; most of the fruit indeed ripened too quickly so that there was a good deal of waste. We used to get two crops of green figs, but the trees had to be well covered up in winter to protect them from the frost. Grapes also grew wonderfully, the base of the vine-stem being similarly covered up in winter. Strawberries (known locally as "Russian mulberries") grew in profusion, but never became very sweet or large because they ripened too quickly. Apples and pears were poor, for lack of good European varieties, but peaches, nectarines, black mulberries, greengages and damsons were all as good as could be; the greengages, indeed, were almost too sweet. And yet our orchard was not a good one, compared for instance with those of the chief Andijani merchants. Besides all the above, they grew magnificent cherries, quinces and pomegranates, none of which were good in our garden. Among flowers, most annuals did very well, and roses too if the bushes were carefully buried in winter. D. started a most successful rose-garden with several varieties imported from India.

574 I have already mentioned the frequency with which we were entertained by the hospitable Chinese officials. This was particularly the case when Chu Tao Tai, as he was generally called, was Taoyin or Prefect of Kashgaria. From the social point of view, apart from everything else, it was a great blow to us when after a long term of office at Kashgar this universally-respected official was transferred to Yarkand in the autumn of 1922. Beaming all over with humour and good-will, he was one of the best hosts I have ever seen, and we always looked forward to his parties. He got over the language difficulty at the more polyglot meals by the simple method of seating all the guests of one nationality together, so that there was always a subdued hum of conversation, if no more; besides which he himself was always an interesting and interested talker and kept the available interpreters fully occupied. What appealed to us most, however, was his consideration for his foreign guests' likes and dislikes. He had evidently made a special study of European tastes and manners, and as far as possible he tempered the wind of Chinese hospitality to the shorn Western lamb.

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Our first dinner-party at the Taoyin's Yamen was a memorable affair. To begin with, our kind host insisted on sending round for us his landau and pair of spirited Russian bays. In we climbed at the Consulate gate, off went two of our uniformed orderlies and four Chinese troopers in front and next moment we were galloping through our outer gate and down the narrow, uneven lane leading to the Yarbagh Gate at a most alarming rate, hotly pursued by our other orderlies on their horses and more yelling Chinese cavalrymen. Arrived at the city gate I thought we would slacken speed through the crowded streets, but not a bit of it; on we tore, grazing fruit-stalls and missing street-corners by inches, the outriders clearing a lane for us with shouts and yells, until we came to an unimposing mud gateway above which towered a tall mast with a curious kind of crow's nest half-way up it. Above hung the five-coloured flag of the Chinese Republic—yellow for the Chinese themselves, red for the Mongols, black for the Manchus, white for the Mussulmans and blue for the Tibetans. As we alighted and entered the Yamen precincts a primitive fife-and-drum band struck up from a gallery on our left, and we were further startled a moment later by loud shouts of *Pao!* (salute) from our escort, followed by three deafening bangs. A moment later we found ourselves walking past a row of Chinese soldiers in baggy blue uniforms presenting arms with antiquated-looking rifles, and a black-clad Chinese major-domo was bowing before us with our own huge red visiting-cards—sent on ahead for the purpose—clasped in both hands. White-bearded Turki Begs in long cloaks conducted us through an inner gate into a beautiful garden full of every kind of flower and fruit and containing three large ponds covered with pink-blossomed lotus. In the middle was a raised platform with a pagoda roof over it and white-clothed tables spread with fruit and sweets; beyond it, a long single-storied pavilion of painted wood, one end of which with its verandah overhung one of the lotus-ponds like the broad stern of a houseboat. Our genial host and his "Foreign Secretary" met us near the gate with many polite Chinese speeches and hand-shakes both Chinese and English, and led us to the summer-house where we found gathered most of the other guests, including the leading Chinese officials and representatives of the Swedish and Russian communities. It was now three o'clock and we had not lunched, so that we were glad to keep up our strength with tea and fruit at intervals throughout the hour and a half which

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followed, during which we all sat talking in the pavilion or walked about the garden admiring the lotuses. Dinner when it came at last was served in the houseboat-like pavilion, the interior of which consisted of one long, airy dining-room tastefully decorated with flowers in pots and Chinese paintings.

The Taoyin, as I have said, was always merciful to his European friends, and the dinner was much shorter than the average Chinese repast. There were only some twenty-five courses, and these were eaten with the full complement of knives, forks and spoons; not a chop-stick to be seen, though I, for one, as soon as I had learnt the knack of using them, always used chop-sticks on the exotic Chinese food rather than banal Western cutlery. It may be of interest to record the menu, so far as I was able to identify the courses. Hors d'œuvres including, in addition to the usual items, slices of hard-boiled egg which had been buried for some years and had turned quite green, were eaten during as well as before the meal.

MENU

Tea and Dessert
Hors d'œuvres
Syrup dumplings
Shark's fin with shredded chicken
Pigeon's eggs
Pork fritters
Traveller-fish soup
Bamboo-root stewed in syrup
Roast chicken
Mince dumplings
Dried Chuguchak sturgeon
Sea-slug soup
Tinned oranges
Stewed chestnuts
Cold roast pork
Veal fritters
Fish tripe
Cabbage soup
Stewed pears stuffed with rice
Pastry-dumplings
Baked mutton
Roast pigeon
Mutton fat fritters
Seaweed soup
Lotus seeds in syrup
Boiled rice
Tea and dessert

The Taoyin's chef was a master, and many of the above dishes were excellent, both European and Chinese; but I

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262 must confess that the three or four favourite Chinese *plats* leave me cold. Shark's fin consists of a tangle of absolutely tasteless pieces of white elastic, stewed with shreds of chicken; sea-slugs are dark grey gelatinous substances with an unpleasant dead sort of flavour, swimming in a salty gravy; bamboo-root in slices has a nutty flavour and is not so bad, but very indigestible; another delicacy which is, I believe, a kind of seaweed tastes of—well, of seaweed. I can quite believe that all these things have a quite different flavour when fresh, especially the marine products which seem to appeal particularly to the Chinese; the trouble is that in Sinkiang, five months' journey from the coast, they can only be obtained in the dried form, and yet the Chinese like or pretend to like them better than the best-cooked fresh local products. The fact is, I suppose, that the exiled Chinaman has the palate of faith and to him even a dried sea-slug tastes of home.

• 574 What was almost always a trial at Yamen banquets was the drink. Except on great occasions when one or two bottles 273 of a sticky brand of French champagne were produced and administered in small quantities, there was nothing to drink but a peculiarly evil-smelling kind of brandy. One was seldom pressed to eat, for which one was thankful enough, but it was impossible to avoid at least sipping the brandy between every course. A Chinese host talks much more about his cellar than about his cook; to refuse to drink with him 574 means that you do not like his wine, an imputation which causes him much loss of face. Apart from the conventional 524 politenesses, which one soon learns to give and take as a matter of course, there is nothing stilted or ceremonious about Chinese conviviality, even on official occasions. The etiquette seems to be for a guest to behave as if he were in his own home, lolling about on his chair, getting up from table in the middle of dinner and walking about for a few minutes, and so on. When conversation flagged at our own parties it was generally safe to start the Chinese off on a kind of "fingers-out" game which was very popular. In this, two players put out their right hands at the same time, either closed or with one or more fingers outstretched, at the same time shouting a number which they guess will be the total number of fingers out for both hands. Whenever one of the players shouts the correct number, he makes the other drink his health. The fingers go out and the numbers are shouted with amazing rapidity, and when three or four such contests are going on at the same time

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the effect on the gaiety, or at any rate noisiness, of the party and on the circulation of the liquor is remarkable.

The manners and customs of the table-servants were a never-failing source of delight to D. and myself. I have mentioned in a former chapter the staid Chinese butler at Yangi Hissar who clapped his master's bowler on top of his own Homburg and stood solemnly wearing the two hats throughout the tea-party. Often at dinner-parties in the open, when we had left the table and were sitting over tea and dessert in another part of the garden, I noticed the waiters going round the table and pouring back into the bottle any champagne or brandy left by the diners in their glasses. After one of our own dinners on the terrace, I happened to go back suddenly to the table to fetch something and found two attendants who had come with Chinese guests similarly occupied—but it was not into my bottles that they were pouring the remains of the drinks. At a certain ladies' dinner-party at Khotan D. was electrified to observe one of the waiters take away a guests' cup, drink off the cold remains of the tea and, without washing it, fill it up from the tea-pot and hand it back to its owner. After that, she said, she took care to drain her cup to the dregs every time!

Harding and I (D. fortunately was not invited) attended during our first week in Kashgar another meal which was very different from the civilized banquet described above. This was a lunch given by General Ma, Titai (G.O.C.) of Kashgaria, one of the worst scoundrels in Central Asia. This person was a Muhammadan of Yunnan province, aged over seventy yet full of vitality, who had held the chief military command south of the Tien Shan for seven or eight years and had taken advantage of his position to enrich and aggrandize himself by the most brutal and oppressive methods. He made everybody call him *Padshah* (king) on pain of death; he had a whole harem full of the prettiest Turki women in Kashgar, and his armed agents roamed the country-side "looking for new cows to milk," as the Titai facetiously put it. The only person in Kashgaria of whom he was afraid was Chu Tao Tai, and after the latter's transfer his extortions quadrupled. He had a pleasant way of trumping up charges against people whom he did not like, or who refused to pay him the blackmail he demanded, and cutting off their fingers or toes, joint by joint, in an immense hay-chopper he had constructed specially for the purpose. In fact, he emulated the exploits of the worst robber-Tuchuns of China Proper, the only difference being

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661 that his army was mostly on paper and he had no real strength behind him.

574 Ma Titai's headquarters were at the New or Chinese city, six miles east of Old Kashgar, and here he kept up great state. Harding and I looked forward with much interest to seeing this ogre; nor were we disappointed, for there was something distinctly ogre-ish about our experiences. Half an hour's ride from the Consulate brought us within sight of the long massive walls of the Titai's citadel. Here we were met by a troop of well-mounted but untidy and apparently only quarter-disciplined Chinese cavalry, who escorted us in a thick cloud of dust through dirty, tumbledown bazaars thronged by a sinister-looking half-breed populace to a huge mud-brick gateway of the *lasciate ogni speranza* type. Here the smell which rose from the dry moat below nearly knocked us off our horses. Within, more gateways, skew-eyed like the first to keep out the devils (in China the devils can only fly straight, so a gateway with a kink in it defeats them) followed by a long street of shops rather more prosperous-looking than those outside. Here and there we had peeps up side-lanes of fantastically-shaped temples and other buildings, some half-ruined, others grotesquely painted and surmounted by symbolical wooden figures of birds and beasts.

344 At last we came to the Titai's *yamen* or palace and found ourselves in a vast square with a pagoda-roofed gateway in front of us and enormous figures of dragons on either side. Troops of soldiers dashed about presenting arms as they ran and fell hurriedly into line with much shouting of words of command, while the salute-guns banged their welcome and horses shied in all directions. Passing through huge painted doors we were welcomed in an inner courtyard by a short, grizzled, monkey-like old man with a long wispy moustache and fierce eyes, resplendently arrayed in a saxe-blue Chinese Field Marshal's uniform several sizes too large for him, complete with plumed hat, several rows of stars and medals and gold lace epaulettes the size of hassocks flapping from his shoulders. With the gold-encrusted tunic hanging about his wispy old frame like a frock-coat on a scarecrow, and the overalls, as usual in the Sinkiang Army, innocent of braces, he looked a regular Chinese Count Hedzoff of Paphlagonia; but there was a sinister feel behind the *opera-bouffe*—or was it only because we knew about the murders and torturings which went on somewhere behind the grim walls of his citadel?

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Behind him we were relieved to see Chu Tao Tai and other official friends from the Old City; the Tao Tai whispered to us that he had made a point of being present as he was the only person who could keep the Titai in some sort of order.

The meal when it came was a remarkable experience. We sat down to a table which had evidently been arranged for the old man by Chu Tao Tai, for the seating and appointments were very much the same as at the latter's Yamen; but there the resemblance ended. The first thing our host did was to take off his uniform in front of us all and sit down in a suit of pale blue silk pyjamas, remarking as he did so that it was very hot and he could stand the uniform no longer. He then seized his chop-sticks and began piling our plates with messes from a mountain of mixed garbage in the middle of the table. Then he shouted to the crowd of minions behind his chair to bring his wine, with which he proceeded to fill our glasses, telling me through Fitzmaurice that it was the best wine in China and contained seventy-one different ingredients, including pounded cuttle-fish bones and essence of tiger's claw. From the smell I could quite believe it, while as for the taste, it nearly took the roof off my mouth; it was not wine at all but exceedingly potent brandy. I heard afterwards that the Titai's brew with its seventy-one dopes was famous throughout Central Asia; it was believed that he owed his extraordinary health and strength (in spite of his age, he was drunk every day of his life) to the magic properties of some of the ingredients. Shark's fin and the other usual delicacies followed, and then came the *pièce de résistance*; the middle of the table was cleared and a huge dish with a sheep roasted whole on it was brought in. Scarcely had it touched the table before the Titai fell on it with a large knife and began hacking at it, tearing off with his left hand chunks of meat and of skin with fat adhering to it and giving them to us. This I gathered was a great honour, and I did my best to eat some of the freshly-killed and therefore very tough meat, but without much success. However, as the Titai very soon became too drunk to notice much, my unworthy appetite escaped comment. The occasional remarks fired at me by our host and translated by Harding or Fitzmaurice were generally to the effect that he, the Titai, had the greatest respect for the King of England, about whose name he seemed to be rather hazy, and that he had been a personal friend of my predecessor and proposed to be mine too; also that he was

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•574 on the best of terms with the President of the Chinese Republic, with whom he corresponded regularly, and who had recently asked him, as a favour, to take over the governorship of the Province. It was not easy to concoct suitable replies to these statements, and we were all thankful when, the barbaric meal over, Chu Tao Tai nodded to me and we were able to take our leave.

A week later I gave a return feast—a bachelor affair, for obvious reasons—for the Titai at the Consulate. It went off well enough in spite of our fears lest the old man should do something quite impossible; in fact, it was as good as a play. The Tao Tai arrived first, and what with the three-gun salute he received and the grand carriage and pair in which he dashed up to the door and the crowd of bottle-washers which accompanied him, there was noise and bustle enough at his arrival; but it was a quiet and peaceful affair compared with that of the Titai. Not only did the latter receive six guns, not only did he bring with him about a hundred soldiers and orderlies and hangers-on of all kinds, all armed to the teeth, not only did he arrive in an enormous troika at full gallop through the narrow streets, but he was preceded by an entire brass band, which dashed into the Consulate inner courtyard at the double, fell into line with lightning rapidity and struck up an ear-splitting Chinese version of "See the Conquering Hero comes!"

The old man was again wearing his Field Marshal's uniform and the first thing he said to me was, "I want you to take my photograph, to send to the President of the Republic!" Accordingly I had to take him out on to the terrace and pose him against the sundial while I took three portraits, being careful to arrange the lighting so that his face should not be under-exposed and so come out dark in the picture. No sooner had we finished the photographing than he borrowed a measuring-tape from me and set two of his men to work measuring the outer walls of the Consulate. It appeared that his enormous country-house about 16 miles from Kashgar had been burnt down the year before, and he wanted to rebuild it on the lines of the British Consulate General! Throughout lunch his men continued to measure the walls of the dining-room, hall and other rooms.

Before the meal I took the Titai to a private room to change his clothes—I did not want a recurrence of what had happened at his own party. During the meal, following his usual

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574.

custom, the old General was served by his own men with his own arrack and would touch none of my drinks. I would not have minded if it had not been that he kept filling my glass and expecting me to drink his health in the horrible stuff: I had suffered it at his house, but did not see why I should not drink what I liked in my own. He himself had been at it ever since about 8 a.m., Chu Tao Tai whispered to me behind his hand, and I could see for myself that he was about half-seas-over; we were all relieved as well as surprised when suddenly, just before the ices, he nodded to his confidential servant and a second later whistles blew outside, everybody started running, the band struck up, the Titai got up unsteadily from the table, made hurried apologies and departed! He was gone before any of us knew where we were.

The leading households among the Swedish missionaries and the Russian colony, each after the manner of their respective nations, were kindness and hospitality personified, and often did we sally forth in the gathering dusk to take part in polyglot but pleasant gatherings round boards groaning with the products of Scandinavian or Muscovite cuisine. At first we drove to these parties in the tarantass, but after an adventure we had in that ancient vehicle our first winter, after a dinner at the Swedish Mission, we took to riding. D. generally rode her camel Sulaiman and I one of the horses, well wrapped up in furs and sheepskins and our feet encased in high "Gilgit boots" of leather thickly padded with felt. The adventure to which I refer is described in the words of a letter I wrote home shortly afterwards.

7th February, 1923.

"D. and I had a somewhat alarming experience the other night. Of the two Yarkandi horses we bought for the tarantass before our autumn tour we sold the smaller one soon after our return, but kept the other, a chestnut, as it is an exceptionally strong and willing beast. We didn't realize quite how willing it could be until last Friday when we started back from the Swedish Mission after dinner. The horse was always inclined to fidget at the start, but on tour he had long marches to do and gave little trouble. A month of good feeding and very little work, however, makes a lot of diference and on this occasion the nipping and eager air of a February night was too much for him. For some reason best known to themselves Turki drivers, including our coachman Abdulla Akhun, always start their horses from the ground and jump on to the box when the carriage is moving. We had hardly climbed into the tarantass and were waving farewells to our hosts, when we felt the ramshackle old conveyance bound forward under us; Abdulla at the horse's head hung on like a bull-

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343 a cosier and more private apartment; she has but one lattice window, but that looks down on to the roof of a carpenter's house, on which the women sit spinning and sewing in the sun all day long; cocks and hens peck about amid heaps of shavings, and children clad in long boots, greatcoat and nothing else peep over the edge into the street, tumble down the ladder into the shop and otherwise enjoy themselves without anyone minding. Children are cheap in this fat, easy-going land.

Khotan, 27th November, 1922.

574 We have just returned (8 p.m.) from an interesting but arctic dinner-party at the Yamen. Our hosts, the Amban and Commandant, had arranged a theatrical performance for the occasion, a great honour. D. and I were met within the Yamen by two parallel processions headed by our hosts and their wives respectively; I was led with much ceremony to one dinner-table and D. to another separated from the men by a low partition. The travelling company's stage was set in the open courtyard opposite us.

353 The prevailing note of the decorations was red; the walls of the Yamen building behind were covered with fine scarlet embroidery and scrolls of the same colour inscribed with Chinese characters in gold; under-foot were red Khotan carpets, while from the roof of the portico and the branches of the trees in the courtyard hung scores of red Chinese lanterns. Most of the latter were of paper, but several of them were of the beautiful and fantastic hexagonal pattern with panels of embroidered silk and long coloured tassels. Major Ma told me that most of the embroidery had been done by Turki women in Khotan, but he hastened to add that the Khotanis had learnt embroidery from the Chinese.

574 The dinner lasted some four hours, and the theatrical performance went on all the time.[1] After sunset the temperature sank to several degrees below freezing-point, and I nearly froze to death. The Chinese never mind how cold it is, for their winter clothes and boots, lined with fur throughout, are as admirably designed to withstand cold as their summer costume is to keep its wearers cool. D. says she was better off, thanks to large braziers which were kept under the table well stoked with wood-embers. She was charmed with the little Chinese [291] ladies, who wore the regulation black satin tunic and trousers and their hair scraped back and twisted into small buns lavishly decorated with ornaments of jade and precious stones. By far the loveliest of her hostesses, however, was a Turki girl from the Titai's household at Kashgar, who was married to one of the military officers. She had, according to D.—I missed this vision—a perfect profile and small oval face, a complexion like a wild rose and large limpid dark eyes; her voice, like those of the beauties of Kashgar, had a kind of uneven tone with long, full, liquid notes.

The ex-Amban's mother, with whom D. exchanged calls yesterday, was not at the dinner. She, according to D., might have stepped straight out of a fairy-story. She looks about a hundred and fifty, wears a black silk handkerchief tied round her head like a pirate, and owns an enormous woolly black cat which adores her and sits all the time licking her hands and face.

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[1] For a description of a Chinese theatrical performance, see pp. 245–7.

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487 We did not halt at Saman, as there was one obstacle still to be negotiated before our entrance to the Promised Land was assured. This was a corner of rock which juts out into the stream at the rapids below Khan Terek. At this point the track passes round the rock and is under water even in winter, and I knew that the only chance of getting round it at this season would be at low water in the evening. We came to the place at half-past four, when I found to my relief that there were only about three feet of water off the end of the rock and that the current was not strong, though few feet farther out the cataract roared past like a gigantic mill-race. The loads splashed through without mishap, and half an hour later in the little orchard of Qurghan we were being warmly welcomed by a dozen beaming Kirghiz men and girls.

•574 The only permanent inhabitant of Khan Terek was a little old woman who lived alone in a tiny shanty. Each of the previous occasions on which we had passed her hut she had bustled out with a large copper jug and a wooden bowl to give us tea. She saw us coming this time and hobbled over to our camp where, for once, she had tea with us. Afterwards D. returned her call; she found the old lady living in a room about five feet square off a yard about twice that area, in which she kept one aged cock. Her husband had long been dead, she told D., and her children scattered, but one son occasionally came and cultivated a couple of fields near by, while she stayed in the hut all the year round and made tea for passing Kirghiz.

The humble hospitality of even the poorest of the Kirghiz in these parts warmed our hearts to them. Next day three miles up the Chopkana valley we were overtaken by heavy rain and took refuge in an *aq-oi*. A pretty girl and her one-eyed old father insisted on making up a blazing fire for us and a bowl of tea, chatting politely to us the while. On an exposed meadow at the very top of the pass, 11,500 feet above the sea, we found a solitary *aq-oi* with a girl in it whose husband was away on the hill-side tending the flocks. She had weather-beaten red cheeks and a flat nose, but she was charming and joined us in the tea-basket tea with which we warmed ourselves while waiting for the caravan to struggle up the last 262 steep ascent. Meanwhile, in a large pot on the central fire of fir-logs, she brewed *mach*, a kind of soup of milk, barley-meal and water with a little meat in it, and when our men arrived at the top she ran out and administered it to them IN WOODEN BOWLS.

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574 in wooden bowls. Just before we began the descent another lady in an immense and complicated turban arrived panting after us from an encampment far down among the fir-woods on the north side; she brought with her seven hard-boiled eggs and a paving-stone of bread which she insisted on presenting to us. We found afterwards that she was the only person in either the Kaying or the Chopkana valley who kept one or two hens. The Kirghiz are not poultry-keepers, as we knew, and on this visit to Kaying we took a coop of hens up with us for the table. One of these distinguished itself by laying an egg every morning in or near the bathroom of D.'s tent, so it was spared from the pot and presented on our departure to the lady of the hard-boiled eggs.

500 Arrived at Kaying Bashi, we pitched our tents in a spot which we had marked down the previous October as an ideal site for a summer camp, at the edge of the fir-forest two miles above the *aq-ois* in which we had then stayed. Here was a meadow of rich grass by the side of the glacier-stream, 10,400 feet above the sea, sheltered from below by a ridge covered with juniper and barberry and from above by a long tongue of tall firs stretching down from the main forest, with one grand tree, tallest of them all, standing out proudly at its tip. We were all merry as sand-boys when we had settled into camp that evening; D. and I because a dream had come true and we had gained our Happy Valley in spite of all obstacles; the servants because an enormous *aq-oi* was produced by the Kirghiz from the encampment a mile further up the valley, so that they had a palatial kitchen and servants' hall in which to gossip round the fire, in addition to the tents we had brought for them; Zakir Haji the carrier because of the luxuriant grass which carpeted the whole valley-bottom, on which his ponies were to graze free of charge for an indefinite period.

In this secluded Paradise of forest and river, of towering crag and pale-green hanging glacier, of woodland glade and lush meadow, of natural rock-gardens filled with a hundred different kinds of alpine flower, we spent a never-to-be-forgotten three weeks' holiday. It was extraordinary to think that a little Switzerland like this should have existed unsuspected among the very mountains through which, by several different routes, sportsmen and officials and explorers had travelled to and from Kashgar since the seventies. At first the weather was unsettled and rain fell most afternoons and sometimes all night. But we were snug enough in our

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585 spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches
[301] of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings.
Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each
[302] plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink
[299] and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

585 "Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some
• 574 relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her
[576] reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

changed their beautiful but hot satin dresses for simpler affairs of thin silk and muslin, hurried about refilling the bowls, breaking up the bread into suitable-sized pieces and looking after everybody, while two maids did their best to keep us all cool by flapping a large table-cloth in the middle of the room. When the last of the Wedding Dish had been finished, the *dastarkhwans* were taken out to be shaken and we all had our hands washed Mussulman fashion; copper jugs and basins were brought in, and as each of us in turn held out our sticky hands the ladies of the house poured water over them into the basins. Huge piles of round flat loaves of bread about eighteen inches across then appeared and were placed at intervals opposite the guests. Next came large flat dishes of a savoury stew of mutton and vegetables, which was rapidly spooned up by the ladies with corners of bread. Titbits and succulent little bones with meat on them were handed through the window by fond mammas to their clamouring children. When this course was finished there were still a good many of the flat loaves remaining and these were distributed among the guests. One was rather tentatively offered to me; I accepted it joyfully, which was considered a great joke. Fruit, sweets and tea followed, and when everything had been cleared away and another hand-washing had taken place, the musicians struck up again.

"The women danced and I found myself in conversation with a plump elderly dame, the mother of a leading ice-merchant, who was giving Aisha Khan and myself a graphic description of the illness and last moments of her first husband; I did not notice therefore that most of the older ladies had left the room, and it was only when Aisha Khan whispered 'They've gone to fetch the bride,' that I awoke to the fact that satin dresses and velvet jackets had been resumed and every one was looking expectantly towards the door. A few minutes later, surrounded by elderly relatives and friends, the bride appeared. I gasped, for there in the afternoon sunlight which streamed through the windows stood a tall slim figure clad in glittering gold from head to foot. A long coat of gold brocade hid her satin dress, a veil of golden gauze fell round her face and down her back, great sprays of gold flower ornaments quivered in her cap and long earrings of gold and pearls and a heavy chain and pendant of the same metal completed her adornment. She might have been a bride for Tamerlane or some such great Emperor of the olden days! A thin white silk veil was thrown over her face and head, and she was led up to the chair beside mine with great ceremony and made to sit down. Poor thing, she was so nervous that her breath came in gasps and her hands when I touched them were icy cold. All the guests drew back, then a little girl of about four was pushed forward and running up to the bride snatched away the white veil. This was the signal for a regular outburst, all the guests screaming and laughing and chattering at the same time, and then falling on the bride and kissing her. When this, evidently the most important part of the ceremony, was over I thought it was about time to go, as it was nearly four o'clock.

"What strikes me most about these women is their manners, which are as pretty as their clothes. When the hostess gives tea or anything else to one of her guests, the latter rises and bows saying '*Ashkalla*' (thank you). On arrival and departure they make delicious little polite speeches to each other—much more picturesque than our mean-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 and went all over the mountains. He seemed a good type of youth, sturdy, cheerful and independent.

133 The Yai Dōbe plain, on which we now debouched, is a small but perfect example of the inland drainage basins characteristic of Central Asia. Situated at an average elevation of 5,000 feet, it is some 60 miles long by 15-20 broad and is enclosed on the north by one of the parallel ranges of the Tien Shan with peaks up to 13,000 feet, on the south and east by foothills rising to 8,000 feet. It has no outlet, but boasts its own miniature Lop Nor in the shape of a salt lake near its south-eastern corner. Like the *hāmūns* of Persian Baluchistan and Sistan, this lake varies in size according to the rainfall in the mountains, from practically nothing to a sheet of water 40 or 50 square miles in area. The rest of the Yai Dōbe plian is partly barren, partly covered with tamarisks and a sparse forest of desert poplar. Some of these trees attain a great age and size; they are not in the least like poplars, resembling rather the British oak. Here and there in the forest are springs of fresh or slightly brackish water, each with farmsteads or Kirghiz tents in the vicinity. In the spring and autumn the woodland is delightful, but in summer the mosquitos and gadflies for which both it and the Maralbashi jungles to the south are notorious make it uninhabitable by man or beast.

487 For fifty miles we marched across this curious plain. On September 5 we passed out of the desert-poplar forest and camped the same evening at the springs of Yairam Bulak. Here two families of Kirghiz had pitched their *aq-ois* near a couple of tiny crofts shaded by willows, landmarks 574 for miles in the great sweep of bare plain. We liked the Kirghiz of these hills and got on well with them, but we could not help noticing that they were less hospitable than their cousins of our beloved "Alps of Qungur." They never asked us into their *aq-ois*, nor did they seem to regard us guests as the others (often quite embarassingly) did. It struck me that there might be two reasons for this. In the first place, living on the Russian border, they are at once less secure and more sophisticated. In the second, a trade route much used by Turki merchants passes through their territory; these men, I was told, were in the habit of taking supplies whenever they 609 could and not paying for them. But the Tien Shan Kirghiz 487 could be friendly enough when once their confidence had been gained. The ladies of Yairam Bulak crowded round D., whose

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a

563 771 775 [782] [825] haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The
[785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each
[574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all
[762] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two
[184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a
[782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who,
[775] they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus-
[735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were 463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in 366 the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

Where a stream is not accessible, the water is poured from the purification pot. Many were the prostrations and different attitudes taken by the worshipper as he lifted his hands to the back of his ears, then bowed, rose, and bowed again towards Mecca. In the evening the children were all gathered together for the reading of the Koran and the study of Arabic, and, incidentally, to learn how superior were the followers of the Prophet to the rest of mankind. 779

Our first caller was a Military Official who had become a Christian during his stay at Urumchi. His visit was followed by the arrival of servants carrying trays of the best food the restaurants of Kucheng could produce. Piled up on brazen plates was the Turki national dish of 'pillau.' It was composed of rice steamed and fried, and flavoured with chopped mutton, carrots and onions, sultanas and spices, and laid on the top were joints of roast fowl. This was accompanied by large, thin, flat cakes of bread and plates of fruit, while more servants followed with fodder and grain for our mules. Later on this gentleman's mother called and asked us to her house, where she most kindly entertained us. The food supply of Kucheng was so good that during the length of our stay we were able to luxuriate in milk, fruit, fresh bread, and good mutton. 262 574

Our next visitors were the band of Shansi men with whom we had become so friendly *en route*. It was difficult to recognise in the well-dressed gentleman who sent in his card the pedestrian traveller who had carried his own bundle and water can. They were most eager to know if Kucheng reached the expectations formed from their descriptions of its glories. Here, as elsewhere, we found no difficulty of access to the homes of both Chinese and Turki, and we never went out without receiving cordial invitations to visit well-off families in their comfortable houses.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

563 be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-
291 fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing
563 response from her, and he drew up as she now moved
372 toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is
354 the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came
167 running to see us. Accepting her invitation we
[574] entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan
[733] man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

494 While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Pashraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

N 771 182 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

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S 771 795 [575] Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177 A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

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The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
795

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 [301] [302] [299] spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings. Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

585 574 [576] "Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

changed their beautiful but hot satin dresses for simpler affairs of thin silk and muslin, hurried about refilling the bowls, breaking up the bread into suitable-sized pieces and looking after everybody, while two maids did their best to keep us all cool by flapping a large table-cloth in the middle of the room. When the last of the Wedding Dish had been finished, the *dastarkhwans* were taken out to be shaken and we all had our hands washed Mussulman fashion; copper jugs and basins were brought in, and as each of us in turn held out our sticky hands the ladies of the house poured water over them into the basins. Huge piles of round flat loaves of bread about eighteen inches across then appeared and were placed at intervals opposite the guests. Next came large flat dishes of a savoury stew of mutton and vegetables, which was rapidly spooned up by the ladies with corners of bread. Titbits and succulent little bones with meat on them were handed through the window by fond mammas to their clamouring children. When this course was finished there were still a good many of the flat loaves remaining and these were distributed among the guests. One was rather tentatively offered to me; I accepted it joyfully, which was considered a great joke. Fruit, sweets and tea followed, and when everything had been cleared away and another hand-washing had taken place, the musicians struck up again.

"The women danced and I found myself in conversation with a plump elderly dame, the mother of a leading ice-merchant, who was giving Aisha Khan and myself a graphic description of the illness and last moments of her first husband; I did not notice therefore that most of the older ladies had left the room, and it was only when Aisha Khan whispered 'They've gone to fetch the bride,' that I awoke to the fact that satin dresses and velvet jackets had been resumed and every one was looking expectantly towards the door. A few minutes later, surrounded by elderly relatives and friends, the bride appeared. I gasped, for there in the afternoon sunlight which streamed through the windows stood a tall slim figure clad in glittering gold from head to foot. A long coat of gold brocade hid her satin dress, a veil of golden gauze fell round her face and down her back, great sprays of gold flower ornaments quivered in her cap and long earrings of gold and pearls and a heavy chain and pendant of the same metal completed her adornment. She might have been a bride for Tamerlane or some such great Emperor of the olden days! A thin white silk veil was thrown over her face and head, and she was led up to the chair beside mine with great ceremony and made to sit down. Poor thing, she was so nervous that her breath came in gasps and her hands when I touched them were icy cold. All the guests drew back, then a little girl of about four was pushed forward and running up to the bride snatched away the white veil. This was the signal for a regular outburst, all the guests screaming and laughing and chattering at the same time, and then falling on the bride and kissing her. When this, evidently the most important part of the ceremony, was over I thought it was about time to go, as it was nearly four o'clock.

"What strikes me most about these women is their manners, which are as pretty as their clothes. When the hostess gives tea or anything else to one of her guests, the latter rises and bows saying '*Ashkalla*' (thank you). On arrival and departure they make delicious little polite speeches to each other—much more picturesque than our mean-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces
and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming.
576 Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style,
with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have
broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily
to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these
child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved.
For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all
he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not
necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect
that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas
(4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms,
if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the
divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent;
all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her,
when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can
marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total
number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and
can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving
of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance
of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases
it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives
her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she
pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not
be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man
to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought
with her to his house.

Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this
586 curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-
595 married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard
on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and
establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each un-
aware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand
(whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar
one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town.
All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife
not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she pro-
posed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to
D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully
permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this
is illegal.

S N 563 291 S N [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 779 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 771 775 [782] [825]

563 372 [799] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese 291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei 482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we 352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese, 576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

S N 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

S N 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

S N [668]

S N VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

S N 563 153 577

S N 563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N (798)

S
563 /The New Uighurs/

517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S
563 7. Guardians of national customs

624 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are
554 Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The
577 people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S
563 1. The people

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173 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S
563 The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They

K
526 are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to
[131] their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all
[241] kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S
563 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomad-
K ic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite
771 times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.
782 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S
563 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer

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221 they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S
563 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols,

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342 except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S
N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and
S geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
[671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was
S usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all promised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese traveller's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a rushing stream. The village was much larger than those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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484 once in five years. An unwritten law exacts that the journey south be taken in a cart with every appearance
577 of affluence, lest fellow-townsmen should scoff and say: 'They went to "Kow Wai" to make a fortune, and have come back penniless vagrants!' A subtle appreciation of the ethics of filial piety has made it customary for the whole party when leaving home again to do so on foot, the suggestion being that every available dollar has been left with aged parents, and that the son starts out again a poor man to seek his fortune. The band was composed of eighteen youths, and one boy of fifteen who was nephew to the manager of the firm and had been entrusted by his uncle to the care of the older men. They had one donkey which carried a few bundles, and on which the lad was able to get a lift. Each one carried across his shoulder a flexible pole with a basket slung to either end, in one of which was his wadded quilt and a change of clothes, in the other a sack of flour and his bowl and chopsticks, while from the pole was also attached a little water can to carry a drink for the way. These men had tramped for over seventy days by track roads from central Shansi to the Yellow River, and from thence by the 'long grass route' to Ansi. This shortcut brought them across the north of Shensi and direct to the North-West territory, avoiding Lanchow. For several days we met them at each stage, and on the strength of being fellow-provincials we became exceedingly friendly. They told us that each man was allowed eighteen dollars (about £2) for road expenses, and by travelling very quickly and economically they were just able to do it for that amount.

486 'How did you get through Hsinghsinghsia?' we asked. 'We had return passports from the Governor when we left Kucheng last year,' they said, 'so they did n

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*175 tance. The grazing grounds of the western slopes of the Altai were used not by Khalkha tribesmen of the main group of tribes in Outer Mongolia, but by Torguts and Ölöts of the Western Mongol groups of tribes, whose pastures were partly in northwestern Outer Mongolia and partly in Sinkiang.

*175 578 In the same region there were Kazakhs, whom the Imperial authorities had considered as "tenants" of the Mongols, paying the Mongols for the pastures that they used and having no claim to territory of their own. Some of these Kazakhs made use of summer pasture in the Baitik Bogda. The Baitik Bogda were also partly occupied by Mongols, who practiced a certain amount of agriculture in addition to owning livestock. In the winter it was the custom of the Kazakhs to leave most of their horses in the Baitik Bogda, horses being able to paw down through the snow to get winter feed, but to bring their sheep, cattle, and camels down into the Jungarian Desert, where they were clearly within the jurisdiction of Sinkiang. There was a tendency on the part of the Kazakhs to move clear across the desert and up to the lower slopes of the Bogda Ula near Kuchengtze; but the policy of the Sinkiang authorities was to drive them back toward the Baitik Bogda and to keep them out of the jurisdiction of Sinkiang, because they were regarded as cattle thieves and troublemakers. In practice, therefore, the attitude of the Sinkiang authorities was that the Baitik Bogda lay outside of Sinkiang.

*175 578 648 By 1948, however, the attitude of the Sinkiang provincial authorities and of the Chinese military command had changed. The Kazakh leader Osman Bator, who has already been mentioned, had at first joined the Kulja coalition, had later broken with it, and had withdrawn to the foothills of the Bogda Ula. The policy of the Chinese authorities was to encourage him to move northward from this region and to occupy the Baitik Bogda, which were accordingly claimed as Chinese territory.

*175 648 These attempts on the part of the Chinese-supported Kazakhs were resisted by Outer Mongolian frontier patrols, and the frontier incidents which resulted were sensationally reported. No

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Kazak

acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes 563*
and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over win- 221
ter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between 361
clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters [578]
are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Ka- 563*
zakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pas- 178
toral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but 471
conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been in- [316]
troduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic 563*
family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner 197
Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet 212
Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

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Chinese

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
●578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

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Chinese

religionists of other nationalities. During the great uprising of the third quarter of the last century the Moslem Chinese sided for a time with their Uighur and Kirghiz coreligionists against the Chinese-Manchu regime, subsequently came to blows with their Uighur comrades in arms, and with the collapse of the revolt were virtually exterminated by the Imperial forces. The revolts of the early 1930's displayed the same feature of initial alliance, followed by final break, between Moslems of Uighur and Chinese origin. 563* 578 ● 186

If these examples indicate the instability of the religious tie between the Chinese Moslems and others of the same religion in Sinkiang, the harmonious relations which developed later in the 1930's between the Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese demonstrates that under certain conditions the two groups are able to relegate the differences between them to a subordinate importance. It appears then that the Chinese population in Sinkiang is confronted by two possible lines of development. One is to focus around the religious issue all other differences of interest until the process of cleavage results in the formation of two definitely separate nationalities. The other is to subordinate their differences, to the point where religion is no more a barrier to common nationality than it is among Americans, English, and other peoples.

In the past, the precipitant of hostility between Chinese Moslems and non-Moslems within Sinkiang has often been the arrival of reinforcements from outside the province. In every period of insurrection, when war bands of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, Ninghsia, or Ch'inghai (Kokonor) have invaded Sinkiang, the Chinese Moslems of Sinkiang have risen to join them. They considered each other not only coreligionists but kinsmen. Together they not only fought non-Moslem Chinese, but massacred whole communities. When, on the other hand, the non-Moslem Chinese received reinforcements, they were equally savage in their repression of the Dungans. The record in bloodiness was set by the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang. When they took Uighur towns, surrender was usually accepted without massacre because the 563* 578 669

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Chinese

*563 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they de-
●578 feated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and
669 children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforce-
701 ments sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops
668 of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

*563 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with rela-
701 tively good training and American equipment, and with the
648 Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

423 241 applies water to land has the right to both water and land; but by a legal reasoning which is not difficult to follow, the ancient prescriptive communal right of the man whose labor helps to bring the water to the field can be superseded by the claim of the man who organized the labor and directed the enterprise.

578 423 241 Thus in 1940, in the large oasis of Aksu, the Chinese district magistrate ordered the digging of a canal to open a new settlement at Sachintze, about forty miles south of the district city. Each head of a household applying for land in the new settlement was allotted a section of about one hundred feet on the bank of the main canal. He was then entitled to as much land reaching back from this canal frontage as he could clear and as much water as he needed to irrigate it. Land and water rights were thus combined, and were in proportion to the amount of labor at the disposal of the setder. It is not surprising to find both that quarrels over water rights are chronic, and that those who are powerful and successful within the community in other ways are usually successful also in maintaining and increasing their water rights.

566 312 423 More than a hundred years ago, at a time when the Chinese or Manchu imperial authority in Sinkiang was exercised only in questions of high policy and rarely interfered with questions of local custom, a Chinese writer recorded the abuses of the Begs or local notables, and the efforts made by the Chinese administration to "persuade" them to concede some of their water rights to poor peasants. In the eighteenth century, a Manchu writer noted that Begs or landed gentry had rights over households of *chakar* or serfs who were obliged to till their land for them.[13] By their claim on the labor of these serfs, the Begs under the doctrine of *mavat* also claimed the right to water from canals dug by the serfs.[14] *Chakar* serfdom still survives here and there. Field investigation revealed a landlord in Kucha with over two hundred

[13] Sung Yin, *A Sketch of Sinkiang*, written in the eighteenth century, published in 1821; Ch. 3, p. 28 (in Chinese).

[14] E. Zalkhina, *Outlines of the Agrarian Problem in Central Asia*, p. 9 (in Russian).

566
households of *chakars,* from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691
authority of an official called the *mirab,* who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
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175 779 whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love." [16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

175 779 661 Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of organizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts." [17]

175 578 It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

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Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. It was the breaking of the Jungar power that rounded out the Manchu Empire by giving the Manchus control over Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. 175 578

There were two distinct phases of this conquest. In the north, the power of the Jungars was broken by terrible massacres. It is said that half of the population was killed, 20 per cent died of disease, another 20 per cent fled into the steppes of Southern Siberia, and only 10 per cent survived, scattered through the land. Such figures, deriving from the eighteenth century, do not represent statistical accuracy, but they do indicate with rough accuracy the scale of devastation.[18]

In the south, there were massacres in some of the smaller oases and deportations from some of the larger oases in order to deplete their military man power. From the Kashgar region some 12,000 people were deported to the Ili Valley and settled on state lands. It is from these deportees that the Taranchis (literally "cultivators") of the Ili region are descended.[19] Militarily and administratively, however, the problem of the Tarim Basin was easier to handle than that of Jungaria; the Manchus established garrisons, and then imposed an imperial superstructure on top of the existing social order.

In Jungaria, the terrible massacres made it necessary to bring in a new population, under state supervision. The population became highly diversified, and ever since that time the administration of Jungaria has involved problems of the conflicting interests of different peoples. In order to replace some of the Mongol population, some of the tribes akin to the Jungars who had been at war with the Jungar federation and had fled to Russia were invited back; those who did not return but remained in the region 175 168 578

[18] Fan Wen-lan and others, *A Short General History of China*, Shanghai, 1947, pp. 663–664. See also Wei Yuan, *The Sacred Military Records* (an account of the Manchu imperial campaigns), first published in 1842; also Chun Yuan, *General Records of the Western Regions*, a work written in 1776 but first published in Tientsin in 1818, Ch. 3, p. 26; another edition of this work is *Informal Records of the Barbarian Regions* (all in Chinese).

[19] See Ch. IV.

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175 of the lower Volga are the Mongols whom the Russians call Kal-
●578 muks. The princes of the returning Mongol tribes were treated
168 as favored vassals of the Manchu Emperor.

In addition, settlements were established wherever cultivation was profitable. The settlers included the Taranchis, deported from the Tarim Basin; Manchu troops settled as military colonists; and a certain number of Chinese and Chinese Moslems. Under this colonization policy the land under cultivation in Ili and Jungaria increased from an estimated 240,000 *mu* (approximately 40,000 acres) at the end of the eighteenth century[20] to an estimated 700,000 *mu* (approximately 116,666 acres) at the end of the nineteenth century.[21]

175 In Sinkiang, as in China itself a century earlier, where the Manchus had come to power at the end of a period of terrible devastation, early Manchu policy endeavored to bring land back under cultivation by a policy of lenient taxation. Thus in Turfan and Komul Uighurs bringing land back under cultivation were allowed about five acres to a household, with seeds, implements, and working animals furnished by the state. For the first four years, after deducting seed grain from the harvest, 60 per cent of the remaining grain was to be kept by the cultivator and 40 per cent paid to the state. From the fifth year, a somewhat higher land revenue was to be assessed.[22]

In Ili and Jungaria the Manchu settlers, being regarded as unquestionably loyal to the Manchu dynasty, were granted land at the rate of roughly three acres for each man (presumably each man of military age), with seeds, implements, and work animals. Some especially favored Manchus received six acres. Chinese criminal exiles, in contrast, received only two acres. The Manchu land could be considered as held on feudal tenure, inasmuch as all Manchus, Solons, and Sibos were subject to call for military

[20] *Sacred Military Records*, as cited, Ch. 4, figure for 1795.

[21] Wang Shu-nan and others, *Hsinchiang T'u Chih*, or Sinkiang *Gazetteer*, compiled in 1911, published at Tientsin in 1923, Ch. 30, pp. 2–3 (figure for the period 1900).

[22] *Hsinchiang T'u Chih* as cited, Ch. 28, p. 11.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 rebellion.
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The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his
[648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again
159 in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul
635 (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides.
669 In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

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N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

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668 other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate."
642 Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and
421 interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks'
C payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of
[651] paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article
[461] 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread.
668 The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution
423 of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of
422 draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported:
[668] "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply
[421] felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army
[651] and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a
S "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the
668 Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the win-
423 ter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017
N hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000
*668 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft
423 animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'uh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the
668 Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955:
423 "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist
[578] party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

S 668 423 474 (1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 472 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during

N *668 666 the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[793] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[346] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[795] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter--revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

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668 make use of reactionary elements of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-
669 Islamism to establish anti-Communist and anti-Soviet bases of
578 operation." (JMJP October 1, 1950).
175 The extent of opposition to Communist rule may be seen in
N the news dispatches issued by the Communist authorities on the
#175 results of their relentless crack-down of the counter-revolution-
#668 aries:
669 Item: September, 1950, liquidation of 58,000 bandit troops who
578 refused to disarm and continued to resist.
S Item: November, 1950, arrest of 6,249 Kuomintang agents and
175 seizure of 208 special service cells and 275 radio stations.
668 Item: February, 1951, capture of Osman Batur and Jamin Khan
669 and escape of Yolbars Khan to Formosa. April, 1951, Execution
578 of Osman Batur.
Item: 1951. Revolt of workers in the Yen-ch'ang Oilfield, Shensi.
Item: December, 1950, Suppression of the Taoist secret society, the I-kuan-tao, which claimed to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia. Members of the organization were charged to have infiltrated into farmers' associations and sabotaged the land reform and peasant organization work.

Despite the savagery of the suppression, the Communists were unable to snuff out the opposition. Kan Ssu-ch'i, director of the Department of Public Security of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, pointed out that in the province of Kansu alone, the counter-revolutionaries killed and wounded 2,117 native cadres resulting in a profound demoralization of the people. "The people blame us," he said, "for having only government and no law. We must...by means of accusation meetings, exhibitions, public trials and forums, mobilize the broad masses to partake in the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries." (NCNA, April 7, 1951).

The alibis for the failure to wipe out the opposition in the Northwest was attributed to many causes. T'ao Chih-yüeh, deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military District, charged that "hidden enemies are utilizing old relations, old friendships and all opportunities for winning over and buying over a few backward elements." Ma Hung-pin, vice-chairman of the Kansu provincial people's government, warned the people to renounce their old friendships. "All counter-revolutionaries," he said, "be they your relatives, your friends and your neighbors, or even your family members, must be denounced." (NCNA, April 7, 1951). Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, charged that "the imperialists" were fanning the fires of "narrow nationalism" by spreading rumors and fostering animosity among the minority peoples and they have seized upon pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as their weapons." (JMJP, October 2, 1951).

The admonition and the threats by the officials had no effect

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
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175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
414 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[595] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
795

175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.
[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was
intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
668 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
669 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of
578 popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

Kirghiz
Kazak

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

VIII

PEACE

579 BEFORE SHENG SHIH-TS'AI had brought the New Dominion into being, civil war had stamped mercilessly through Chinese Central Asia. The Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, who was in this region a decade ago, has written of the "marauders" in Sinkiang Province at that time who "stole" and "looted everywhere" and of the "utterly terrified" civilians. Nor were those circumstances without previous parallel in Sinkiang. Probably nowhere else in the world has there been such a locale for historical turmoil. Along her North Road especially, there have been for millenniums almost unending waves of conquest, brigandage, rapine, and fire. From the days of the Hsiung-nu in Han Dynasty times to those of Ma Chung-ying between 1931 and 1934, the sight of the armed horseman sweeping fiercely across desert trails to slash at his foe must time and time again have inspired a terrible fear in the souls of the populace. Turk, Tibetan, Arab, and Kirei, Khitan, Mongol, and Manchu, each "barbarian" in his turn has slashed a path of blood and destruction across the steppes in order to establish his own rule of force over Central Asia.

Little wonder that for centuries the Men of Han and Tang could see no peace in Turkestan but an armed one. Where law was mainly one of might, the vigor of a Pan Ch'ao and the steady arm of a Kao Hsien-chih might have seemed for China a justifiable military means with which to subjugate the restless borderland. The ruins of Bishbalik stand for the glories of peace and culture which the native Uighurs once maintained in Sinkiang; and yet Bishbalik, too, is forever a monument to the prowess of Uighur warriors who themselves once staunchly stopped the flow of wantonness in Asia. Kara-Khitai has been immortalized as a medieval Khitan kingdom of North Sinkiang, yet it was founded in the Altai mountains by the battling of an exile band from Northeast China. Even the Ölöt Mongols—who under Galdan and Rabdan established what one Chinese historian has viewed as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions—even their accomplish-

ments came at the cost of bristling armor and ruthless suppression. 579
The Manchus in their turn dominated the Western Regions by force; for they were compelled first to drive the Ölöts back from Tibet and Eastern Sinkiang and then to lay waste the North. When Sinkiang Moslems of the nineteenth century revolted, the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang suppressed the uprising by some of the bloodiest campaigns in history.

If not the military struggles of these earlier days, then at least the desperate civil wars of the 1930's, described earlier in this volume, have been enough to make the slogan of "Peace" welcome to the Sinkiang masses. "Peace," Tu Chung-yüan says, has been Sinkiang what Lenin's "Bread and Peace" was to Soviet Russia. was maintenance of "Peace," probably as much as anything else that enabled a new and promising day to dawn for Sinkiang.

IX

RECONSTRUCTION

PERHAPS ONE of the most convincing actual proofs that "Peace" was 185
brought at last to Sinkiang is revealed in what her new administration has accomplished. Sheng Shih-ts'ai's record of "Reconstruction" may not be one of unlimited attainment, but it is certainly one of creditable progress.

Chinese say that Sheng did not succeed in establishing a "unified" Sinkiang government for three years. Numerous taxation and currency stabilization problems remained unsolved, and there was still not complete political cohesion. In 1937, however, he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction under Soviet Russian guidance, and by 1941 the second such plan was well under way. Two institutions, a Foreign Trade Company and a Local Resources Company, have transacted most of the Sinkiang business, and, on a profit-for-the-

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

S
175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow... is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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579

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this end he allows no newspaper to be published in his territory, and the postal, telegraph and wireless offices are under the control of his appointed censors. News from the outside world filters through but slowly, and all restaurants are posted with the announcement: '*No political discussions allowed.*' It is certainly to Governor Yang's credit that the roads of Turkestan are notably free from brigandage, and during the past decade of civil war in China, Turkestan has remained peaceful. At the time of our visit the whole Yamen was busy with preparations for the journey to be shortly taken by the Governor's son and suite to the town of Zaisan in Russian territory, where the young man had been appointed Chinese Consul.

We were the first British women who had ever visited Urumchi, and our application for passports to cross the Russian frontier at Kuswun created a precedent. Three years previously some of our boxes were stolen from a Kansu inn, and our British passports were lost with them. The papers with which we now travelled were passports written in the Chinese language, and issued by the Chinese Foreign Office and British Consul in Hankow. These documents refer to us by our Chinese names only. We had early made application for permits to travel across Russia, which request had been forwarded to Moscow by the Soviet Consul in Urumchi, and on the day after our arrival word came that this permission was granted, when we immediately presented ourselves to make personal application for a visa. This was duly affixed to the Chinese passport, and all possible help and information with a view to making the journey easy was given to us by the Consular Staff.

The weeks of our stay were very happy and interesting and the time passed only too quickly ere arrangements

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a 133 village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for 491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

[312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a 579 region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the 167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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noon when we left Ertaochiao on the understanding that it was but a very short distance to an inn, which, though situated in a desert district, and very small, was reported to be comfortable. Mr. Hunter then kindly went ahead to make preparations at the inn, and we followed him over a country which became increasingly desolate. The track led across a sandy waste, between tamarisk mounds and an occasional tuft of 'chi chi' grass. There was no telegraph wire to guide us, and hour after hour we drove on through the same monotonous scenery, with no distinctive marks and no sign of the inn we were seeking. Both drivers confessed themselves baffled, and as the darkness fell they had to admit that we had missed our way, and although they dismounted and walked about seeking a landmark, they found none. Moreover, travellers in these regions are loath to shout or to light camp-fires, for fear of revealing their whereabouts to horse-stealers. After a considerable time a voice was heard calling, which we recognised as that of Nimga, but on replying we were answered from another direction by Mr. Hunter, when gradually we all came together again and found that he, too, had missed the inn, so that we had no option but to push on. At midnight we were still going, but were suddenly brought to a standstill by entering a soft marshy ground, the extent and treachery of which it was impossible to gauge. Three of the carts of merchandise were already in the bog, from which they could not be extricated, so the horses' legs were secured with iron padlocks, while the whole party lay down on the ground, and in five minutes all were sound asleep. Four hours' drive on the next morning brought us at length to Chuguchak, where we were indeed glad to get our first substantial meal in twenty-four hours.

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

563 291 c. Clothing

Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

563 276 d. Tobacco

Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 562 58 a. Marriage

Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor*. Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

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THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589] Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two 871
tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster.

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of 584
the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even
easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which 595
form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage [582]
age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are 584
always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years.

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to 585
a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

run away back to their parents, whereas they will actually spend several hundred tengas on *toiluk* (trousseau) for the privilege of marrying a good-looking *jawan*. In the snatches of love-songs given below it will be noticed that the poet's "mistress" is often called *jawan*, never *chokan* or *qiz* (girl). The popular standpoint is expressed in the following old rhyme: 884

Jān qadrini kīm bīlsun?	Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Aghriq bilma'e sāq na bilsun.	Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
Er qadrini kīm bilsun?	What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Jawān bilma'e qiz na bilsun.	Not the girl who has never been a *jawan*.

To marry one's daughter to an infidel—a Chinaman or a Hindu—is regarded as no less disgraceful than to put her on the streets, and only the poorest do it. It is significant that the word used for a lady of easy virtue—*jallāb*—is also applied to Turki wives of Chinese (other than Chinese Mussulmans) and Hindus. They are excommunicated by the priests and ostracized by their class. There are compensations, however. Chinamen and Hindus are much better husbands than Turkis, and the wives of "infidels" usually amass wealth. The wife of a Hindu is in a particularly strong position. Her husband has no legal rights over her; if she runs away, the mullas will not lift a finger for him, and he must "shell out" again if he wants another wife. She can thus hold over him the threat of returning to her family, and tap his money-bags with confidence for herself and her relations. When he dies, she usually gets away with some or all of his property; two or three cases were brought before me in which this had happened. But it is interesting to note that Islam usually triumphs at the last; an infidel's wife will often use her wealth to purchase an "indulgence" on her death-bed and the right to a Mussulman burial. When she feels her end approaching, she will leave her home and settle in another town, where she is received back into the fold by the Imam and the *uttuz-oghle*. She gives liberal donations to shrines and dedicates some or all of her land as *waqf* (religious trust) to the Church. The Qazi prescribes certain prayers and observances for the donor, who then dies in peace and is buried with full Mussulman rites. There is one serious drawback, however, to marrying a Hindu trader; and that is the fact that if and when he 5820

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•582 returns to India or dies, he or his next-of-kin, as the case may be, invariably demands his male children, if any; his right to them, as to his own property, is recognized by the mullas. If the boys are less than five years old, the father leaves money according to law for their maintenance until that age, but arranges through the *panchayat* (association of Hindu traders in the town) for their despatch to India as soon as possible afterwards. This is naturally a grievance with the Turki mothers.

764 The observances connected with death and burial are elaborate and expensive. On the day of the death alms in cash and a piece of soap each are given to the beggars. This is according to the Qur'anic injunction, but the "wakes" which follow are not *shar'i* (according to Muhammadan law), but *rasmi* or "customary," i.e. pagan or Chinese. They are not approved by the Church. On the third day (in well-to-do households) the whole quarter, rich and poor, is invited to a feast at which not only are large quantities of food consumed, but presents of clothes are given to all and sundry; this, I understand, is a Chinese custom. On the seventh day another feast is given, at which only relations and friends are present. The actual funeral takes place on the day following death. Those present wear a mourning costume consisting of black clothes with a white waistband; this latter is another concession to Chinese ideas, according to which the mourning colour is white, not black. Expenditure in connection with a funeral varies from 30 to 500 taels, according to the capacity of the household; only a small proportion of this is set off by the presents, called *ta'ziyāt*, given to the next-of-kin by his friends and relations. Great importance is attached to the lamentations (*qushāq*) of the deceased's relatives at a funeral, which are regarded as helping him in some way—an obvious relic of paganism. According to an old popular rhyme:

Sahr waqtida chirlaghalé	For crowing at the dawn
Chā khuraz yakhshi;	Spotted chanticleer is best;
Qushāq qushup yighlaghalé	For keening at a wake
Qarindāsh yakhshi.	A loved one is the best.

Some of the elegiacs sung by widows are really beautiful; for example:

Qupselār Allah dep qupghān Khojam
Yatselār Allah dep yatghan Khojam.
Yāz uzūqum, Khojam,
Qish yapinjim, Khojam.
Sui-yoq kulda qāldem,
Sayasi-yoq bostānda qāldem.

563 621 593 562

/Oirats/

return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

563 622

Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

[422] [233]

If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away from the family and establish himself independently, he can rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 622 591 233

When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly among his children, with the exception of the eldest son, who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers. A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 622 233 428

The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 621

If a crime is committed by a member of a particular "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative

563 628 [626]

The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

563 621 [651]

[582]

The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of land from which they choose a part each summer and each winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 628 233 423

The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen

563 622 628

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two biks to settle the case, or each selects a bik, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
563 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
583 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price,
584 payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[177] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower [565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing [582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden- 563 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the 592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. 593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family 182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the [671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and [799] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 548 Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated [588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

563 582 Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563 584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former [583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563 585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal
[681] is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. [671] Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
[586] a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

563
548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated [588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563
582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563
584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young [583] man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563
585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] [868] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

184 562 583 [586] Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

while the ladies were already tucking into the liberal helpings of bread and mutton handed round by D. and Ahmad Bakhsh, washed down by bowl after bowl of tea rich with sugar and the milk of yaks. Some of them had brought special contributions to the feast in the shape of strange fried pastries, which they shared with their friends. One good lady from Chopkana amused us by unfolding a large handkerchief full of a kind of small fried buns; the others were about to fall upon it, when she snatched it up and said, pointing to the men's party, "No! This is for the *other* guests!" So the fried buns were borne off in triumph for the men, to the delight of the proud donor. When all was finished except the titbits which some of the ladies tied up in their red handkerchiefs for the children they had left at home, photographs were taken and the women adjourned in a body to D's. tent for medicines and initiation into the mysteries of the toilet-table. The men, after cigarettes and a suitable interval for digestion, spent an uproarious evening running wheel-barrow and three-legged races, cockfighting and competing in various other novel sports.

The marriage customs of the Kirghiz inhabiting these remote and secluded valleys of the Kashgar Range differ in some respects from those described by previous writers in connexion with the less isolated and therefore probably less primitive Kirghiz of Russian Central Asia. It may therefore be of interest to record the information I obtained regarding them, both at Kaying and at the wedding party which, as already described, we attended in the upper Qaratash valley the previous April. The position as regards marriage among these mountain people is exactly the reverse of that found among the Turkis of the plains. At Kashgar women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorce even cheaper. Among the Kirghiz, on the other hand, girls are at a premium and a would-be bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy bride-price, which usually varies between ten and thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of live stock. Ordinarily, when a boy has reached the age of six or seven and may therefore be expected to survive till manhood (infant mortality is no lower among the Kirghiz than it is among the Turkis) his parents betroth him to some neighbour's daughter of about the same age. This transaction, known as the *qalam*, is usually the result of long haggling about the bride-price, in which the female relatives of both parties play a leading part. Suppose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

584 the price is fixed at ten yaks; the boy's father pays a first annual instalment of one yak, the girl's father gives the boy in return a shirt or a coat as a token of the betrothal, and the *qalam* is complete. It may, however, be broken off at 585 any time before the *nikah* by mutual consent, in which case the instalments paid are refunded. When all the yaks have been paid and the young couple have reached the ages of, say, fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbours to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom do not attend this "wedding breakfast," remaining in their tents in the background all day. The 591 feast and announcement, known as the *nikah*, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. The bridegroom, 585 however, cannot yet take his bride away to his own home. She continues to live for a period varying from two to five months with her parents, during which time the latter make and furnish an *aq-oi* with its felts, rugs, wall-hangings, screens, pots, pans, cushions, milk-bowls and other appurtenances complete for the young people. During this period the bridegroom lives at his own home if near, otherwise in an *aq-oi* lent him by the bride's parents, and visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposed to be kept secret from her father, who must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving the bride's tent. During the whole of this period the bridegroom must never appear before his father-in-law unless he is wearing his caps and boots and has his stick in his hand, as if he were a stranger from afar. At this stage if the bride is unfaithful (but not otherwise) the bridegroom's father can demand the price back and break off the match. When the *aq-oi* is finished, the bridegroom takes it and the bride away to his own place, on which occasion some show of resistance is made by the girl's relations—an obvious survival of the marriage by capture idea. After a year (not before) the wife can "give a divorce" to her husband by returning him the price paid for her—exactly the reverse of what happens in the plains, where it is the husband who (if he likes) "gives" a divorce to his wife.

600 At last the time came to bid the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends a sad farewell; for we did not expect to be able to visit it again the following year before going down the road to India, as we eventually did. We did not, however, return to the plains by the way we had come. Old Samsaq Bai, the Kirghiz who had come to our rescue on the way up and

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Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster. 871

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years. 584 595 [582] 584

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a 585

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/The New Uighurs/

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ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[101] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

563
548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated
[588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563
582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

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584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former
[583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

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585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra*, represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

The song will open the door to the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you.
Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
●585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in
538 contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

fire, a man was cooking an entire sheep; in another direction five men were saying their evening prayers; twelve young lambs were tied up in a row in another part of the *aq-oi* and all the rest of the room was taken up by the fat Beg who sat warming his feet at the fire and sipping a bowl of tea!"

The Kizmak Pass next day proved terribly steep and some 14,000 feet high, but the magnificent yaks provided by the Kirghiz carried our loads up it (though with many halts and tremendous puffings and gruntings). They then tobogganed neatly down the still steeper descent on the west side, which contained snow and showed signs of recent avalanches. The glorious view from the top, including the whole mountain-system of the upper and middle Qaratash, kept us there nearly two hours; though unfortunately it was too late in the day for either Qungur or Muz Tagh Ata to be free from clouds, and my telephotographs were not successful. A long day ended with a six-mile canter against a howling north wind down the broad flat bottom of the Qaratash Valley to Chat, where we were relieved to find our caravan waiting for us and our tents pitched. Six inches of snow fell that night, but next morning it cleared up and I decided to halt a day, which I spent in plane-tabling and telephotographing the magnificent snows of Qungur and the Shiwakte from the heights above Chat.

Next day (12th April) we started the march down the Qaratash Gorges, to which I had been looking forward with some apprehension. The worst part does not begin till below the junction of the Qaratash and Chimghan valleys, six miles below Chat, but even in this six miles the valley narrows considerably and the river has to be forded seven times. Four miles below Chat, at a place called Bek Targhak, we had the unexpected pleasure of assisting at a Kirghiz wedding feast. Forty or fifty Kirghiz, including several women, were gathered at a mud-walled enclosure in which four *aq-ois* were pitched; they invited us through the Beg to come in, and next moment we found ourselves sitting in a crowded *aq-oi* chewing portions of a sheep which was being stewed at the fire in the middle. Asking which were the happy pair, we were informed that neither of them was present, it being the custom throughout the *nikah* or wedding feast for the bride and bridegroom to stay in their respective tents in the background. D. was taken in to see the lady and reported afterwards that she was a woman

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 [587] of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists rose we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to run the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the narrow Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

584 the price is fixed at ten yaks; the boy's father pays a first annual instalment of one yak, the girl's father gives the boy in return a shirt or a coat as a token of the betrothal, and the *qalam* is complete. It may, however, be broken off at 585 any time before the *nikah* by mutual consent, in which case the instalments paid are refunded. When all the yaks have been paid and the young couple have reached the ages of, say, fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbours to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom do not attend this "wedding breakfast," remaining in their tents in the background all day. The 591 feast and announcement, known as the *nikah*, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. The bridegroom, 585 however, cannot yet take his bride away to his own home. She continues to live for a period varying from two to five months with her parents, during which time the latter make and furnish an *aq-oi* with its felts, rugs, wall-hangings, screens, pots, pans, cushions, milk-bowls and other appurtenances complete for the young people. During this period the bridegroom lives at his own home if near, otherwise in an *aq-oi* lent him by the bride's parents, and visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposed to be kept secret from her father, who must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving the bride's tent. During the whole of this period the bridegroom must never appear before his father-in-law unless he is wearing his caps and boots and has his stick in his hand, as if he were a stranger from afar. At this stage if the bride is unfaithful (but not otherwise) the bridegroom's father can demand the price back and break off the match. When the *aq-oi* is finished, the bridegroom takes it and the bride away to his own place, on which occasion some show of resistance is made by the girl's relations—an obvious survival of the marriage by capture idea. After a year (not before) the wife can "give a divorce" to her husband by returning him the price paid for her—exactly the reverse of what happens in the plains, where it is the husband who (if he likes) "gives" a divorce to his wife.

600 At last the time came to bid the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends a sad farewell; for we did not expect to be able to visit it again the following year before going down the road to India, as we eventually did. We did not, however, return to the plains by the way we had come. Old Samsaq Bai, the Kirghiz who had come to our rescue on the way up and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster. 871

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years. 584 595 [582] 584

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a 585.

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585 wedding, incurred almost entirely by the bride's people (the bridegroom's contribution is nominal), amount to anything from 30–50 taels (£4–£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), in the case of poor people to 2,000 taels (£233) or more, in that of the very rich. The only liability (and that merely a nominal one) incurred by the bridegroom is the *haqq-i-mihr* or settlement on his wife.[1] This varies between fifty and a thousand taels and is usually fixed verbally before the *uttuz-oghle*. It is regarded as a debt which may theoretically be claimed by the wife at any time up to her death; but it never is claimed except at divorce. In many cases the *mihr* is waived; in more than one "divorce case" which came before me the husband claimed that his wife had let him off the *mihr* at the wedding, whereupon she challenged him to produce members of the *uttuz-oghle* to prove it.[2]

From the house of the bride's parents to that of the bridegroom a small party, accompanied by musicians, marches in procession through the streets, with the lady in front either riding a pony or donkey or walking, as the case may be. Arrived at her new home, the bride is not supposed to touch the threshold with her feet; she is lifted over it by her husband and his relations. However thankful she may be to get her daughter "off," the mother of the bride is obliged by custom to weep and wail loudly during the marriage ceremonies; the girl, too, laments (probably with more sincerity) at leaving the home of her childhood. I took down the words of their traditional laments, which are rather pretty:[3]

[1] The *haqq-i-mihr* must not be confused with the maintenance payable for a hundred days by a husband to a wife whom he divorces against her will. Grenard (Vol. II, p. 119) says that the "*mehr*" found in other Mussulman countries is an *institution presque hors d'usage dans le Turkestan chinois;* this is correct so far as it goes, but it should be added that its existence is universally recognized, if only as a legal fiction.

[691] [2] Such disputes, like most civil and many criminal cases, are settled by the parties being sent to the Qazi or Mussulman judge, who hears the evidence and either passes judgment at once or orders one party or the other to take the oath; as a rule, the party on whom the oath comes refuses to take it and loses the case, for it is regarded as a disgrace to swear on the Qur'an. *Qasam-khor* ("oath-eater") is a term of abuse, meaning a greedy or litigious person who sticks at nothing to win his case.

[3] Grenard (Vol. II, p. 250) has the mother's lament, not the daughter's, for which I am indebted to Murad Qari.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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539

Mother's Song

Kichik kina, qāra kuz
Wai balam!
Tili tātliq, shirin suz
Wai balam!
Balam mandin airilde
Wai balam!
Uida yālghuz qālārman,
Wai balam, balam!

Little tiny dark-eyed one
Alas, my child!
Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Alas, my child!
My child is taken from me
Alas, my child!
In the house I am left alone,
Alas, my child! my child!

Daughter's Song

Man ānāmdin airilip
Sunde qanātim qāralip;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun
Jānim ānamdin airilip?

Torn from my mother's side
My wings are broken and bent;
Who may weep, if not I
Torn from my darling mother's side?

Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan. 585

"I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

"Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big [576] [292] [301]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches
[301] of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings.
Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each
[302] plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink
[290] and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

"Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of
585 the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some
574 relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her
[576] reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

changed their beautiful but hot satin dresses for simpler affairs of thin silk and muslin, hurried about refilling the bowls, breaking up the bread into suitable-sized pieces and looking after everybody, while two maids did their best to keep us all cool by flapping a large table-cloth in the middle of the room. When the last of the Wedding Dish had been finished, the *dastarkhwans* were taken out to be shaken and we all had our hands washed Mussulman fashion; copper jugs and basins were brought in, and as each of us in turn held out our sticky hands the ladies of the house poured water over them into the basins. Huge piles of round flat loaves of bread about eighteen inches across then appeared and were placed at intervals opposite the guests. Next came large flat dishes of a savoury stew of mutton and vegetables, which was rapidly spooned up by the ladies with corners of bread. Titbits and succulent little bones with meat on them were handed through the window by fond mammas to their clamouring children. When this course was finished there were still a good many of the flat loaves remaining and these were distributed among the guests. One was rather tentatively offered to me; I accepted it joyfully, which was considered a great joke. Fruit, sweets and tea followed, and when everything had been cleared away and another hand-washing had taken place, the musicians struck up again.

"The women danced and I found myself in conversation with a plump elderly dame, the mother of a leading ice-merchant, who was giving Aisha Khan and myself a graphic description of the illness and last moments of her first husband; I did not notice therefore that most of the older ladies had left the room, and it was only when Aisha Khan whispered 'They've gone to fetch the bride,' that I awoke to the fact that satin dresses and velvet jackets had been resumed and every one was looking expectantly towards the door. A few minutes later, surrounded by elderly relatives and friends, the bride appeared. I gasped, for there in the afternoon sunlight which streamed through the windows stood a tall slim figure clad in glittering gold from head to foot. A long coat of gold brocade hid her satin dress, a veil of golden gauze fell round her face and down her back, great sprays of gold flower ornaments quivered in her cap and long earrings of gold and pearls and a heavy chain and pendant of the same metal completed her adornment. She might have been a bride for Tamerlane or some such great Emperor of the olden days! A thin white silk veil was thrown over her face and head, and she was led up to the chair beside mine with great ceremony and made to sit down. Poor thing, she was so nervous that her breath came in gasps and her hands when I touched them were icy cold. All the guests drew back, then a little girl of about four was pushed forward and running up to the bride snatched away the white veil. This was the signal for a regular outburst, all the guests screaming and laughing and chattering at the same time, and then falling on the bride and kissing her. When this, evidently the most important part of the ceremony, was over I thought it was about time to go, as it was nearly four o'clock.

"What strikes me most about these women is their manners, which are as pretty as their clothes. When the hostess gives tea or anything else to one of her guests, the latter rises and bows saying '*Ashkalla*' (thank you). On arrival and departure they make delicious little polite speeches to each other—much more picturesque than our mean-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces
576 and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming. Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this
595 curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[586] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
[585] couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[885] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

563
548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated
[588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563
582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

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584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former
[583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563
585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious repre-
585 sentatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's
[152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's fam-
585 ily, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after
885 she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and
586 soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman
[587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The Kirghiz/

563 262 [484] When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds on the mountainsides.

[935] Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 291 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate. Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 583 562 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their 563 584 583 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been 563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper 585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents [582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 585 591 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may [606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

586 If the husband and wife do not prove
to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the prop-
587 erty of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

684 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from bazaar to bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

291 The Wei-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a kerchief. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces
576 and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming. Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this
595 curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that. 586• 595

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her." 595

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife 562

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[928] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[891] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are
[593] not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

586 If the husband and wife do not prove
to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the prop-
587 erty of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

684 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from bazaar to bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

291 The Wei-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a kerchief. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present [587] bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists rose we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to run the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the narrow Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 799 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. S 595 563 Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. S [562] [152] The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

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563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of ~~the~~ household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[801] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are
[593] not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

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000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
589 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 843 844 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 846 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 852 [553] [854] [302] When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 764 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 764 793 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set, three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

563 548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated [588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563 582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563 584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former [583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563 585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

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563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[586] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

121 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

584 the price is fixed at ten yaks; the boy's father pays a first annual instalment of one yak, the girl's father gives the boy in return a shirt or a coat as a token of the betrothal, and the *qalam* is complete. It may, however, be broken off at 585 any time before the *nikah* by mutual consent, in which case the instalments paid are refunded. When all the yaks have been paid and the young couple have reached the ages of, say, fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbours to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom do not attend this "wedding breakfast," remaining in their tents in the background all day. The 591 feast and announcement, known as the *nikah*, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. The bridegroom, 585 however, cannot yet take his bride away to his own home. She continues to live for a period varying from two to five months with her parents, during which time the latter make and furnish an *aq-oi* with its felts, rugs, wall-hangings, screens, pots, pans, cushions, milk-bowls and other appurtenances complete for the young people. During this period the bridegroom lives at his own home if near, otherwise in an *aq-oi* lent him by the bride's parents, and visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposed to be kept secret from her father, who must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving the bride's tent. During the whole of this period the bridegroom must never appear before his father-in-law unless he is wearing his caps and boots and has his stick in his hand, as if he were a stranger from afar. At this stage if the bride is unfaithful (but not otherwise) the bridegroom's father can demand the price back and break off the match. When the *aq-oi* is finished, the bridegroom takes it and the bride away to his own place, on which occasion some show of resistance is made by the girl's relations—an obvious survival of the marriage by capture idea. After a year (not before) the wife can "give a divorce" to her husband by returning him the price paid for her—exactly the reverse of what happens in the plains, where it is the husband who (if he likes) "gives" a divorce to his wife.

600 At last the time came to bid the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends a sad farewell; for we did not expect to be able to visit it again the following year before going down the road to India, as we eventually did. We did not, however, return to the plains by the way we had come. Old Samsaq Bai, the Kirghiz who had come to our rescue on the way up and

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that
233 cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[801] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
[428] equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/The Kirghiz/

563 262 [484] When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds on the mountainsides.

[735] Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 291 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate. Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 583 562 563 584 583 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 585 591 [606] The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

[p. 130]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

N 563 794 [795] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 611 428 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each [425] one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration [592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. [622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and 621 614 596 563 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people [829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 563 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 779 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. S 595 563 Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. S [562] [152] The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

592 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide
562 the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower
[565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing
[582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden-
563 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the
592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper.
593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family
182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the
593 basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by
178 local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal
562 or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the hus-
563 band and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the
[671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and
[799] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] [586] [587] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security
586 in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

121 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 S 175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[461] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in
[433] China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

S
592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese
291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei
482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we
352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese,
576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

S N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S N units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
[622] collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563
621 /Oirats/
593 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
562 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582]

The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

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THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 709 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. S 595 563 Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. S [562] [152] The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

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563 592 562 [565] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing [582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden- 563 592 593 182 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the [671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and [779] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

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593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly
[582] see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

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563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[801] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of
[593] the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

563 whether he is [illegible] to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children.

[868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
[622] still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
[554] this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
S Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster. 871

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years. 584 595 [582] 584

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a 585

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming.
576 Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-
• 595 married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that. 586 595

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her." 595

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife 562

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, 563 428 including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the rulingleader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" [651] etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water consti-
tutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[801] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the
youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in
shaping the character of the community. As the representa-
tives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders
of the community, but they are also the administrators of
the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares
for all those persons of the community who are unable to make
a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It
is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Mos-
lems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities,
but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the
merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials
who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese admini-
strators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials
aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often
assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against
the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent
the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the mer-
chants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an
economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the
fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and
therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the
sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are
held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 709 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 595 563 S [562] [152] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

S 563 [162] [587]

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
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S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
[622] still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563
556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.
621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bǽk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bǽks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
621 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
614 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
596 declined clan only has the function of an aul.
563

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

S 829 563

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

S N [178] [596] [614] [619] [701] [622] [554] Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

N 829 *563 *668 177 [634] [242] In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

S 829 563 668 177 [634] [242]

S N [361]

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

N 829 *563 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

S 829 563

S N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[613] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
[554] this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

S
[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N
563 The Salars:
794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[569] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[801] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of
[593] the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 and went all over the mountains. He seemed a good type of youth, sturdy, cheerful and independent.

133 The Yai Dōbe plain, on which we now debouched, is a small but perfect example of the inland drainage basins characteristic of Central Asia. Situated at an average elevation of 5,000 feet, it is some 60 miles long by 15-20 broad and is enclosed on the north by one of the parallel ranges of the Tien Shan with peaks up to 13,000 feet, on the south and east by foothills rising to 8,000 feet. It has no outlet, but boasts its own miniature Lop Nor in the shape of a salt lake near its south-eastern corner. Like the *hāmūns* of Persian Baluchistan and Sistan, this lake varies in size according to the rainfall in the mountains, from practically nothing to a sheet of water 40 or 50 square miles in area. The rest of the Yai Dōbe plian is partly barren, partly covered with tamarisks and a sparse forest of desert poplar. Some of these trees attain a great age and size; they are not in the least like poplars, resembling rather the British oak. Here and there in the forest are springs of fresh or slightly brackish water, each with farmsteads or Kirghiz tents in the vicinity. In the spring and autumn the woodland is delightful, but in summer the mosquitos and gadflies for which both it and the Maralbashi jungles to the south are notorious make it uninhabitable by man or beast.

487 For fifty miles we marched across this curious plain. On September 5 we passed out of the desert-poplar forest and camped the same evening at the springs of Yairam Bulak. Here two families of Kirghiz had pitched their *aq-ois* near a couple of tiny crofts shaded by willows, landmarks [574] for miles in the great sweep of bare plain. We liked the Kirghiz of these hills and got on well with them, but we could not help noticing that they were less hospitable than their cousins of our beloved "Alps of Qungur." They never asked us into their *aq-ois*, nor did they seem to regard us guests as the others (often quite embarassingly) did. It struck me that there might be two reasons for this. In the first place, living on the Russian border, they are at once less secure and more sophisticated. In the second, a trade route much used by Turki merchants passes through their territory; these men, I was told, were in the habit of taking supplies whenever they •609 could and not paying for them. But the Tien Shan Kirghiz 487 could be friendly enough when once their confidence had been gained. The ladies of Yairam Bulak crowded round D., whose

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, 609 evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus [651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1¼*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

[312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next 487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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the appalling conditions under which the gold-miners work in the Zailik valley, 13,500 feet up among the peaks to the south-west of Polu; the well-known mines of Surghak and Chizghan, 60–85 miles E.S.E. of Keriya, employ 2,000 labourers even under the Chinese system. Gold is continually being found in new places between Chizghan and Tunhwang in Kansu province, 700 miles eastward. I heard at Keriya of three new mines, all rich, to which there had been miniature "gold-rushes" during the previous two or three years. All the mines between Polu and Cherchen are under the control of the Amban of Keriya, who farms them out to a Beg for a fixed annual weight of gold-dust to be delivered to the Chinese at the fixed rate of 25 taels per tael weight, about five-sevenths of the average market price at Khotan. The Beg is not supposed to extract more than that amount from the mines, but of course he does. He finds, pays and feeds his own miners, whose numbers are augmented at Surghak by numerous convicts. The Chinese do not allow the local people to wash for gold except for the Beg, and as his total output is limited by contract he does not often give the inhabitants of a village like Polu leave to wash for him. As a special favour we were given a demonstration of the primitive methods used. Three boys crawled into a hole in the conglomerate bank of the Polu stream and passed out tray after tray of blueish gravelly earth; a fourth washed it in a wooden pan shaped like a very shallow cone with a slit in it. From each trayful the boy got from two to seven tiny grains of gold, some red, some yellow; in a quarter of an hour he had washed out a quantity which he told us was worth a tenga (*2d.*) at the Beg's rates. In a day's work, he told us, he would get anything from one-tenth of a tael to 10 taels worth (*3d.*–£1 *7s.*).

•609
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The men of Polu are exceptionally friendly and hospitable to Europeans, a fact noticed by Deasy, Stein and the few other travellers who have come this way. The villagers still remember Deasy, though his visit took place as long ago as 1897. The stable in which his ponies were kept is pointed out with pride, also the room in which stayed the Chinese *ssu-yeh* or secretary who was sent by the Amban of Keriya to watch Deasy and prevent him at all costs from finding the secret path over the Kunlun.[1] One of the *bais* or chief men, Tokhta Khalfa, told me with pride that it was his father, Rahim Khalfa, who really helped Deasy to cross the mountains.

[1] Deasy, "In Tibet and Chinese Turkistan," p. 308.

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

S
[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N
563 The Salars:
794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

• 609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
137 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

611 428 The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of [425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 [592] The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] [622] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bak, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the baks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 614 596 563 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

[829] A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 563 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself.
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

N 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old S [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain M 614 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a 622 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 177 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 178 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[554] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
[422] and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
[476] cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spir-
itualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature

538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
[538] Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[171] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[203] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[171] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
[361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20.

614 563 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by [602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is [621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action [672] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz- [681] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great- [423] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called [565] aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 565 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 622 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two biks to settle the case, or each selects a bik, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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The Kirghiz Nation

1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)

a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:

Tselek	Bor	Shykmayat
Torgo	Dölös	Kala
Bapa	Kongrat	Assan-tukum
Yeldün	Monguldur	Aryk-tukum
Talabai	Sayak	Küchük
Serike	Udu	

b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:

Saru	Sayak	Mundus
Kala	Assik	Kitai
Monguldur	Dölös	Yetigün
Shykamat	Kongrat	

c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:

Yetigün	Monguldur
Kuchu	Mundus
Saru	Assyk

d) Tribe Edigüna with the clans:

Dölös	Mundus
Saru	Sayat (incomplete)
Kongrat	Kaba
Monguldur	Shykamat

e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:

Askaly	Kandabas
Toro	Kosh-tamga
Macjak	Kuan-duan
Ush-tamga	

f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:

Ak-chubak
Bai-chubak (incomplete)

2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)

Known clan names are:

Saru
Besh-beren
Mundus
Töngtöröp
Kuchu
Kükürön
Yetigün

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

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The Uzbek Nation

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1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)
2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)
3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly
4) Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pärchäyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    - a) Mesit
    - b) Yaby
    - c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bäkhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[167] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. [671] Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kürülm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S 829 justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
[554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
829 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
563 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
668 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
177 are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[634] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
[242] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
S N [361] their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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563

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt huts are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis,* made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the

S N
175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
657 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
563 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
669 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N
175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a

S N
175 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S [441] A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K 563 Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[233] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally
[594]

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S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of

S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
175 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mon-
563 golia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
• [619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöün gar "right
[131] wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aγu, *eγü, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caγaγan "white	čaγan	tsaγān
*qaJaγar "bridle	qaJaγar	γazār
*qaβalγa "gate"	qaγalγa	χālγ•
*čiγiraγ < *tiγiraγ "massive"	čigiraγ	tšīr•G "solid"
*daγuda- "to call"	daγuda-	dūn "voice"
*toγarī- "to turn"	toγori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraγu "calf"	būrū
miqan "meat"	maχ̣n
sira "yellow"	šar•
milaγa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: J̌ida "spear" Kalmuck: dž̌id• < *J̌ide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *J̌ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaγan "white"	tsaγān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
J̌ekegün "cold"	zekün
J̌elkei "thief"	zelkē

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic 611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth 428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each [425] one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related 563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration [592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. [622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. 621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter 563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the 614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, 422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led 563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three 619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the 563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and 614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function 596 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a 563 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people [829] by stating that he belongs a) to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a 563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

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The Kirghiz Nation

1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)

a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:

Tselek	Bor	Shykmayat
Torgo	Dölös	Kala
Bapa	Kongrat	Assan-tukum
Yeldän	Monguldur	Aryk-tukum
Talabai	Sayak	Küchlük
Serike	Udu	

b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:

Saru	Sayak	Mundus
Kala	Assik	Kitai
Monguldur	Dölös	Yetigän
Shykamat	Kongrat	

c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:

Yetigän	Monguldur
Kuchu	Mundus
Saru	Assyk

d) Tribe Edigäna with the clans:

Dölös	Mundus
Saru	Sayat (incomplete)
Kongrat	Kaba
Monguldur	Shykamat

e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:

Askaly	Kandabas
Toro	Kosh-tamga
Macjak	Kuan-duan
Ush-tamga	

f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:

Ak-chubak
Bai-chubak (incomplete)

2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)

Known clan names are:

Saru
Besh-beren
Mundus
Töngtörüp
Kuchu
Kükürün
Yetigän

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

The Uzbek Nation

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619
614

1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)
2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)
3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly
4) Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pürchüyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    a) Mesit
    b) Yaby
    c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bäkhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[169] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

N 829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
829 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took
563 over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
[554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
179 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
829 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
563 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
668 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
179 are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[634] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
[242] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
S N their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which
[361] the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
[62] return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
59 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
62 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
62 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
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S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
[554] subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N
The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time

S N
from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,

S N
the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite

S N
a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both

S N
feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

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556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

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563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
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621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
621 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
614 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
596 declined clan only has the function of an aul.
563 A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a) to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[672] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[681] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[423] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called
[565] aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[569] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
[586] a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

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After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

the important Yunnanese officials to the feast. There he had his bodyguards murder two of them right in the dining hall; the rest were imprisoned or banished.[12] 175 *

Of middle height, with a strong face, Yang looked remarkably dignified; but he was a cunning and suspicious person. He ruled the province as an autocrat, taking very little notice of the Central Government in Peking. Though the central authorities made several attempts to depose or retire him, he kept his position by a mixture of bribery and force. Officials sent from Peking were either held up at his headquarters until he was sure that they did not or could not oppose him, or given presents and politely sent back. In the fifteen years of his rule he built up a family hierarchy, posting his relatives from one end of the province to the other. In 1927 all the district magistrates in southernmost Sinkiang, from Keriya to Kashgar, with two or three exceptions, were related to him either directly or by marriage.

Throughout his rule, Yang was troubled by the fear of revolt, and showed an extreme caution in handling people and affairs. Chinese and foreign newspapers were regularly censored. Any news that might encourage disturbances was excluded from the province as far as possible. No newspapers were permitted in the Uighur or Kazakh languages.[13] The telegraph office at Yang's headquarters was attended to by the Governor himself. He locked and unlocked the door every day, and the office staff were not allowed to talk with outsiders. He himself took custody of all important documents, which could not be consulted, even by heads of bureaus, without his permission.

Yang made an important change in the lower or "native" administration at the level of the Begs, or Uighur "headmen." At some time prior to 1910, and probably shortly after Sinkiang became a province, the Chinese administration had given these 175 * 622

[12] This story is told by Hsieh Pin, in his *Account of Travels in Sinkiang*, Shanghai, 1925, p. 135 (in Chinese). The author was the inspector from Peking who was present at the feast.

[13] W. Bosshard, "Politics and Trade in Central Asia," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 4, 438; also Hsieh Pin, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

*175 Begs the Chinese designation of *Hsiang Yeh* ("District Elders").
622 Chinese magistrates came and went, but these Hsiang Yeh often held office for twenty or thirty years, or even for life. In this way the Uighur District Elder, solidly entrenched, often had an advantage over his superior, the temporary Chinese magistrate. Not infrequently a wealthy and locally powerful Elder, dismissed by a higher Chinese official, was able to obtain reinstatement when there was a change of administration. In 1915 Yang Tseng-hsin found a device which undermined this kind of local strength. He ordered that District Elders must first be locally elected; then recommended by the Chinese magistrate; and finally appointed by himself. After appointment, the District Elder might be dismissed at any time, but had the privilege of re-election.[14] The significance of this ladder of election, recommendation, and appointment was that it was also a ladder by which talebearers could reach the provincial capital and make accusations against locally powerful men.

*175 As a bureaucrat of the old school Yang was both generous in cultivating good will and severe in punishing offenses, with the result that the tales told about him reflected the popular conviction that even in justice he was despotic. According to one of these tales the old Governor, while walking in the streets of his capital like a Harun al-Rashid, saw a soldier stealing boots from a shop. After watching him successfully remove fourteen pairs, he shot him.[15] At the same time, he was generous to Russian refugees in Sinkiang; for many of them he found employment, to others he gave money allowances. It was also said that he gave money for the education in Peking of the son of Fan Yao-nan, his Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the man who in the end murdered him.

In his policy toward the non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin followed tradition in setting one people against another, and also in exploiting quarrels between factions within

[14] Tseng Wen-wu, *Chung Ku Kin Ying Hsi Yü Shih*, Shanghai, 1936, p. 592 (in Chinese).

[15] Anonymous, "His Excellency Yang Tsen-hsing," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929. Vol. 16, pt. 1, pp. 88–89.

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 Kōk Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down [622] from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. [272] Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we [263] made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. • 622 Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and 291 had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

487 Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia [143] but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village " general shops " at home.

574 Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined. 574

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very comfortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in 622 our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing 574 over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which [353] we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, 487 but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

not favourably impressed. For Asiatics—I do not judge them by our lower Western standards—most of the Tungans we saw were remarkably bad-mannered. Whenever either of us tried to buy anything in the bazaars, either at Bai or at the New City of Aqsu, great louts of Tungans would stand round and exchange what were obviously comments on our appearance and behaviour, bursting every now and again into loud guffaws. We were not very sorry to leave Bai, though we greatly regretted that time did not permit of a visit to the far more interesting and important town of Kucha.

The 107 miles *viâ* Abad to Aqsu Old City occupied five days. Our first halt was at the flourishing village of Yaka Ariq on the right bank of the Muzart River. The main road for the next 50 miles lies almost entirely over barren and uninteresting country, so we left it and made due westwards for the curious red hills of Abad, among which I had hopes of another chance at the wild sheep. Camping for the night at Ilkache, the last oasis of the Muzart Valley cultivation, I rose before dawn and spent a long morning scouring the hills, but saw only several herds of antelope. Meanwhile D. and the caravan struck camp at a more reasonable hour and marched to a low pass among the hills appropriately named the Topa Dawan or "Dusty Pass," where I met them at midday. It was here that we made a new and most picturesque acquaintance, the Kirghiz headman of Qara Bulaq, Hushur Beg. As I approached the "Dusty Pass" I saw the solitary figure of a man on a horse standing on the crest of a ridge. This proved on closer inspection to be a youngish Kirghiz with a high-cheek-boned, weather-beaten face, mounted on a shaggy little Kalmuck pony. On his right wrist, which was protected by a large white fleece gauntlet and supported on the saddle by a wooden prop, he carried a magnificent hooded *qara qush* or black hunting-eagle. This bird, I afterwards found, measured three feet from beak to tail and over seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip; it was a dull black in colour, with a ruff of rust-coloured feathers, yellow claws, black beak with yellow base and fine red-brown eyes. From the near side of Hushur Beg's saddle dangled an object which puzzled me at first; it proved to be the lure with which he attracted the bird back from wandering, and consisted of a large ball made of skin from the heads of antelopes. The Beg turned out to be a thoroughly good type of man and a real sportsman, very different from the lazy and untrustworthy "Taghliks" of Pakalik and Tarlak.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 224 He was passionately fond of hawking and "eagling," if one may coin the word; he used hawks for hares and other small game, eagles for antelopes and sometimes wolves. He told me he would not part with his favourite *qara qush* for a hundred taels, though it was very fierce and had more than once clawed him when hungry and rashly unhooded. I noticed that he held the string attached to its hood in his teeth, and that after unhooding it for a moment so that I could take a photograph of the two of them, he put the hood on again at once with his bridle hand. He pointed out to me the precipitous red sandstone cliffs above Abad where it had been netted as a fledgeling.

He also told me about his hawks, among which he prized most a white one from the Altai. All over Central Asia these white hawks,[1] which are exceedingly difficult to get, are highly prized, though their performances are not, I believe, in any way superior to those of ordinary falcons. They are occasionally brought from Ili to the Aqsu market, where they fetch from fifty to a hundred taels or more. Almost every year the Mehtar (Chief) of Chitral, the Mir of Nagar or some such potentate from the Indian frontier sends men up to Kashgar to try and buy a white hawk; as often as not the messenger returns empty-handed.

361 Three days later we marched through the narrow and dirty but picturesque wood-and-mud-brick bazaars of Old Aqsu to the charming house and garden outside the western gate which had been placed at our disposal. We were pleased to find that our host was the same Haji whose ranch at Yetim Döbe had been such a haven of refuge to us in the Tien Shan. Buried in trees, just far enough from the town to escape its noise and dust, the country house of Abdus Sattar Haji was a pleasant place indeed. A couple of hundred yards to the north ran the long line of perpendicular loess cliffs, forty or fifty feet high, which bound the city of Aqsu on the north and east and evidently mark an ancient channel of the Qum Ariq River. Under the level rays of the setting sun the place gave the impression of a marvellous piece of theatrical scene-painting; the tall white stems of the poplars and the rainbow-tinted autumn foliage blended perfectly with the warm grey-brown tones of the "drop-scene" of cliff in the background, and with the entirely mediæval walls and massive gates and bastions of the town.

[1] *Hierofalco altaiensis*, Turki *toighun*.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 601 [315] [382]

methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kashgar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

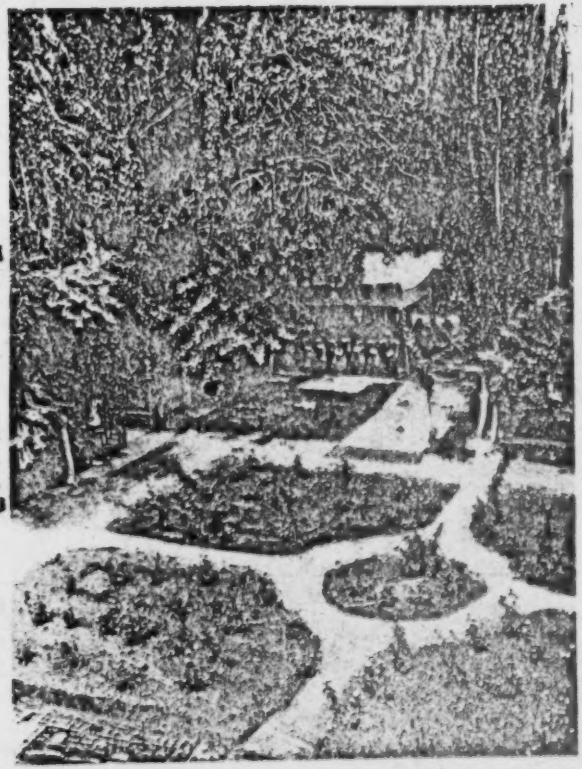
704

Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

THE LATE GENERAL MA, TITAI OF KASHGARIA ~~[p. 80~~

622



MUHAMMADAN GUESTS, LED BY THE CHIEF QAZI, AT PRAYER IN THE GARDEN OF THE CONSULATE-GENERAL, KING'S BIRTHDAY RECEPTION, 1924

[Face p. 262]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of 622 the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for 702 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro- 622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax- 681 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an 669 ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

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Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S [441] A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
127 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.

563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the ~~herds~~ of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

S [184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic 611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth 428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of [425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 563 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related [592] families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. [622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 563 614 422 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 563 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bak, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the baks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 619 563 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is 621 614 596 563 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

[829] A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a) to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). 614 563 For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists
[567] a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks
● 622 and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük- local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings N [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, [198] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this [614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and [701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and • [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of [554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- [634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of [242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, [634] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present [242] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to S N [361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

566 households of *chakars*, from whom he claimed both labor services 312 and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312 of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624 have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578 return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691 authority of an official called the *mirab*, who is locally elected, 661 which means that in his election the locally influential families 423 usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361 structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443 city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463 These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361 stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241 244

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Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E: The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
681 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
184 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
674 punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
S N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacity the resisting minorities..

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
694 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
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/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[797] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is 627 a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
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563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
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423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
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S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

The Salars:

N 563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] N 563 794 177 184 To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

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Merchants from Tientsin have flourished as far north as the city of Kulja in the Ili Valley. Nearly twenty years ago a British observer remarked that "successful merchants at Kulja come from the towns of Tou Liu and Yang Liu Ch'ing near Tientsin; the commerce of Ili has been kept in the families for generations, and considering the numbers of relations and connections every Chinese has, it is not to be wondered at that Tientsin people form a whole community, ranging from barbers to landowners, at Kulja." [11] 441.

Ever since Sinkiang became a province a small Chinese minority has ruled it by the indirect methods which many colonial governments have found effective. The traditional Uighur and Kazakh and Mongol feudal structures have been left more or less undisturbed, with the existing Begs and princes used as instruments of Chinese rule. In Sinkiang, just as in Sikang and the southernmost parts of Yunnan, the result of this indirect rule is an administration with a Chinese upper stratum and an indigenous lower stratum. The chief defect of this system is that instead of promoting political and administrative progress, it fortifies and preserves the feudal system, and hinders the evolution of a more modern form of society. 631 648

While bribery, corruption and venality are almost endemic in the lower stratum of administration, the quality of the upper administration is naturally subject to the policy of the governor or the chairman of the provincial government. At this top level Chinese policy has passed through three distinct stages. From 1884 to 1933 there was a period of about half a century dominated by an old-fashioned feudal bureaucracy. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin and Governor Chin Shu-jen can best be described as the last of the old imperial bureaucrats, though both served under the Chinese Republic. Then followed a decade of war lord rule from 1933 to 1944, under General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whose policy was at first liberal and later harshly repressive. Finally, from 1944 until Sinkiang became enveloped by Chinese Communism on the east as well as Russian Communism on the west,

[11] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Jan. 1931, Vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 140.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

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Kuomintang policy in this frontier region can best be described as one of fitful opportunism in the face of chronic emergency.

Feudal Bureaucracy, 1884

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Of all the feudal bureaucrats in Sinkiang the most able was Yang Tseng-hsin. He was born in Yunnan, though his family originally moved there from Nanking. After having successfully passed the Imperial Civil Service Examinations, he was appointed district magistrate in Kansu and later promoted to be prefecture head and regional administrative head (Taot'ai) in that province. His record was so good that it attracted the attention of Wang Shu-t'ang, Commissioner of Civil Affairs in Sinkiang, who recommended his appointment as Taot'ai of the Aksu region. Still later he became Taot'ai (Intendant of the Circuit) of Urumchi and Barkul. In 1912, after disturbances accompanying the Chinese Revolution, the Governor of Sinkiang resigned and made Yang Tseng-hsin his successor. Yang negotiated with separatist leaders in Ili, prevented a Moslem revolt in Komul, quickly suppressed a rebellion of the Ko Lao Hui (Elder Brethren) secret society in the Tarim Basin, and unified the whole provincial administration.

Most of the important military and police officers under Yang were from Yunnan. These were young men, enthusiastic about the new Chinese Republic. When in 1916 General Ts'ai Ao in their distant home province of Yunnan raised the banner of revolt against Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to set up a monarchy, they wanted to join the Republican movement. Because Yang Tseng-hsin refused to join, they plotted to kill him, but the plot was discovered by one of his intelligence agents. The steps that Yang then took showed his alertness and cunning.

First he called the Yunnanese officials before him to answer the charge. When they denied it, he executed his own intelligence agent to convince them that he believed they had been falsely accused. He then had their families moved into his own residential quarters. Shortly afterward, when he had to entertain an inspector from the Peking Ministry of Education, he invited all

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

[p. 134]

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Mongol

The Unen Susuktu League is made up of ten banners of Torguts 563* who are widely distributed and separated from each other by 631 non-Mongol peoples. The most important Torgut group is in the Tien Shan above the oasis of Kharashahr; others are on the northern skirts of the Tien Shan, and others on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Bato Setkhiltu League is composed of three banners of Khoshots on the Yulduz Plateau, in the heart of the central Tien Shan. The Ching Setkhiltu League includes three banners of Khoshots and seven of Urianghai, all located in the Chuguchak-Altai area. The two groups which are not included in "leagues" are the Chahars, who live in the Borotala Valley, on the way from Urumchi to Kulja, and the Ölöts, in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash Rivers in the Ili region. These complications of the league-and-banner system illustrate how effective it was as a Manchu-invented administrative device for weakening political unity among the Mongols.

Of the various tribal divisions of the Sinkiang Mongols, the 563* Chahars were brought to Sinkiang from their old pastures in what 174 is now Chahar Province in Inner Mongolia, shortly after the Manchus conquered Jungaria in the eighteenth century. As strangers who would not combine easily with the Western Mongols, they were strategically placed to command the main route between Urumchi and Ili. The Urianghai of Sinkiang are also not Western Mongols. As their name indicates, they are related to the tribes of the territory formerly called "Urianghai," later called "Tannu-Tuva," and eventually annexed by the Soviet Union. They originally spoke a Turkic language, becoming Mongolized only as late as the nineteenth century.

All other Sinkiang Mongols are Western Mongols. They are related, by the dialects which they speak and by historical association, to certain tribes of Western Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic), to the Mongols of Kokonor or Ch'inghai, on the northern side of the Tibetan plateau, and to the Kalmuks of the lower Volga, in Russia. Traditionally, the core of the Western Mongols was a tribe called Oirat, who in the fourteenth century migrated into Sinkiang from the Angara River, which flows

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Mongol

*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] 566 *563 In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of con- [792] stituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar,* "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

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Mongol
Tadjik

of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (*Sarikolis, Tajiks*). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

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Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

●631 212 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 562 779 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 779 186 668 [602] The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 578 186 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

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312 133 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 731 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome. It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 631 423 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

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money capital, however, it is not surprising that the line at which work actually starts is still determined by the necessity for public labor, which must be assembled and directed by the exercise of public authority in some form. A typical recent example is the digging of an irrigation canal in the small oasis of Chira. As six villages were affected, three hundred men were assembled from these villages under the authority of their own village headmen. The village organization, however, can be superseded by the higher administrative authority of Chinese officials. The general rule is: local undertakings on a moderate scale are carried out within the limits of such co-operation as can be organized by village elders or headmen; enterprise on a large scale requires the intervention of a Chinese official.

At levels below the intervention of Chinese officials, traces of very ancient practices are found. Field investigation in a village in the oasis of Kucha revealed the survival of the "*ketman* of labor," a concept which combines units of labor, land, and water. The *ketman* is a broad-bladed mattock, the most ancient Inner Asian agricultural tool, which to this day is more widely used than the plow. A "*ketman* of labor" is the work of one man contributed throughout the digging of a canal, which entitles him to a "*ketman* of water," enough to irrigate from ten to fourteen acres.

In this village, however, the uniformity of the concept proved not to be reflected in uniformity of water rights. Of the total population about 8 per cent were landlords and rich peasants; but this 8 per cent owned about half of the total water supply. At the other end of the scale 17 per cent of the population had no water rights whatever, and were forced to purchase their water with a share of their crop. In between these two groups, one half of the water was owned by 75 per cent of the households. These families, classified as middle and poor peasants, had rights to an average of one third of a *ketman* of water for each household.

The shuffle which takes place between the contribution of labor and the allocation of water rights is accounted for in various ways. According to the Islamic principle of *mavat*, he who first

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

service. In 1812, however, an imperial decree allowed the garrison commander at Kulja to divide the Manchu-held land as permanent private property, exempt from tax. Under the terms of grant, such land was not to be leased to others for cultivation, and if farm hands were hired, they must be Manchus.[23] In the course of time, however, these terms became a dead letter and the land was freely leased and even sold to Chinese cultivators, officials and merchants. 175

In their main lines the structures of both the settled and the nomad societies of Sinkiang, as administratively revised under the Manchu Empire, outlasted the great Moslem rebellions of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. They even proved strong enough to contain the gradual commercialization of economic life during the past hundred years. Only now are they finally breaking down, caught between a securely established socialized state in Soviet territory and a rapidly spreading social revolution in Chinese territory. 178 631 566

As they break apart, these structures reveal a multiple stratification, the layers of which can be classified both socially and historically. Socially, they are graduated from arbitrary powers and privileges at the top to disfranchisement at the bottom. Historically, the stratification is more confused. In the alternating cycles of feudalism centralized under a strong imperial overlordship and feudalism decentralized under local oasis-states and rulers of nomad tribes, the incoming phase never completely swept away and replaced the institutions and administrative practices of the outgoing phase. Some of the characteristics of decentralization always lingered here and there, though unevenly, in the strongest phases of centralization; and conversely, even when oases were most completely independent of each other politically, and nomad tribes rejected the overlordship of other nomad tribes, the larger community of the oasis society as such and the society of the pastoral nomads as such was never entirely obliterated.

[23] *Institutes of the Manchu Dynasty*, edition of 1818, section "*Shih Li*" ("Precedents"), Ch. 842, p. 13 (in Chinese).

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178 631 566 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy represents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 566 438 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

to enthrone puppet or at least "loyal" princes. Political manipulation was followed, or accompanied, by military demonstration where it was needed and where it was possible. The policy of letting "barbarians rule barbarians" early became a cardinal feature of Han-Turkestan relations and, in many ways, it has remained so. This was important in an area so distant as the Western Regions, and in ancient days was practiced to the extent of utilizing one colonial principality in military compaigns against another and to the extreme of "permitting" native personnel to administer localities—though this often seems to have been "allowed" in cases where it could not have been prevented. In instances of severe difficulties whole populations were shifted to distant areas or, where deemed necessary, depopulated by the sword. 175 642

The pinnacle of Han administrative achievement on this frontier was the creation of the office of the *Tu-tu*. His job, Chinese history states, was to "watch" a particular outpost. He was, it is evident, an all-around colonial executive and the ancient Chinese counterpart of the Occidental Military Governor of a dependency in the pre-Pearl Harbor epoch.

T'ang Improvements

Where T'ang Chinese considerably improved upon the Han was in their attempt to convert much of the Western Regions into the administrative units used in China Proper—the *chou* and *hsien* (department and county). This meant application of customary Chinese law to the Central Asian frontier, but it did not mean abolition of the office of the Tu-tu. He still administered outlying areas. His duties, however, became in some cases more closely allied with the regional and local government machinery of China Proper than previously. By the new arrangement, also, executive machinery in the Western Regions became exceedingly complicated and broad. At one time this machinery was centered in the Tu-tu prefecture *(Tu-tu Fu)* at An-hsi (in present-day Kansu), with power said to extend from Khotan to Persia, and the following units under its direction: sixteen "states," eighty departments, one hundred eleven counties, and one hundred twenty-six military departments *(chün-fu,* also called *chi-mi chou* or "restrained" departments). [631]

individual from among their number to the office of Concurrent Provincial Chairman. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was appointed to that post in 1940, and he has given it more and more of his attention since the decease of the former Provincial Chairman, Liu Wen-lung. Actually, so far as power is concerned, Sheng Shih-ts'ai seems to have dominated Sinkiang since 1933 through his military strength; the effective participation of other members in the provincial committee seems to have largely been subject to his approval, and in many respects the ratification of his and their appointments by national authorities has been mostly a matter of form. 643

Statements as to the administrative organization of Sinkiang areas do not always jibe. But Tu Chung-yüan writes, and other authorities seem to substantiate, that there are nine principal administrative regions in the province: Tihwa Ch'ü (including the capital of the same name), I-li Ch'ü, T'a Ch'eng Ch'ü, Ha-mi Ch'ü, A Shan Ch'ü, Yen-ch'i Ch'ü, K'o-shih Ch'ü, and Khotan Ch'ü. According to Tu there are administrative officers over these, each of which includes a number of counties. There are, he states, seventy-two counties in all Sinkiang. 631

It is hard to tell how effectively this *Ch'ü* and *Hsien* (Region and County) system has been working in Sinkiang. In the past such governmental forms have worked better in the oasis settlements than in the outlying pastures, but have on the whole been subordinated to varying local tribal customs when the two systems came into practical conflict. Where relations between provincial officials and non-Chinese-speaking races have become too complicated, native headmen speaking Chinese have in the past served as "middlemen." 642

So far as the national allegiance of Sinkiang is concerned, let any doubts be immediately dispelled. The name of the province indicates that it is a part of the territory subject to the laws of the Chinese National Government and the officials and people of both Sinkiang and the Chinese Republic as a whole operate accordingly. Both as Commander-in-Chief of Border Defense and as Provincial Chairman in Sinkiang Sheng Shih-ts'ai is formally an appointee of the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government. The fact that he is allotted and accepts such national titles is significant evidence that neither he

unified government emerged for China." *Ibid.*, p. 276. In turn the Manchu accession to power, according to his view, was a "regeneration of racial sovereignty," though "in a narrow sense." *Ibid.*, II, p. 571. 000

95. ". . . the important duties of the *Tu-tu* were to watch the Wu-sun and K'ang-chu [ancient principalities in the Chinese Western Regions] and all their activities with foreign states. If practicable these matters were to be handled peaceably; if necessary by force." Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

95. T'ang: *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35; cf. Hung Ti-ch'en, *Hsi-ts'ang Shih Ti Ta Kang* (Cheng Chung Book Company, Nanking, 1936), pp. 148-58.

96-97. Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

97-98. The quotation is from Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 76; cf. Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan," *The Open Court*, XLVII (Chicago, March, 1933), p. 99.

98. "Clean Government" is a free translation of the Chinese term, *Ch'ing-lien;* the Chinese is also translatable more literally as "clean-handedness" or "honesty." Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

99. Administrative Divisions: *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. Chao Lieh wrote in 1941 that there are twelve administrative districts with a total of seventy-five hsien in Sinkiang. *Loc. cit.*, Wang Tso-cheng, *Chung-kuo fen sheng Hsiang-t'u* (Ya-Kuang Geographical Society, Shanghai, 1939), states instead under "Sinkiang Province" that there are fifty-nine counties and six Provisional Administrative Offices in the province. The Soviet accounts seem, however, to corroborate or to have accepted Tu Chung-yüan's account. *Vide* the *Malaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia, tom* IX, column 715, which lists nine *okrug* ("district" or "circuit") on its map of "Sinkiang (Western China)," as follows: Kashgarskii okrug (Kashi), Khotanskii okrug (Khetian), Karasharskii okrug (Yanshzi), Aksuiskii okrug, Illiskii okrug (Ili), Urumchinskii okrug (Dikhua), Komul'skii okrug (Khami), Tarbagataiskii okrug, and Altaiskii okrug (Ashan'). *Vide* also Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-83. 631

100. *Vide supra*, p. 55. *Vide* also, for example, the *New York Times*, June 26, 1937, which cites a Pei-p'ing dispatch stating *inter alia*, that "Russia . . . is keenly interested in maintaining paramountcy in Northern Chinese Turkestan, a territory held strategically vital as a cushion against infiltration of Japanese influence along the Siberian frontiers." The same article refers to the "provincial governor who is considered a Russian puppet . . ." *Vide* also dispatches dated October 22, 1937, and October 10, 1938. The latter states "Russian influence, politically and militarily, is extensive in Sinkiang . . ." Such items from the well considered *New York Times* are mild compared to others that have appeared in less discriminating newspapers. 000

102. Hedin, *Flight of "Big Horse,"* pp. 156-157. Kara-Khitai: In 1123 a Khitan prince, who swept into Turkestan at the head of a considerable mercenary following, set up the kingdom of Kara-Khitai. Cf. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 356-357; 384; Lattimore, "Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang (Hsinchiang)," *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

103. Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

103-104. Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.* Chao Lieh reports (*loc. cit.*): "The first three-year plan began in 1937 . . ." Ch'en Chi-jung says ("Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*): "After the middle of 1936 the whole province gradually became united . . . and it was possible to institute the three-year plan of reconstruction." Ch'en Chi-jung claims that in addition to the Sinkiang Commercial Bank, the Central Bank of China established a Tihwa office in 1938 to facilitate financial transactions between Sinkiang and the interior, and that the Farmers Bank of China has also opened an office there. *Loc. cit.*

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71–3.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

•631 Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese [325] officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be [181] performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

133 But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them [651] will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the [161] fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. 311 We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, •631 notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land 311
into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe— 631
receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for
promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted
on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's
Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious
Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way 651
and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer.
For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and
half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not 871
exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached
to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but
reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censor- 268
ship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing
with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and
Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news
or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually
prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from 178
the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if
the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I 439
liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though
the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly
limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route,
the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently
or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is
surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100
and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one
or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur.
Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

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there is the much-frequented shrine of one of Kashgar's many lady-saints, Bu Mariam. It is a simple affair; a grove of ancient desert-poplars, two or three single-storied buildings on a little hill, a tall conical mound of faggots and sand surmounted by a bundle of long poles, and all round in serried ranks the tombs of the Faithful. Escaping with difficulty from the idly curious of Tarim Bazar we made tea for ourselves under a scented tamarisk-bush near the shrine. In a corner under the ancient poplars some families of pilgrims from Khotan were encamped with their ponies, donkeys and goats around them like a nomad tribe on the move; an incredibly old beggar in his elaborately-ragged, almost theatrical patchwork costume and mediæval sheepskin-rimmed extinguisher hat doddered about among the graves; and all the while, incongruously, every tree and every bush was loud with the chorus of Spring.

Next day we crossed the westernmost and narrowest section of the Takla Makan, 24 miles broad, to the tiny settlement of Langar among the first jungles of the Yarkand River. It was not a pleasant march. Though there were no high dunes to cross, the going was heavy throughout, the sun's heat trying and the endless vistas of tamarisk-cones inexpressibly monotonous. The tarantass had as usual been sent back after our first double march, and we both rode. But the worst was now over. Next morning an exhilarating two-mile canter brought us to the river, across the placid waters of which roomy flat-bottomed ferry-boats were plying to and fro with cargoes of fur-hatted carters, blue-hooded Chinese carts, gaily-decked horses tinkling with bells and villagers in costumes of many colours. Across the river, in a grove of trees from which last year's leaves had not yet fallen (so calm and windless is the winter here), we were met by an unexpectedly imposing cortège. Twenty horsemen escorted a landau drawn by three fine bays, harnessed troika-fashion and skilfully handled by an obviously Russian-trained Turki coachman. In the carriage sat a good-looking, clean-shaven young Chinese gentleman dressed in the regulation black silk coat and white skirt, and wearing the neat black cap of his country instead of the ridiculous bowler favoured by most of his colleagues. It was the Amban of Maralbashi, of which district Merket is a subdivision, and he was actually on tour—the first and last occasion during the whole of our time in Kashgaria on which we met a District Magistrate away from

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Çhopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only 563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or S N governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking 175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu- 642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner- 197 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," 631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had S existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners S ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend- 647 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese 175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, 631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. 647 Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S
N
489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral
S nomadism.
N
631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until
S the Communists came into power.
N
563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
659 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.
S
631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were
S administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.
631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
647 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.

175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
668 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
178 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
619 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
648 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S [622] upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

26

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
• 631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen.' Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

642 668 177 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 631 177 162 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a province - divided into ten special districts and these were subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 131 668 177 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for

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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
177 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:

(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

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B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, 563 428 including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

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631 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristocracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

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The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

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184 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

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[592] The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede and join another encampment. According to Ekvall ('939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

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592 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man, his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants consist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

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S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi.' The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

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The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177 S 635 628 177 S [642]

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

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Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

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Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

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During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists
C can easily make or break any candidate.

668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
642 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

N C. Political Rights in Practice

631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of
*668 People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

N "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all
631 circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
*668 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Commit-
666 tees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

N "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Gov-
631 ernments in the Northwest region have attached importance to
*668 People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

S "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
631 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All
668 Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

S 631 668 the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at least three times, and up to nine times...these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the conference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected S [666] the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

S 668 666 "In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan: "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

N 668 666 S 668 666 This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang, Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flustered. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

A. Constitutional Rights

C 668 641 642 In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Communists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:

Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

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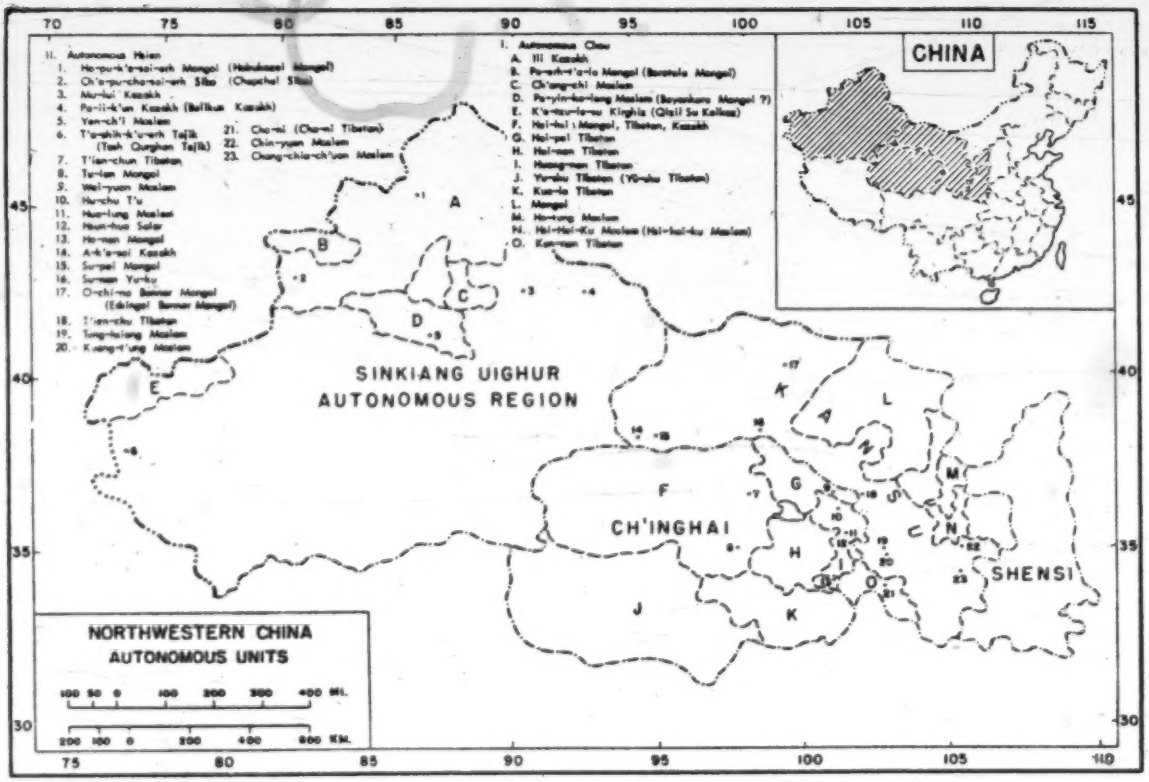

following page 464

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*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
[633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority
N to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
S (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
[668] region on October 1, 1955.
[635] Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
*668 631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 631 1955, are shown in Table 9.
N After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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N
*668 with the local governmental divisions down to the county level, is
*563 shown in Table 10.
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TABLE 8

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province early in 1955:

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NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang province	Urumchi	4 municipalities 1 branch office 10 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the regular special districts, there are altogether 75 counties and 4 autonomous areas at the county level

TABLE 9

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province since October 1, 1955:

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region	Urumchi	4 municipalities 7 special districts 5 autonomous chou (special districts) with a total, under these and the regular special districts, of 74 counties and 6 autonomous hsien[1]

[1] The three special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak), and Altai were combined to make the Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili. On February 5, 1955, all the self-governing special districts were renamed "autonomous chou" and the self-governing counties were renamed "autonomous hsien."

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TABLE 10

Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

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(635)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'uan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-chih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi-sha, and Su-fu

*668 554 S 668 554 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election S N [666] of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N *668 *175 669 S 668 669 175 The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ningsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

S 669 175 631 635 554 Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
*175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
*668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
*563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
175 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
668 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
563 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.
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Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training, non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

N The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
*175 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
*668 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
*563 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
162 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
631 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
S counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
175 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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N in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*175 January 8, 1952).
*668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
*563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

N A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*175 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
*668 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
578 cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
[661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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*175 V. Political Structure and Political Progress
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A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that
N followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were
[635] also established in the five provinces then comprising the North-
[632] west: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ningsia, and Sinkiang.

N While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*175 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
*668 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
635 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
632 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities.
666 Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their
S time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference
[175] of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities
[668] in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily
[631] devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

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*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in N nghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'tn-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

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175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

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175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only S 175 592 162 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü) level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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C. The General Election of 1953-54

*175 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
*668 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
666 tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's
[641] Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu	(no figures available)			

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• 631
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N
*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
S tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
• 631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*175 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
*668 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and
166 workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

175 177 668 642 [563] [631] under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

175 177 668 642 563 Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
• 631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

Burkhan Shahidi
Chinese name: Pao-erh-han

159 Burkhan was the last governor of Sinkiang under the Nationalist Government, and the first governor of Sinkiang under the Communist regime. He is a Uighur, born in 1894 at Aqsu, Sinkiang. In 1912 he went to Berlin, Germany, and in 1916 was graduated from the University of Berlin specializing in economics and political science. Following his return from Germany, he took different positions in the local government in Sinkiang. Under the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen (1927-1933) he was in charge of foreign affairs. Later he was sent to Germany again to investigate political and economic conditions. Under the administration of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, for some time, he served as commissioner in the Altai (A-shan) region. In 1937 he was appointed by the Nationalist Government as the consul to Saizan, Soviet Central Asia. When he returned home the next year he was accused by Governor Sheng as a German spy and was imprisoned for seven years until the end of 1944, when Governor Sheng was relieved of his governorship.

159 669 631 In the early stages of the Sinkiang disturbances, which lasted from 1944 to 1949, Burkhan played a rather insignificant role. Under the administration of Governor Wu Chung-hsin, 1944-1945, he served as deputy commissioner for civil affairs, and later as the political commissioner of the first region. When the Sinkiang disorders developed to such an extent that the Central government had to send a special representative, General Chang Chih-chung, to Sinkiang with the hope of settling the differences between the rebellious tribes in Ining and the so-called Youth Corps of Eastern Turkestan, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as Governor of Sinkiang in 1946, and Burkhan was appointed as one of the lieutenant governors.

The Sinkiang situation continued to develop from bad to worse. Unable to solve the complicated problem, Chang Chih-chung in 1947 recommended Maksud Sabri (Mai-ssu-wu-te) a member of the Kuomintang and a minority leader in Sinkiang, for governor. In May 1947 the Central government appointed Maksud in the hope that he, being a native, could better handle the situation. Rebellious forces, however, aimed their attack at Maksud. At this crucial time, Burkhan suggested to Chang [648] Chih-chung, who was still political chief for the Nationalist Government in the Northwest, that the only possible way to settle the Sinkiang problem and improve relations between Sinkiang and the Soviet Union was to remove General Sung Hsi-lien,

S
159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

S
159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
S
[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.

S
159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
631 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

N
In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
*[668] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist gen-
[669] eral, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

S
159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
• 631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
S 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autono-
[643] mous Region.
S
159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist
159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

N
159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

N
159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
*668 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest
631 Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

S
159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
668 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi,
631 member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

N
159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
[701]
[631] Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member
S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
*668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

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Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

N
159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
● 631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

159 trative Council, he became vice-chairman of the council. In the
668 province of Sinkiang, he was from 1950 to 1955 vice-chairman of
631 the provincial People's Government, director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Provincial People's Government, and commander of the Fifth Army. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the first session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee, which did the ground work in preparing the establishment of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. In October 1955, when the SUAR was formally inaugurated, he was elected the chairman, but after a month, for reasons unknown, he resigned and Burkhan Shahidi again became chairman.

Saifuddin's membership in the Chinese Communist Party was disclosed in 1950, but he may have been an undercover agent before. He served as the fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP (later reorganized as the Sinkiang Committee) from 1950.

In the mass organizations, Saifuddin is chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and he was also a member of the national committee of the China Peace Committee, an organization formed to carry out the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign. Since December 1954 he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

159 Saifuddin's rise to recognition started from the revolt at Ili
668 in 1944 when the so-called People's Committee for the Republic
[669] of Eastern Turkestan was organized in opposition to the provincial government of Sinkiang and also to the Nationalist Government. Saifuddin was appointed Minister of Education at that time and was also in charge of the Youth Corps. By January 1945 the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally established. Saifuddin was one of the lieutenants of Akmedjan Kasimi, a leader in the Ili coalition, who in 1948 organized his supporters into the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and became editor of its organ, The Progressive Daily. When Akhmedjan and two others were killed in a plane crash en route to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September 1949, Saifuddin assumed the leadership of the Sinkiang League which, in 1950, was renamed the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and which furnished seventeen thousand experienced minority cadres to staff the government agencies in Sinkiang. Through their efforts, the Ili region in Sinkiang forged ahead of the rest of the province in land reform, in collectivization, in the recruitment of activists into the ranks of the cadres, and in meeting the requirements for the establishment of regional autonomy.

How trustworthy and loyal are the members of the Sinkiang League to the Communist cause is, however, still a question. The fact that many of them still entertain separatist opinions

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S 159 631 701 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer

A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S 159 701 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army, T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

S 159 669 668

N 159 *668 701 Teng Pao-san: Army officer

A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

S
159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N
159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
*668 partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the
[631] Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the North
*563 west. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N
159 Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
*668 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
631 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of
496

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N
159 Yang Tzu-lien: Democratic League member, government
631 official

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950 - 1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

S
159 Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and gov-
701 ernment official
631 Chinese name: Ching-fu

A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197

634

tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 197 162

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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TABLE 10

Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'uan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi sha, and Su-fu

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)	
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

485 exclusive use of a small kitchen, in which we cooked with our own utensils. Our word was accepted that no pork, lard or swine's flesh of any description would be used, nevertheless the members of this large Moslem clan preferred employing another kitchen rather than that contaminated by wandering Gentiles.

262 The landlord was on the spot to receive us, and at once we were served with a melon, which was entirely worthy of the reputation that Hami has gained for this fruit. An hour later we sat down to an abundant meal of rice and good Chantow bread, a dish of chopped mutton and egg-plant fried together, a plate of French beans *sautés* in mutton fat with sliced cucumber, and the whole accompanied by unlimited 'sweet water' tea, followed by slices of cantaloupe melon—truly a feast for the gods!

485 Before we had finished our meal Mr. Hunter arrived with an armful of our much accumulated mail, which kept us fully occupied for the remainder of the afternoon. The landlord meanwhile explained to us that his inn was only recently built, and was constructed to accommodate such merchants as might need to spend a considerable period in Hami. It was not yet officially opened, but when his old friend, Mr. Hunter, asked that we might be his first guests, he could not refuse him, especially in view of the long distance which we had come. This eventful day then closed with a hot sponge-bath, as, for the first time since leaving Suchow, we were able to obtain sufficient hot water for our use.

361 During the next few days we visited every portion of the three settlements which form the city of Hami.
• 134 There is a well-built, mud-walled town in which is situated the Palace of the Khan, known by the Chinese as Wang ye.

Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, bestowed

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

oned without trial, and their property was confiscated.[55] With some 200 Chungking men out of the way, General Sheng, according to one report, "asked Generalissimo Stalin to incorporate Sinkiang into the Soviet Union. The Russian leader, who evidently had had quite enough by this time, refused. Chungking also had had enough, and decided to remove General Sheng by a delicate operation."[56] 175*

General Chu Shao-liang was again sent to Urumchi, and persuaded Sheng Shih-ts'ai to leave Sinkiang and accept the post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Chungking. (Under the Kuomintang, this Ministry had become a sinecure for men out of power, because of its inability to do anything challenging the interests of the landlords who had increasingly gained control over the Kuomintang.) On September 2, 1944, the provincial *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* published the news that Sheng had been transferred to Chungking, and on September 11 he departed from Urumchi airfield. His reign was over.

Breakdown of Chinese Frontier Policy

Yang Tseng-hsin, Chin Shu-jen, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai had one after another established themselves as the rulers of Sinkiang, and had then been "recognized" by the National Government. After the deposition of Sheng, on the other hand, the National Government was able to name four men in succession as its own appointees to the post of Chairman of the Provincial Government. These men were Wu Chung-hsin, Chang Chih-chung, Masud Sabri and Burkhan. The constrast shows that since 1944 Sinkiang has once more come within the orbit of Chinese national politics. 175* 635

After the surrender of Japan in 1945 the C.C. Clique and the Political Science Group became the main sources of Chinese national policy in Sinkiang. The C.C. Clique — the "Tammany" of 175* 665

[55] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Tides of the Dry Sea*, or *Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January, 1947, p. 19; also Shanghai edition of the same date, p. 21 (in Chinese).

[56] Dispatch from Christopher Rand, dated Urumchi September 22, 1947, in *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1947.

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deputies. Wang Tseng-shan, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Chao Chien-feng, Social Welfare Commissioner, and Fu Chien-chi, Vice-Commissioner of Reconstruction, were all active C.C. Clique members. 175* 669

With this mixed team, General Chang made a real effort to improve government, at least in Urumchi. A basic law for the province, in ten articles, was immediately adopted. Under this law officials were forbidden to engage in trade, and private banks were encouraged to increase production. Requisitions were limited and tax reduction was provided for, at least as a hope. All district councils and magistrates were to be elected within three months.[74] To implement this law, the government ordered the liquidation of the provincial trading corporation which had been set up by Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[75] (General Chang ordered 25,000 Chinese ounces of opium to be burned in front of his headquarters.) To reduce the danger of riots, intermarriage between Moslems and non-Moslems was forbidden. Taxes in arrears were canceled, and a reduction of taxes was promised for 1947.[76] To cover the budget deficit, General Chang went to Nanking to ask for an annual subsidy of $165,000,000 in Chinese dollars.[77] 175* 635

More than a hundred Chinese Communists who had been put in prison by Sheng Shih-ts'ai (many of them being men who had worked for him in his reform period), were released by Chang Chih-chung and sent to Yenan in a special convoy of trucks.[78] In taking this step, he was following consistently the line which for some years had marked him as a moderate man who favored compromise. Certainly General Chang was sincere in his efforts to reach a workable compromise in Sinkiang. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, for instance, he said, "Whenever I 175*

[74] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947, pp. 9–11 (in Chinese).

[75] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, August 13, 1946 (in Chinese).

[76] Details of sixteen tax reductions were published as an official announcement in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, January 12, 1947 (in Chinese).

[77] Same publication, April 11, 1947.

[78] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Shanghai edition, January 1947 (in Chinese).

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*175 497 In addition to other minor demands, General Chang wanted the assent of the Sinkiang nationalist leaders to the building of a railway into Sinkiang. From the government point of view, this was a reasonable project for the linking of a frontier province to the main body of China. From the point of view of the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, railway communication meant the danger of being submerged by a flood of Chinese colonists.

*175 436 General Chang's final demand was that Sinkiang give up its separate provincial currency and adopt that of the National Government. From the Chinese point of view, this was a rational demand. From the Sinkiang point of view, it carried with it the danger that the wealth of Sinkiang would be freely pumped into China, without a compensating flow back from China into Sinkiang.[87]

*175 ●635 Before the deadlock could be broken General Chang gave up his post as Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. He retained, however, the post of Commander of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters, which gave him general supervisory powers in Northwest China and Sinkiang. He was succeeded as Chairman in May 1947 by Masud Sabri, the elderly representative of an Uighur family of rich landholders and merchants.

In 1904, at the age of seventeen, Masud Sabri had gone to Turkey to study. After eleven years, spent mostly in Istanbul, he returned to Sinkiang in 1915, strongly influenced by the Turkish nationalism of Kemal Atatürk. In 1934, after practicing medicine in Ili for several years, he traveled through Kashgar to India and then by sea to China, where he soon became associated politically with the C.C. Clique. Through the support of this clique, and not through any process of nomination by supporters in Sinkiang, he was made a delegate from Sinkiang to the Kuomintang National Conference of 1936 and subsequently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. During the war against Japan, the C.C. Clique placed him in the National Political Coun-

[87] The full text of Chang Chih-chung's speech was published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese). Note the long delay before publication, indicating the political tension during these months.

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cil. In 1942 he became a member of the National Government.

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Thus in 1947 when Masud Sabri became Chairman of Sinkiang — the first "native" ever to hold that position — he did not come to the fore as the head of a movement originating in Sinkiang but as a "tame" Uighur who had long been the pensioner of the powerful C.C. Clique. The fact that he was not stepping up to the governorship from within Sinkiang but was returning after an expatriation of many years was underlined by his arrival from China in the company of General Sung Hsi-lien, commander of the Chinese "expeditionary forces" that had been sent into Sinkiang, and General T'ao Shih-yueh, provincial garrison commander.[88]

It is not surprising, therefore, that even before Masud Sabri's arrival several members of the provincial assembly signed a letter to General Chang Chih-chung protesting his appointment. On June 4, after his inauguration on May 31, no less than 63 members of the assembly out of 90 present adopted a resolution opposing him, while outside of the assembly the opposition to him was headed by twelve popular organizations.[89] Handbills distributed by these organizations stressed the fact that Masud Sabri had not been in Sinkiang when the nationalist risings began, that he had not shown himself as soon as Sheng Shih-ts'ai fell from power, and that he had no local record in either administration or leadership.[90]

In spite of these protests conservative Uighurs, especially landholders in oases occupied by Chinese forces, gathered around Masud Sabri in numbers sufficient to split the nationalist movement. With the backing of the C.C. Clique and the Chinese military, confirmation was withheld from elected members of the provincial judiciary, command appointments in the provincial peace preservation corps were held up, and district magistrates elected by local councils were forced to continue to take orders from the Chinese military. Out of 421 appointments to the police bureau in Urumchi only 48 were Moslems, with Chinese holding

[88] *Min Chu Pao* (*Democratic Daily*), Kulja, June 18, 1947 (in Chinese).
[89] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1947.
[90] *Ibid.*, June 24, 1947.

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84 per cent of the posts. Police orders were written only in Chinese, and Moslem members of the force were not allowed to carry arms. Moreover a secret police force continued to operate, although supposedly abolished under the "basic provincial law" of July 1946.[91]

Tension mounted. Only a month after Masud Sabri's inauguration the secret police and members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, supported by the regular police, attacked a moving picture theater where more than a thousand people were gathered and beat up members of the provincial assembly and a former Deputy District Magistrate from Turfan, and at the same time people in the street who had been reading a wall poster denouncing Masud Sabri were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned.[92] Pressure by Masud Sabri prevented the holding of a protest meeting which had been planned by Kulja members of the provincial assembly.

The split between Masud Sabri and the militant Kulja nationalists then became open. In July 1947 a group of twenty-seven members of the provincial assembly left Urumchi for Kulja; this group included representatives from Kharashahr, Turfan, Khotan, and Aksu as well as from the Kulja region itself. They were joined shortly afterward by twenty-two members from the Kashgar region, and finally in August the rest of the Kulja delegates withdrew to Kulja, headed by Akhmedjan Kasimi.[93]

From his supervisory position as a backer of Masud Sabri, General Chang Chih-chung in September addressed an open letter to Akhmedjan, as the leader of the dissidents, asking in effect if there was to be war or peace: "If you have no intention against peace, you will return to Urumchi and reopen negotiations with the government."[94] The Kulja reply, in November, denied that secession from China was intended and offered to return to Urumchi if the government would meet certain demands, includ-

[91] *Ibid.*, June 24 and 29, 1947.
[92] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1947.
[93] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 11 and 14, 1947 (in Chinese).
[94] *Time*, New York, October 6, 1947.

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ing the removal of Masud Sabri. In December Chang Chih-chung answered that the Chinese Government would not consider replacing Masud Sabri without an election; but at the same time he renewed his invitation for further negotiations. The Kulja response merely reiterated the demand for the removal of Masud Sabri.[95]

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In the meantime General Chang Chih-chung had returned to Nanking, where he submitted to the government a "five year plan" for the development of agriculture, forestry, mining, cattle raising, and industry in Sinkiang. In January 1948 the Chinese Government appropriated NC fifty billion dollars in the depreciated currency of the period as compensation for private property confiscated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A high official, P'eng Hsueh-p'ei, was sent on a six-week "fact-finding" tour of Sinkiang, and on his return urged immediate improvement of health and transportation facilities.

In the main, however, the situation continued at deadlock through the year 1948. The Chinese Government maintained a force of about 100,000 troops in Sinkiang, many of them American-equipped, and these troops were effectively immobilized in the civil war against the Communists. Opposed to them were troops of the Kulja coalition, mainly Uighurs and Kazakhs, whose numbers were variously reported at figures ranging from 20,000 to 60,000. These troops were frequently reported to be receiving aid from Russia.

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In military action, however, the most sensational events were not on the frontier between Kuomintang-held Sinkiang and the dissidents of the Kulja coalition, but on the Outer Mongolian frontier, around the knot of mountains known as the Baitik Bogda. These mountains are an outlying spur of the main Altai range, and stand at the edge of the Jungarian Desert of northern Sinkiang. When Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia, and China were united under the Manchu Empire, this frontier was not of great impor-

[95] Dispatch by John Roderick from Lanchow, Kansu Province (General Chang's headquarters), dated April 5, 1948, published in *China Daily Tribune*, Shanghai, April 7, 1948.

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widespread fighting broke out, however, and American reporters who went up to Sinkiang after the first reports tended to minimize the significance of the incidents.[96] 175* 648

The exact location of the frontier in this region remains unclear. Recent Chinese maps show the entire Baitik Bogda within Sinkiang, and the Outer Mongolian frontier running along the main crest of the Altai.[97] Older maps, however, both Russian (Tsarist) and British, show the frontier running either right through the Baitik Bogda or somewhat to the south of the main height of the hills. 175* 131

In December 1948 the Chinese Government made a new move of major importance by dropping Masud Sabri as Chairman of the Province and replacing him with Burkhan, the former Vice-Chairman, who as a "middle-of-the-roader" was more acceptable to the Kulja dissidents. Burkhan, a Russian Tatar by origin, with large trading interests, had been a man of influence in Sinkiang since Tsarist times. He had managed to maintain himself under the regimes of Yang Tseng-hsin, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, and the Kuomintang. 175* 635

In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung returned to Sinkiang to attempt to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty, to replace a ten-year agreement signed in 1939 under the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. It was reported at the time that the Russians were attempting to acquire monopoly rights in mining and trade. There was also speculation that on the Chinese side an elaborate maneuver was being carried out to create a conflict of interest between the Russians and the Chinese Communists, by granting to the Russians exclusive rights in this frontier sector of Chinese territory. In the upshot, no new treaty was negotiated, but the Russian monopoly right to an air service between Komul and the 175* 648

[96] See, for example, dispatch from Henry R. Lieberman, from Urumchi, August 27, 1948, in *New York Times*, September 8, 1948.

[97] See the map on p. 59 of the article by Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, New York, 1949.

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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

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The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

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While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

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The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
[651] selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products.
S In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
798 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
182 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yöguts, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N (633) [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [131] [16] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 635

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

N 175 487

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

S 175 487

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
• 635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's
635 administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of
175 Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang.
648 At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh
167 refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete
635 repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in
175 the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible
648 to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was
648 characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 158 635 669 578 rebellion.

The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 159 635 669 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides. In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
• 635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

S
175 5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and
159 misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in com-
• 635 parison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the
669 characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N IV. The Rise of the Communists

*175 While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang,
*668 events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast
669 territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

S The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war
175 against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a
159 virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he main-
648 tained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather
[635] than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

000 N *175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 162 The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. 186 [563] Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

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162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion
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[771] they are Sunna Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*

(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hstln-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C.P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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S
N I. Introduction
121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S
N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S
162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S
[114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Öläts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

N 795 * 668 177 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:

1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the N 795 * 668 177 Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conciliatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 795 668 177 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists, recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races. S [635] The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177 S 635 628 177 S [642]

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

N 635 631 *175 S 635 631 175

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

N 635 631 *175 N *[668]

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

N
[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

N
*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region,
S as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
668 Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
• 635 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

N
*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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TABLE V

SINKIANG PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Burhan (Uighur)
Vice-Chairmen: Kao Chin-ch'in
Saifudin (Uighur)
Members: 30 (only 28 appointed: 12 Chinese, 7 Uighurs, 2 Kazakhs, 1 Uzbek, 1 Tatar, 1 Moslem, 1 Kirghis, 3 unidentified
Secretary-general: Liu Meng-ch'un
Vice-secretary-general: A-pu-tu-la-tsa-k'e-erh
Ni Tien-te

BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: A-pu-tu-je-ho-man-mu-hei-t'i
Vice-commissioner: Kao Wen-t'ien

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: A-pu-lieh-tzu
Vice-commissioners: Liu Hu-p'ing
Shu Chih-t'ung

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Saifudin
Members: 19 (18 men and 1 woman)

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Cheng
Deputy director: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Members: 13

OFFICE OF PLANNING
Director: P'u-la-t'e

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Hu Sai-ying

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Kao Chin-ch'in
Vice-commissioner: Liu Tzu-mou

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Mai-pa-su-a-t'i-hung
2nd commissioner: Mai-mai-ti-ai-sha
Vice-commissioner: Ma-chi-t'i

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND MINING
Commissioner: K'a-yu-mu-po-k'e-ho-chia
Vice-commissioner: K'o-ma-li-ting

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: T'u Chih
Vice-commissioner: Seu-wu-yi-le

BUREAU OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Commissioner: Ta-hsia-p'u
Vice-commissioner: Ai-mi-wa-erh

BANK
President: Chang Ting-fan

TRADING COMPANY
Manager: Liu Tzu-mo
Vice-managers: Che K'ai
Wang P'u
Ko-ma-li-ting

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Teng Li-ch'un
Deputy directors: I-pu-la-yin
Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Yu Wen

BUREAU OF EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Vice-commissioner: Ma Wen

BUREAU OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Commissioner: A-li-mu-chiang
Vice-commissioner: Wang Ho-t'ing

OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Head: Ta-ho-p'u-po-k'e
Deputy head: P'an Shih-cheng

SINKIANG PROVINCE PEOPLE'S COURT
President: Burhan
Vice-president: T'o-fu

following page 474 (d)

N
*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
N
(635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
S (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
(668) region on October 1, 1955.
• (635) Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
*668 631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 631 1955, are shown in Table 9.
N After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

N
*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
631 S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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TABLE 8

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province early in 1955:

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NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang province	Urumchi	4 municipalities 1 branch office 10 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the regular special districts, there are altogether 75 counties and 4 autonomous areas at the county level

TABLE 9

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province since October 1, 1955:

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region	Urumchi	4 municipalities 7 special districts 5 autonomous chou (special districts) with a total, under these and the regular special districts, of 74 counties and 6 autonomous hsien[1]

[1] The three special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak), and Altai were combined to make the Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili. On February 5, 1955, all the self-governing special districts were renamed "autonomous chou" and the self-governing counties were renamed "autonomous hsien."

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TABLE 10
Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

NAME	DESCRIPTION
668 631 634 563 [635] SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'uan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi sha, and Su-fu

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POLITICAL DYNAMICS

N I. Historical Background

631 Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually N two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic * [175] cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese * [563] end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, [578] and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

N 635 East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern [162] Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for N the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. 635 The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since * 175 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they * 668 established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

S Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge • 635 dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more 648 closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese S Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic 635 people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and 563 political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united N * 563 front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of at- 635 648 tempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
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S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
• 635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

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*175 A. Top Echelon Officials

*668 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
554 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
635 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
• 635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)	
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
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175 648 was re-established, economic penetration from Russia and to a lesser degree from British India continued. In the treaty of 1881, Russia had established consulates at Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan. The treaty also stipulated that consulates should be established at Urumchi, Hami (Qomul), and Ch'i-t'ai, if the development of Russian trade warranted it. England arranged in 1884 for the stationing of a British trade agent at Kashgar.

In the following period the Chinese political position in Sinkiang was not threatened again by either Russia or England. Chinese control created, in effect, something of a buffer area for the conflicting expansionist interests of these two powers. Towards the turn of the century, attempts were made to delimit Russian and British areas of expansion in order to diminish chances of conflict. In 1895 the two powers agreed to delimit their respective areas of expansion in the Pamirs. In a decision of the Pamir Boundary Commission the two powers agreed to set aside a narrow corridor of Afghan territory which would extend from Afghanistan to the Chinese province of inkiang. This corridor would prevent a direct Russo-British-India frontier. The Anglo-Russian tensions came to a new height during the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. When the war was over, Russian and England came to settle all their conflicting interests in the Triple Entente of 1907. By that time the neutralization of the central Asiatic area of possible conflict had already been recognized for so long that Turkestan was no longer mentioned in the agreement.

IV Policy of Yang Tseng-hsin

175 648 635 The Chinese position in inkiang entered into a new phase with the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The Revolution changed the relationship between the province and the new types of central governments that succeeded each other in China. In imperial times the Chinese governors were a part of the imperial bureaucracy, and the court had been able to appoint and recall governors more or less at will. It had also given the provincial administration a yearly subsidy of over two and a half million taels (a tael equals about 1.28 U.S. dollars). With the revolution, the central control over the province was greatly weakened. No more subsidy was forthcoming from China and the governors had to base their power and position almost entirely on local support. Yang Tseng-hsin, the Chinese governor of inkiang from 1912 to 1928 gained such support by giving the non-Chinese population groups greater economic autonomy. At the same time he maintained good relations with Russia by permitting Russian economic activities which had considerably increased since 1905. The Russo-Asiatic Bank had its branches at Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, and Kashgar with the right to issue paper currency. These branches played a large role in the local trade.

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the
[635] reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
• (635) ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in
[668] September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

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Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

159 669 635 668 (648) At the same time the Pei-t'a-shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 648 669 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist

A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940, opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

N 159 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be
S 669 recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frus-
648 trated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike fore-
S 635 sight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned
S 159 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the
668 liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945,
648 organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[493] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
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[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

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159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
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[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

was in the case of Yakub Beg, the Khokandi adventurer who led a successful revolt against the Chinese in 1865 and ruled the country after the traditional manner of the Oriental despot for the next twelve years. Under his tyranny, according to Stein,[1] the population of some of the oases sank to one-half of what it had once been, and the cultivated area everywhere shrank greatly. The result was that when in 1877 the Chinese came back in force, they were welcomed with open arms by the people and the power of the self-styled "Amir" collapsed like a house of cards. 175

Nothing is more impressive than the persistence with which through the ages China has enforced her claim to Eastern Turkistan. Whether to safeguard the transcontinental "Silk Road," which in the palmy days of Imperial Rome carried the produce of her looms to the Atlantic shore, or whether because she must extend her effective occupation to the westernmost mountain barriers of her empire on pain of losing their protection, China has always returned to the charge, even after a thousand years. Despite the gigantic distances involved—for even now, with several hundred miles of railway to help, the journey from Peking to Kashgar takes five months—her armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Emperors of Cathay has leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as though they had never been. [489]

Since their last re-conquest in 1877 the Chinese have governed Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," from Urumchi fifty marches north-east of Kashgar. Standing on the site of Bishbaligh, one of the chief centres of the Uigur civilization in the Middle Ages, Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China, except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, where a man may travel for fifty days without meeting a single human being, the New Dominion has recked little of the civil wars which during the last twelve years have rent the mother-country from end to end. The only effect on Sinkiang of the Revolution of 1911 and the consequent weakening of the Central Government has been to permit a Governor of outstanding ability to establish himself as the virtually independent ruler of Chinese Central Asia. The result of Yang Tseng-hsin's twelve years' rule has been that the military and other 636 •

[1] "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 498.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them [651] will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the [161] mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. 311 We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, 631 notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accompanied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses of the Chinese population is distinctly different from that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accomplished in Shansi. The policy of this strong autocratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

this end he allows no newspaper to be published in his territory, and the postal, telegraph and wireless offices are under the control of his appointed censors. News from the outside world filters through but slowly, and all restaurants are posted with the announcement: '*No political discussions allowed.*' It is certainly to Governor Yang's credit that the roads of Turkestan are notably free from brigandage, and during the past decade of civil war in China, Turkestan has remained peaceful. At the time of our visit the whole Yamen was busy with preparations for the journey to be shortly taken by the Governor's son and suite to the town of Zaisan in Russian territory, where the young man had been appointed Chinese Consul.

We were the first British women who had ever visited Urumchi, and our application for passports to cross the Russian frontier at Kuswun created a precedent. Three years previously some of our boxes were stolen from a Kansu inn, and our British passports were lost with them. The papers with which we now travelled were passports written in the Chinese language, and issued by the Chinese Foreign Office and British Consul in Hankow. These documents refer to us by our Chinese names only. We had early made application for permits to travel across Russia, which request had been forwarded to Moscow by the Soviet Consul in Urumchi, and on the day after our arrival word came that this permission was granted, when we immediately presented ourselves to make personal application for a visa. This was duly affixed to the Chinese passport, and all possible help and information with a view to making the journey easy was given to us by the Consular Staff.

The weeks of our stay were very happy and interesting and the time passed only too quickly ere arrangements

159 669 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi) from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 669 648 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the successful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai 159 648 allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

(643) During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became absolute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union. 159 Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relation-
648 ship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor
159 was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one-ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 665 the Kuomintang, controlling more political machinery and more key appointments than any other faction — was known for its impatient policy of direct repression, and its preference for the use of force in extirpating any challenge to its supremacy. Its strength came from the brothers Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu, nephews of an early political patron of Chiang Kai-shek and confidential secretaries to the Generalissimo who helped to engineer his original rise to power. The Political Science Group — made up of experienced bureaucrats and administrators, with something of the subtlety and refinement of the old mandarinate — preferred moderation whenever possible.

Both factions, however, required a strong military leader as a pivot around which to revolve, and both always revolved around Chiang Kai-shek. They have been used by him, at his discretion, in alternating phases of policy. They represent different expressions of the Confucian tradition that the function of officials is not to represent the people but to rule over them. Despite the friction of rivalry between them they held basically the same view with regard to minority peoples within the Chinese realm: these peoples are not entitled to equal representation in a Chinese federation, but should be ruled over by the Chinese.

*175 642 This view differs from that of Sun Yat-sen, who definitely recognized the Moslem Turkis (the Uighurs) in Sinkiang as a distinct nationality. According to Article Four of his National Reconstruction Program, and also the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, all such "nationalities" in China are entitled to self-determination. Sun Yat-sen only developed this view fully at the very end of his life, almost certainly under the influence of Russian and Chinese Communist advisers, and probably under the influence of the successful example of the Soviet policy toward national minorities. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, however, this approach was abandoned by the Kuomintang. Even Kuomintang members who recognized the distinct nationality of such peoples as the Uighurs had no policy providing for self-determination in practice. The narrowest

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

view of all is well expressed by Li Tung-fang, a historian patronized by the C.C. Clique, who asserted that the Uighurs are descended from the Huns, that the Huns (Hsiungnu) were in turn descended from the ancient Chinese, and that therefore there is no real difference of "nationality" between Uighurs and Chinese.[57]

175* 642

The latest trend of Kuomintang theory was to ignore self-determination, and to discuss instead "equality of treatment" and "promotion of autonomous government." Both formulas, as will be seen, are subject to very special interpretation. At the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek declared that the essence of nationalism was to liberate the Chinese and to treat all nationalities within China on a basis of equality. In November 1944 Sun Fo restated this view.[58] The practical limits of this approach were laid down by Li Tung-fang, in stating the opinion that self-government — not self-determination — should not be applied to a unit larger than a district within a province, and should never be extended to a whole province. Chang Chih-chung apparently feared that self-determination might lead automatically to secession and independence. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, when he was Governor of Sinkiang, he declared that though "scores of years or several centuries hence" Sinkiang might become independent, it could not be independent now.[59] Thus, in the later trend of Kuomintang theory, self-determination has apparently been fully identified with independence.

Under actual conditions in China, however, a demand for self-determination is not necessarily the same thing as a demand for independence. "Self-determination" is often in fact an assertion of the right to stay within the Chinese comity on the basis of a federation of provinces with equal status, and the demand for self-

[57] Li Tung-fang, "Are the People of Sinkiang Turki?" in *Altai*, Chungking, April 25, 1945, Vol. 1, No. 2 (in Chinese).

[58] Speech by Sun Fo at the celebration in Chungking of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State, November 1944.

[59] Speech by Chang Chih-chung published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 642 determination often stems not from separatism but from resistance to the assertion of a central dictatorship over outlying provinces.

Thus the *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin, in a Mukden dispatch of February 3, 1948, noted that "Perhaps the main cause of bitterness against the government among the Manchurians has been the policy of officials appointed by Nanking of treating the Manchurians as a people to be dominated militarily and exploited economically." The "Manchurians" are, of course, Chinese, closely related to the main stock of North China. The situation in Sinkiang, where most of the people are not Chinese, is similar but more marked. Thus even Masud Sabri, an Uighur who was regarded by other Uighurs as subservient to the C.C. Clique, felt constrained to say in 1945 that while the war against Japan was still going on the main characteristics of Chungking policy in Sinkiang were military domination by a large number of troops who were regarded as "human-faced locusts," and promotion of the kind of Chinese colonization that had contributed so much to such uprisings as that in Komul.[60]

*175 701 When Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang in September 1944 he left behind six divisions of his own troops. In addition, four divisions of Chungking troops had already entered the province. Two divisions of Chinese Moslem cavalry from Ch'inghai were added a year later, bringing the total up to twelve divisions. Strong fortifications facing west were then built, and though there have been a number of reorganizations, the total military force has remained at about 100,000.[61] The economic strain and social friction associated with the maintenance of such a force in a distant and thinly inhabited province have been described by a Chinese

[60] *New York Times*, January 30, 1948. The comment on troops by Masud Sabri is contained in his article "Regarding Politics in the Northwest," in *Altai*, Chungking, April 25, 1945 (in Chinese).

[61] This figure was reported by Frank Robertson, who in 1947 spent about eight months in Sinkiang. See his dispatch of January 28, 1948, published in *New York Times*, February 1, 1948. For military establishment at the time Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang, see press interview with Chang Chih-chung published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 4, 1947 (in Chinese).

VII

CLEAN GOVERNMENT

642 SINKIANG as a Chinese province has existed for less than three-quarters of a century, and even during that period it has been not so much a province as a Chinese outpost and dependency. The changes in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power have brought a new administrative pattern, one which has been summed up in the Six Great Policies as "Clean Government." This new political structure came partially as the result of close ties to Sovietism; but it has never meant surrender of Sinkiang autonomy to Soviet Russia. "Clean Government" has been, instead, an effort to improve upon old Chinese institutions and upon the treatment formerly allotted to the Sinkiang natives.

Han Relations with Ancient Sinkiang (Western Regions)

175 642 The degree and type of influence which China has exerted in Sinkiang has in a sense varied with the good or bad fortune of effective Chinese control over that dependency. For the purposes of this study the Han (B.C. 206-220 A.D.), T'ang (618-907), Ta Ch'ing or Manchu (1644-1912), and Republican (1912-present) epochs have been selected as periods which modern Chinese themselves view as outstanding for effective Chinese influence in Sinkiang. Though there has been considerable difference in particulars, up to the inception of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration there ran through them all a like—though in many ways maturing—thread of colonial policy.

In Han times when Chinese first began to assert their colonial influence in Central Asia they sent gift-bearing, sometimes militarily escorted, diplomatic missions to the numerous petty states of the Western Regions. Once they had opened cordial relations in this manner, they followed with intermarriage between Chinese and members of a particular ruling family or principality of the outlying area. Then came exchange of hostages between the Han and the outlying state. When the Han had thus become established in the Western Regions, they entered more seriously into local politics and began where possible

to enthrone puppet or at least "loyal" princes. Political manipulation was followed, or accompanied, by military demonstration where it was needed and where it was possible. The policy of letting "barbarians rule barbarians" early became a cardinal feature of Han-Turkestan relations and, in many ways, it has remained so. This was important in an area so distant as the Western Regions, and in ancient days was practiced to the extent of utilizing one colonial principality in military compaigns against another and to the extreme of "permitting" native personnel to administer localities—though this often seems to have been "allowed" in cases where it could not have been prevented. In instances of severe difficulties whole populations were shifted to distant areas or, where deemed necessary, depopulated by the sword. 175 642

The pinnacle of Han administrative achievement on this frontier was the creation of the office of the *Tu-tu.* His job, Chinese history states, was to "watch" a particular outpost. He was, it is evident, an all-around colonial executive and the ancient Chinese counterpart of the Occidental Military Governor of a dependency in the pre-Pearl Harbor epoch.

T'ang Improvements

Where T'ang Chinese considerably improved upon the Han was in their attempt to convert much of the Western Regions into the administrative units used in China Proper—the *chou* and *hsien* (department and county). This meant application of customary Chinese law to the Central Asian frontier, but it did not mean abolition of the office of the Tu-tu. He still administered outlying areas. His duties, however, became in some cases more closely allied with the regional and local government machinery of China Proper than previously. By the new arrangement, also, executive machinery in the Western Regions became exceedingly complicated and broad. At one time this machinery was centered in the Tu-tu prefecture *(Tu-tu Fu)* at An-hsi (in present-day Kansu), with power said to extend from Khotan to Persia, and the following units under its direction: sixteen "states," eighty departments, one hundred eleven counties, and one hundred twenty-six military departments *(chün-fu,* also called *chi-mi chou* or "restrained" departments). [631]

Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) policy

175 642 The situation that faced the Ch'ing Dynasty was, however, considerably different. By the Ta Ch'ing period the Khitans and the Mongols —in particular the Ölöt Mongols—had accustomed the North Road of the Western Regions to a system of widely effective overlordship. Moslem influence, on the other hand, had consolidated itself in the south. Chinese, therefore, spoke of "Four Ölöt Leagues" on the North Road and of a "Moslem League" on the South Road. These regional distinctions were complicated further by the fact that the Ölöts were exceptionally ambitious and had been expanding from the Altai southeastwards across Turfan and Kokonor as far as Lhasa.

In tackling this problem the Ch'ing first attacked Ölöt power on the southern flank, in Tibet; after ousting the Ölöt party from power there, they devastated the Road North of the Heavenly Mountains *(T'ien-shan-pei-lu)* and wiped out that Mongol stronghold. They then turned to subjugation of the weaker Moslem League in the south.

To ensure that order could be maintained, more than twenty thousand Manchu soldiers were imported into the Western Regions and stationed at I-li (Sui-ting), Yangi Hissar, and Kashgar. I-li became the central military headquarters, and a complicated new system of control was set up. It included at least a hundred special emissaries for handling tribute relations, military affairs, and rationing of food, besides a special office for Moslem affairs. All in all, the early Ch'ing emphasized military, more than political, activities in the Western Regions. The innumerable ramparts and petty military stations *(ch'eng-pao)* constructed are concrete evidence to that effect. Not only had the Ch'ing rulers resented Mongol strength in the Western Regions; they had begun to view with alarm the rise of Islam in Chinese Central Asia and to sense danger from Europe.

Tso Tsung-t'ang, who was drawn out to the Western Regions by Moslem rebellions of the late nineteenth century, made many new administrative changes there. It was he who stressed the importance of, first, Urumchi (Tihwa) and Aqsu and, second, I-li (Sui-ting) and T'a Ch'eng for control and defense of the area. He also suggested

irrigation projects, more extensive colonization, and a land survey. 175
But most important, Tso recommended that the Western Regions
be consolidated into one province, *Hsin-chiang* ("The New Domin- 642
ion") or Sinkiang. By this he at last crystallized the Sinkiang frontier, on the one hand for China and on the other hand against the empires of the modern Occident. Actually the regional lines—that is to say, China's more rigid northwest national boundary and the framework for the province of Sinkiang—cut across the natural grain of traditional Central Asian life and jarred the nomad, the farmer, and the merchant there. The strategem, with local squabbles within Europe indirectly assisting, did help to counter the threats of imperialism, primarily that of Tsarist Russia.

But for at least three reasons Tso Tsung-t'ang's recommendations did not suffice. First, his major emphasis was upon the old-style Ch'ing military control which could not stand up in the face of the weapons Europe was even then beginning to fabricate. Second, his constructive measures do not seem to have been far-reaching enough in scope or in execution or to have provided suitable means of binding Sinkiang to China Proper through economic ties. Finally, the ebb of Ch'ing power which brought Republican revolt and the fall of the Dynasty in China by 1912 was bound to be felt keenly on the far-flung Sinkiang frontier.

Under the Early Republic

Tu Chung-yüan speaks of administration in Sinkiang during the 661
early years of the Chinese Republic in this manner:

> . . . The Yang [Tseng-hsin]-Chin [Shu-jen] period was lengthy and greedy. The politician did not believe in working but only in officiating; even when he was officiating he aimed only at making money. This arose from the fact that Yang and Chin were basically that type. In general if a person were to come to Sinkiang from the interior it was not asked whether he had qualifications or not, whether he was talented or not. All that was necessary instead was that he be of an "experienced" temperament or perhaps that he had served in an office of a military governor or of a provincial government for eight to ten years so that it could be seen he had been reared in the atmosphere of slavery. . . . Or, again, if he were appointed, say as a county magis-

individual from among their number to the office of Concurrent Provincial Chairman. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was appointed to that post in 1940, and he has given it more and more of his attention since the decease of the former Provincial Chairman, Liu Wen-lung. Actually, so far as power is concerned, Sheng Shih-ts'ai seems to have dominated Sinkiang since 1933 through his military strength; the effective participation of other members in the provincial committee seems to have largely been subject to his approval, and in many respects the ratification of his and their appointments by national authorities has been mostly a matter of form. 643

Statements as to the administrative organization of Sinkiang areas do not always jibe. But Tu Chung-yüan writes, and other authorities seem to substantiate, that there are nine principal administrative regions in the province: Tihwa Ch'ü (including the capital of the same name), I-li Ch'ü, T'a Ch'eng Ch'ü, Ha-mi Ch'ü, A Shan Ch'ü, Yen-ch'i Ch'ü, K'o-shih Ch'ü, and Khotan Ch'ü. According to Tu there are administrative officers over these, each of which includes a number of counties. There are, he states, seventy-two counties in all Sinkiang. 631

It is hard to tell how effectively this *Ch'ü* and *Hsien* (Region and County) system has been working in Sinkiang. In the past such governmental forms have worked better in the oasis settlements than in the outlying pastures, but have on the whole been subordinated to varying local tribal customs when the two systems came into practical conflict. Where relations between provincial officials and non-Chinese-speaking races have become too complicated, native headmen speaking Chinese have in the past served as "middlemen." 642

So far as the national allegiance of Sinkiang is concerned, let any doubts be immediately dispelled. The name of the province indicates that it is a part of the territory subject to the laws of the Chinese National Government and the officials and people of both Sinkiang and the Chinese Republic as a whole operate accordingly. Both as Commander-in-Chief of Border Defense and as Provincial Chairman in Sinkiang Sheng Shih-ts'ai is formally an appointee of the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government. The fact that he is allotted and accepts such national titles is significant evidence that neither he

642 nor the National Government wants Sinkiang and her officialdom to be other than Chinese in name.

648 The Chinese National Government may not, it is true, always have been able to do what it liked in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai achieved power. It appears, from Chinese testimony, that Sheng has in the past negotiated with foreign powers without conforming to customary national procedure, and that his administration has [illegible] excluded Chinese of other provinces from Sinkiang territory and has found ways at times to circumvent—if not necessarily to disobey—National Government regulations.

This situation gave a certain credence to distasteful accusations in regard to Soviet Russian influence in the province. After China and Soviet Russia signed their Non-aggression Agreement in 1937 Tokyo quarters fanned rumors that China had been forced to give up Sinkiang as a concession to Soviet Russia. Since then—and especially at the turn of 1939 and 1940 when Russia was advancing her armies into Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—like sources often hinted at the "invasion" of Sinkiang by Soviet troops.

I have no first-hand evidence by which I can prove that such reports are false, but I believe in their falsity. I saw many Soviet Russian "volunteer" troops in Lan-chou, Kansu (adjacent to Sinkiang Province), when I was in China in 1939 and 1940, and there could have been more such troops in Sinkiang. But in late 1939, on the other hand, I also visited Sining, Ch'inghai, which is west of Lan-chou and between Kansu and Sinkiang, and I did not see Soviet Russian troops there. After weighing available evidence, I do not believe that Soviet Russian troops have been in "occupation" of Sinkiang or have been "controlling" it during the years since Sheng Shih-ts'ai summoned their aid to put down Sinkiang rebellion. I do not even believe that they were "occupying" it before the widely publicized reports of October, 1943, came forth proclaiming the "withdrawal" of Soviet Russia from Sinkiang. It is admitted that there have been many Soviet advisers in Sinkiang in a number of capacities, civilian and military, in that period; and among them there may have been Soviet "volunteer" soldiers and

aviation pilots. But there is not justification for saying that such "volunteers" and advisers ever made Sinkiang a Soviet dependency. 648

Indeed the evidence seems to demonstrate that, far from being a Soviet Russian "puppet," Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been one of the most far-sighted, enlightened, and independent military leaders of modern China. The Chinese colonial record in Sinkiang was not very praiseworthy up to Sheng's appearance on the scene. He was able to assay the needs of the situation and the resources at his command; he was also competent enough to make constructive use of opportunities offered him. The Six Great Policies and especially the program of Sinkiang reconstruction which Sheng Shih-ts'ai fashioned out of the rough clay of the Moslem revolt of the 1930's indicate that he has had at heart the interests of both Sinkiang and China. That he has been able to turn these interests into a positive program which did not completely sacrifice China's title to the province but which brought to Sinkiang instead much of the best qualities of both China and of neighboring Soviet Russia is truly an amazing achievement, too long unappreciated by the outside world.

It was inevitable that Sheng Shih-ts'ai's New Sinkiang should have been influenced by Soviet Russian ideas, personnel, and materials. Developments in neighboring Soviet areas had so drawn the attention and admiration of Sinkiang people by 1933 that a feeble Chinese version of an outmoded military or economic imperialism not only might have fallen flat but might have flung the province—politically as well as economically—into Soviet Russia's perhaps embarrassed lap.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai is no puppet and the New Sinkiang is no political 642
dependency of Soviet Russia. Sinkiang instead has incorporated Chinese ideas of loose political authority with the Soviet creed of cultural and economic autonomy. From the two has come a unique Chinese frontier political economy. From them also the basically non-Han Chinese people of Sinkiang have gained new opportunities of livelihood, and by the combination much of the old bitterness between Han and non-Han has been removed.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 199 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

642 668 177 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 631 177 162 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a province - divided into ten special districts and these were subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000 , 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P. D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 131 668 177 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

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795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
S
563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
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563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 179 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 179 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and ~~had~~ a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
China AF1

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

S 635 628 177 S [642]

N 635 631 * 175

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

S 635 631 175

N 635 631 *175

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

N *[668]

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in N nghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

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175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

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175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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*175 C. The General Election of 1953-54
*668 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
666 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
[641] tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
668 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
177 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and nationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
[666] officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

III

SHENG SHIH-TS'AI AND THE "NEW NEW DOMINION"

185 WHEN SHENG SHIH-TS'AI was offered direction of Sinkiang destinies, history began to record a courageous new chapter—for long a secret and maligned one—in the annals of human emancipation. For Sheng urged that the province discard the old-style dependency tradition and, by adopting a great new six-point charter, cast in her lot with progress. By his Six Great Policies he aimed at reviving long-submerged cultural aspirations of Sinkiang native races and at bringing about revolutionary Sinkiang reconstruction. This he tried to do within the limits of nominal control of the Chinese Republic, at the price of favoring "radical" Soviet ideas, and at the cost of offending other less far-sighted Chinese, as well as many assertedly "foreign imperialist" interests. He has, in brief, made the province into a New Sinkiang *(Hsin Hsin-chiang)*, a remarkable "New New Dominion."

175 Sheng, a moderate-sized, handsome man, with an exceptionally full crop of dark hair and a thick, descending mustache, started out for the region late in the 1920's. Yang Tseng-hsin, warlord master of the province since abdication of the Manchu Dynasty, had been assassinated in July, 1928, and his place taken by the weak, avaricious Chin Shu-jen. Provincial General Secretary Lu Hsüeh-tsu had gone from Sinkiang to Nanking on business, and had been requested by Chin to look around while there for a man of military background possibly suited to build up the army of the frontier province. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was the man Lu selected.

643 Born in K'ai-yüan county of Liaoning, Manchuria, in 1893, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been reared "in a small family" and amid conditions of "poverty" and "cold." How he managed an education with such meager resources is not clear, but he attended primary and middle schools, and even had some university training in Nanking. There he studied European history under Chang Chi-luan, the late editor of China's most famous newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*. Sheng never seems to have forgot-

ten his old teacher, and that is probably one of the reasons that the *Ta Kung Pao* has often been able to reveal more information concerning the New Sinkiang than other Chinese journals. 643

Though Sheng started out to be a student of the arts, the trend of events in China led him, midway in his career, to study military science also. It was after a period of attendance at a university in Japan—where he and his biographer, Tu Chung-yüan, became friends—that Sheng returned to China and entered the then famous military academy at Shaokwan (Ch'ü-chiang) in Kwangtung Province. Li Ken-yüan, an old-time Yünnan militarist-revolutionary, was in charge and guided the young student through the academic ropes. On graduation, Sheng was given an introduction to Kuo Sung-ling, one of the prominent war lords of his native Northeast China.

General Kuo made Sheng a *Hsiao P'ai Chang* (Second Lieutenant) and rapidly promoted him until he became a *Ying Chang* (Battalion Commander). Then he was permitted another period of study, this time in a Japanese military academy. He had not been in Japan long, however, when he was called back to China to join in a military *Putsch*. It failed, and as a consequence General Kuo was killed. Sheng, having lost his benefactor and himself become involved in difficulties, returned to Japan "to read books." While there he received financial backing from none other than Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. As a consequence, it is said, he has since referred to himself as "The Student" when signing telegraph messages addressed to the Chinese national leader.

Soon after his Japanese military training had been completed, Sheng Shih-ts'ai joined the Generalissimo in the northward march against the war lords of Pei-p'ing or Peking as it was then called. He was shortly given a post in the office of the Chinese General Staff but was not happy there and decided to try his luck on the Chinese frontier. On first thought, probably due to his past tutelage under a Yünnanese schoolmaster at Ch'ü-chiang, he considered going to Yünnan. The attractions of the vaster and richer territory of Sinkiang, however, ultimately won him.

Not the most pleasant introduction to Sinkiang awaited Sheng. He 643 175

643 had met Lu Hsüeh-tsu in Nanking through the offices of a mutual
175 friend, and Lu was persuaded to recommend him to the Sinkiang Military Governor. But when Chin Shu-jen learned of Sheng's background he seemed to fear to take him on; Chin wanted a subordinate, not a possible rival. It was only through third party pressure that Chin agreed to give Sheng his chance. Then, just as the young appointee was about to leave Eastern China, Sino-Russian hostilities over the Chinese Eastern Railway broke out and interrupted normal air transport through Soviet Russia via Vladivostok. Since it was by that route that Sheng had planned to travel, he was forced to spend eight months in Peiping "reading" again until communications were restored. When the line was at last reopened, he flew through Siberia to his destination; there he was temporarily lodged as a guest of Lu Hsüeh-tsu, who had been his traveling companion. But Sheng did not get to see Chin Shu-jen until over a week had passed; for Lu and the military governor had had a quarrel almost as soon as Lu arrived.

At last Sheng was assigned a position with the General Staff in the Office of the Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang. Not a particularly attractive "boost" for one with Sheng's background, the assignment found him nevertheless immediately setting to his tasks. By 1930 he had worked himself up to the position of Chief of the General Staff in the Office; then, when revolt broke out in Ha-mi, he was made Commander-in-Chief at the Front.

175 Chin Shu-jen, a man weaker than those before him and yet covetously
669 retaining the old exploitation methods, had attempted to monopolize taxes on Sinkiang foreign trade and had given his sons extensive regional authority. This combination had caused such resentment that, apparently with some Japanese instigation filtering in through Mongolia, it surged up in a swelling tide and flung the waves of civil war over the province. The incident which finally precipitated his downfall came with the death of the Mohammedan Prince of Qomul in 1930.

Qomul, the Moslem city known to Chinese as Ha-mi, as late as 1930 had been still under only nominal Chinese suzerainty. But when its prince died his son was "received" into Chinese protective custody; then the ancient principality of Qomul was legally abolished and the region

661 trate or as a tax collector, it was only desired that he collect eighty to one hundred thousand dollars in a year's work. Can one ask that a man's talents be developed in this type of government atmosphere? Since the culture of other peoples of Sinkiang had been submerged so much, the Han official became like a god, and if a magistrate were appointed for a county in South Sinkiang he need not have been especially greedy to receive fifty to sixty thousand from the Moslems on one visit. Therefore all people coming to Sinkiang from the interior had such hopes. But now it is not possible!

The "Clean Government" of the New Sinkiang

In the face of provincial discontent over the old Sinkiang administrative system, Sheng Shih-ts'ai set about in 1933 to institute reforms. It would have been surprising indeed if prevalent and all too customary Chinese foibles—of "squeeze," "rotten gentry," and excessive taxes, for instance—had been completely eradicated under his policy of "Clean Government." Since almost no first-hand data, such as reports from any long-time Occidental resident in the province, are available it may be some time before what may or may not have been accomplished along these lines can be fully known. But so far as Tu Chung-yüan is concerned, the changes have already been praiseworthy. Former abuses concerning salaries, "gifts," and taxes by office-holders in the province have been checked, he says, by a provincial commission which is required to enter accounts in regard to all public moneys in the records of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's own office. Sheng himself has set a leading example in governmental unselfishness, according to Tu, by accepting a monthly salary of less than $100 Chinese for his work. Mrs. Sheng, an administrator of a girls' middle school, is held before the reader's eyes as a model also because she gets a monthly salary of only about $10 Chinese. Such examples, Tu points out, are in sharp contrast with the practices of past administrators.

643 In regard to the type of administration in the New Sinkiang, this much can be also said. The province is governed under a "committee" system similar to that in other provinces of China. Members of a provincial committee are appointed by the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government, which also ratifies the appointment of one

individual from among their number to the office of Concurrent Provincial Chairman. Sheng Shih-ts'ai was appointed to that post in 1940, and he has given it more and more of his attention since the decease of the former Provincial Chairman, Liu Wen-lung. Actually, so far as power is concerned, Sheng Shih-ts'ai seems to have dominated Sinkiang since 1933 through his military strength; the effective participation of other members in the provincial committee seems to have largely been subject to his approval, and in many respects the ratification of his and their appointments by national authorities has been mostly a matter of form. 643

Statements as to the administrative organization of Sinkiang areas do not always jibe. But Tu Chung-yüan writes, and other authorities seem to substantiate, that there are nine principal administrative regions in the province: Tihwa Ch'ü (including the capital of the same name), I-li Ch'ü, T'a Ch'eng Ch'ü, Ha-mi Ch'ü, A Shan Ch'ü, Yen-ch'i Ch'ü, K'o-shih Ch'ü, and Khotan Ch'ü. According to Tu there are administrative officers over these, each of which includes a number of counties. There are, he states, seventy-two counties in all Sinkiang. 631

It is hard to tell how effectively this *Ch'ü* and *Hsien* (Region and County) system has been working in Sinkiang. In the past such governmental forms have worked better in the oasis settlements than in the outlying pastures, but have on the whole been subordinated to varying local tribal customs when the two systems came into practical conflict. Where relations between provincial officials and non-Chinese-speaking races have become too complicated, native headmen speaking Chinese have in the past served as "middlemen." 642

So far as the national allegiance of Sinkiang is concerned, let any doubts be immediately dispelled. The name of the province indicates that it is a part of the territory subject to the laws of the Chinese National Government and the officials and people of both Sinkiang and the Chinese Republic as a whole operate accordingly. Both as Commander-in-Chief of Border Defense and as Provincial Chairman in Sinkiang Sheng Shih-ts'ai is formally an appointee of the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government. The fact that he is allotted and accepts such national titles is significant evidence that neither he

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795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
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563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
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563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669] population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
643 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the
177 succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
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[643] 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.
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159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist
159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

159 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi)
669 from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were
669 the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of
648 Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the success-
159 ful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai
648 allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

(643) During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became abso-
lute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union.
159 Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-
64 point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

159 The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
648 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relationship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor
159 was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

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159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

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[645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

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159 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League
631 Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member
159 A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to
*668 the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia.
631 Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

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159 Sun, Tso-pin
631 In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of
the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government
[635] Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

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*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
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175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
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175 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas
669 was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865
648 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub
668 Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan. Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

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175 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese
669 government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ang-
648 ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

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175 The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culmin-
669 ated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan
668 Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it
S attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja
[646] government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C. C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

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*668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

202 the telegrams from Misgar in 11–13 days. Hunza men carry the bags on foot or horseback as far as Tashqurghan, Consulate couriers the rest of the distance. Except in early spring, when the mails are sometimes held up for a week or two by snow on the passes and the telegraph line over the Burzil is broken by the same agency, the service is remarkably regular. Accidents do happen, but are fortunately rare; in 1921 a Hunza courier with his mail-bag fell off the path near Ata'abad and was dashed to pieces, and another was lost in the snow on the Mintaka Pass in the spring of 1923. Needless to say, these men are well paid, and the Kashgaris on the Tashqurghan section, who do the double journey by the Gez route once a month all the year round, have in addition comfortable married quarters in the Consulate "village," a coveted privilege.

205 Legation correspondence and other mails from China Proper, on the other hand, came by the Chinese post, which was regular and remarkably speedy, considering the vast distances involved. Letters took two months to reach Kashgar from Peking, and parcels (which came by cart) five to six months. Except for two private couriers whom we maintained for our heavy correspondence with Yarkand, we depended entirely on the Chinese post within the borders of Sinkiang. Our letters reached Keriya, for example, in ten days, though the distance is well over 400 miles, including 150 miles of sandy desert. The service between railhead at Pingtang and Keriya, viâ Kansu, Hami, Maralbashi and Yarkand, some 3,000 miles, is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world. Its efficiency is all the more creditable in view of the enormous difficulties with which the Department has to contend. The head of the Postal Department in Sinkiang during our time was an Italian and is always a European official of the Chinese Board of Communications; and the Chinese Postmasters whom we met at Kashgar were all men of up-to-date Western education with a good knowledge of English.

"Society" at Kashgar consisted of the Chinese official
• 647 world, the Swedish Mission, the Russian colony and the
648 British Consulate-General. The Chinese officials of whom we saw most were the Taoyin, usually known by the honorific title of Tao Tai; his Foreign Affairs Secretary, who spoke English; the Magistrates of the Old and New Cities, which are the headquarters of separate districts though only six
648 miles apart; the Commandant of the Old City garrison; the Postmaster (another English-speaker), the Master of the Mint,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

and bolts, the driver falls off the "box" and the carriage upsets. The supposed actors are duly captured and dragged off to the brigands' lair. Here they are made to play and dance for the amusement of the Chief, who is a magnificent sight in his voluminous yellow embroidered robe, huge black and red mask of appalling ferocity and head-dress of immense size and complexity. At the psychological moment the actors throw off their cloaks and draw their weapons; a battle-royal ensues in which the Chief of the Brigands, fighting for his life, lays about him in the most approved style. Eventually the rescue-party defeat the robbers, take their Chief prisoner, and escort the Governor back to his capital in triumph. During the last half-hour of this performance the noise made by the orchestra passed all bounds. The musicians were specially reinforced by men with brass trays and large solid cymbals which they clashed and banged until I, for one, felt as if they were performing directly on my nervous system. D. said afterwards that hers, especially in her feet, was so numbed by cold and the absorption of thirty odd courses of shark's fin, sea-slug, etc., that the noise scarcely affected it. We eventually escaped with difficulty at midnight, having been there since a quarter past six; the theatre was still in full swing and the children were still looking on. Wonderful people, the Chinese.

Zanguya, 30th March.

177 647 Two rather interesting persons were in possession of the rest-house when we arrived and courteously turned out to make room for us. They might be called "Sino-Turkis," for they are Muhammadans of Khotan who for the sake of preferment have adopted Chinese manners, speech and dress. I asked them round to tea and made them tell me all about themselves in their native Turki. One of them said that he had been sent to the Chinese school as a child (doubtless by ambitious parents of the Beg class), and at the age of twenty-five or so had been selected by the Amban of his district (Lop) out of twenty-seven candidates to represent it on the Provincial Council at Urumchi; "Doumalik" he called himself, explaining. The Council or "Douma" of Sinkiang is an advisory body summoned by the Governor, the members of which are theoretically representative of the people, one from each administrative district, but are really nominated by the Ambans; they sit for a fixed term of three years. Our friends had been much impressed by their time at Urumchi and spoke with bated breath of the capital and its ruler; the process of Sinization has evidently been complete. The men impressed me favourably; their manners were perfect and their speech cultivated. One of them in particular, Rajab by name, was most intelligent and looked a thorough gentleman with his neat, short black beard and moustache, black velvet cap trimmed with marten-skin and black satin fur-lined Chinese clothes. He said he was on his way to Karghalik where he had been appointed "Suloya" or chief of police; his friend was going to Goma in a similar capacity.

It seems that Chinese dress is essential for all Turkis who are candidates for Ambanships. But I notice that these men's costume is not purely Chinese; like the designs on Khotan embroidery and carpets, it is a mixture of Mussulman and Chinese. They wear the Turki *tumāq* or cap, as well as the *ōtek* and *kafsh-massi* or Russian

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

177 boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis 647 holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

Zawa, 1st April.

487 We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burân*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

Khotan, 7th April.

796 The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

Lop, 8th April.

000 W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's procedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax-distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

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But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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City and that the Titai was reported to have been killed. I galloped as hard as I could to the Consulate, where I found every one in a state of excitement except D., who was baking scones and cakes for the King's Birthday garden party on the following Tuesday. All our eight orderlies were in uniform, wearing their revolvers—their only arms—and knots of Hindu traders and other British subjects were standing about the grounds discussing the situation and spreading the wildest rumours. The only point on which every one agreed was that the Titai was dead (as a matter of fact this was not the case) and that the troops were coming over to the Old City for his son, the massive outer wall of whose citadel was within a couple of hundred yards of the Consulate gates. I took such steps as I could for the safeguarding of the foreign colony and awaited developments.

At about twelve noon a shot rang out from the Hsieh Tai's citadel, followed closely by another and then by a regular fusillade. Some of the shots came over the Consulate, and I had to make everybody take cover in case of spent bullets.[1] I went to see D. in her small private kitchen, and found her still baking cakes and quite unconscious of the fact that there was a war on. From where she was she could not hear the firing, but when she went out into the garden to feed the rabbits, which she insisted on doing, war or no war, she heard the "ping" of several bullets as they came over. A twig from a tree, cut by one of them, fell to the ground at our feet. The heavy firing lasted about a quarter of an hour, and for the rest of the day there were only occasional shots. After lunch I went round with a couple of orderlies to the gate of the fort to find out what had happened; I was told that the Hsieh Tai was lying dead and that the Government troops were chasing his soldiers about the streets and in the surrounding country, taking prisoner those who threw away their rifles and shooting those who did not. In the afternoon I received a call from a burly, round-faced, ruddy-complexioned, rather pleasant-looking Chinese officer, who showed me where a bullet had entered his thigh during the fighting. He proved to be second in command of the Government troops, the leader of which I was interested to hear was no other than the "Ma Darin" who, as Amban of Uch Turfan, had enter-

[1] Probably no one fired on purpose in our direction, but I understand that in Chinese civil warfare a large proportion of the shots are fired into the air by way of frightfulness.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

tained me at that delectable place the previous September. It appeared that some years before Ma had been Amban of Kashgar New City, and that the Titai had then done him some great wrong; now, for the sake of revenge, Ma had asked the Governor, as a special favour, for the command of the flying column that was to surprise and destroy his old enemy. The wounded officer came on behalf of his chief to ask when the latter could come and call on me, also to apologize for having left us undefended during the fighting. In spite of my protests he insisted on leaving eight very tired infantrymen to guard us. We gave the poor lads a good tea, for they were dead beat, as well they might be; they had marched 20 miles by night, had rushed the Titai's citadel at dawn, marched 6 miles over to the Old City and had stormed the Hsieh Tai's yamen, all since sunset the evening before.

647 669

Next day I was able to piece together from various accounts the full story of the affair. It appeared that on 24th May the larger part of the Government troops, under Erh Taoyin, marched ostentatiously out of Aqsu and down the Maralbashi road towards Kashgar. At the same time a picked force of six hundred, under Captain Ma (as the ex-Amban of Uch Turfan was now styled) slipped off along the same mountain road, viâ Uch Turfan, Qaragor and Yai Dōbe, which we had followed on our way to Bai the previous autumn. The main body, under Erh, halted at Maralbashi, but Captain Ma's men, in seven forced marches, reached a secluded spot among the Artush hills, to the north of Kashgar, within easy striking distance of the New City. They had no difficulty in capturing the few scouts the Titai had out in this direction.

On the night of our dinner-party (Saturday, 31st May), Captain Ma and his men marched rapidly to the New City and waited outside the gates. The Titai, over-confident as usual, and imagining that his enemies were still several marches from Kashgar, had omitted to take the most elementary precautions. His soldiers, of whom he had several hundred in the citadel, were all asleep or under the influence of opium, and the gates were opened as usual at dawn to admit the villagers crowding into market with their produce. The Titai was asleep in his immense new wooden palace, a four-storied affair, painted red and elaborately decorated with grotesque carvings and frescoes. Captain Ma and a small band of picked men made their way straight to the palace, fired some shots into it, and called upon the Titai to surrender.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•647 He replied with a volley from the windows, killing an officer and two men. Captain Ma and his party dashed across the courtyard and up three flights of stairs fighting all the way, until at last they forced an entrance into the old man's bedroom. The Titai fought like a tiger at bay, wounding one of the party, but Ma with a lucky pistol-shot in the right arm disabled him and took him prisoner. With the capture of their formidable "King" the soldiers of the Titai, who had meanwhile been fighting with Ma's men in the palace and town, broke and fled. Only four or five of them were killed, the whole affair having taken place in less than a quarter of an hour and having been a complete surprise. The wounded tyrant was bound and taken to an inn outside his citadel, while the invaders looted his palace, which was full of valuables, chiefly in the form of opium, silks and jade. Telegrams were exchanged with Urumchi, and next day the Titai paid the penalty for his crimes. He was put up against the main gateway of the citadel and riddled with bullets, on the very spot where the bodies of his victims, alive or dead, had so often been exposed *pour encourager les autres.* His corpse was left there for a couple of days tied up to a kind of cross for the people to insult and defile, which large numbers of them did with the utmost gusto.

344 On the Tuesday I rode with a friend to the New City and returned the call which Captain Ma had courteously paid me the previous afternoon. The slayer of the Titai, a quiet easy-mannered little man with aquiline features and steady dark eyes, took me all over the fallen tyrant's palace. It was an immense wooden structure with four stories and a pagoda roof, painted dark red and covered with grotesque frescoes and wooden figures of symbolical birds and animals. I had heard much about this palace, which had only just been completed; more than once I had peeped through its outer gates with a slight shudder at the thought of the sinister power which had called it into being. It was a curious sensation to find myself climbing flight after flight of steep stairs and entering a large central bedroom lavishly decorated with crude paintings. The walls, the ceiling and the great bed-alcove were all splintered with rifle- and pistol-shots and littered with arms and accoutrements, piles of ammunition-boxes, great-coats, and so on, for Captain Ma's soldiers had taken possession of the place. From the new palace we were conducted to the Titai's old Yamen along a kind of raised way, carried on

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 AI Sinkiang AII

trestles, over the roofs of the houses and the streets of the bazaar; this was the Titai's "Royal Road," along which he had been wont to walk between his old and new residences without soiling his feet with the dust of the bazaar. Between thirty and forty ladies of the Titai's harem were still living at the old Yamen when the blow fell; I was told that they were being treated kindly by our old friend Mr. Wang, Magistrate of the New City, in whose charge they had been placed. A horrible, toothless old major-domo of the Titai's showed us, with ghoulish gusto, over the warren-like zenana, still odorous of its late fair occupants, but turned completely upside down, looted and violated. Carpets were ripped up, upholstery torn open, tables and cupboards smashed to pieces in the search for treasure; for it was well known that the late owner had invested a large part of his ill-gotten gains in diamonds and other jewellery, mostly Russian revolution loot, which he had bought cheap from across the frontier. And everywhere was jade, great blocks of it, half-polished slabs lying about, broken cups and half-turned bangles littering the ground; for one of the Titai's industrial enterprises had been the establishment of a jade-cutting factory in his yamen, by the simple process of moving half the Khotan artisans bodily to Kashgar and forcing them to work at starvation rates on the jade brought from his mines in the upper Yarkand River basin.

Throughout the whole of that week I was greatly impressed by the orderliness of the proceedings. By the evening of the Sunday on which the Titai was captured all was quiet, and there was no disorder on the part either of the conquerors or of the conquered, who in Chinese civil war are usually more dangerous to the civilian population than their rivals. If it had been the Persia of my Kerman days, every shop in the bazaar would have closed at the first hint of trouble and half the population would have been taking refuge (*bast*) against one side or the other. As it was, the only effect of the general excitement was an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in prices. This satisfactory state of affairs was entirely due to the thoroughness of Governor Yang's preparations and the efficiency of his lieutenants; for there is no doubt that if the dispositions of the Higher Command had been less skilful or the revenge-seeking Captain Ma less bold and swift in his movements, the course of events might have been very different. The Titai and his son, knowing that it was war to the death, were preparing to defend the New and Old Cities

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

•647 respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could 669 possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

538 The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

539

The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
  He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
  The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
  Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
  Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
  The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

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[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or S N governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 199 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had S [171] existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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N
489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral
S
N nomadism.

631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until
S
N the Communists came into power.

563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
659 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S
631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian
647 west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 657 175 647

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 657 563 S N 175 657 563 669

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bük even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 619

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bük's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

1: [redacted]gton S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang All

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TABLE V

SINKIANG PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Burhan (Uighur)
Vice-Chairmen: Kao Chin-ch'un
Saifudin (Uighur)
Members: 30 (only 28 appointed: 12 Chinese, 7 Uighurs, 2 Kazakhs, 1 Uzbek, 1 Tatar, 1 Moslem, 1 Kirghis, 3 unidentified
Secretary-general: Liu Meng-ch'un
Vice-secretary-general: A-pu-tu-la-tsa-k'e-erh
Ni Tien-te

BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: A-pu-tu-je-ho-man-mu-hsi-t'i
Vice-commissioner: Kao Wen-t'ien

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: A-pu-lieh-tsu
Vice-commissioners: Liu Hu-p'ing
Shu Chih-t'ung

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Saifudin
Members: 19 (18 men and 1 woman)

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Cheng
Deputy director: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Members: 13

OFFICE OF PLANNING
Director: P'u-la-t'e

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Hu Sai-ying

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Kao Chin-ch'un
Vice-commissioner: Liu Tsu-mou

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Mai-pa-su-a-t'i-hung
2nd commissioner: Mai-mai-ti-ai-sha
Vice-commissioner: Ma-chi-t'i

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND MINING
Commissioner: K'a-yu-mu-po-k'o-ho-chia
Vice-commissioner: K'o-ma-li-ting

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: T'u Chih
Vice-commissioner: Sou-wu-yi-le

BUREAU OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Commissioner: Ta-hsia-o'e
Vice-commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh

BANK
President: Chang Ting-lan

TRADING COMPANY
Manager: Liu Tsu-mo
Vice-managers: Che K'e
Wang P'u
Ko-ma-li-ting

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Teng Li-ch'un
Deputy directors: I-pu-la-yin
Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Yu Wen

BUREAU OF EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Vice-commissioner: Ma Wen

BUREAU OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Commissioner: A-li-mu-chiang
Vice-commissioner: Wang Ho-t'ing

OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Head: Ya-ho-p'u-po-k'e
Deputy head: P'an Shih-cheng

SINKIANG PROVINCE PEOPLE'S COURT
President: Burhan
Vice-president: T'o-fu

following page 474 (d)

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by [164] the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

372 qualities. Several of the desert plants and roots supply fuel of fair quality, but in most places the people are dependent on animal droppings, cow dung being the best variety since, well dried, it gives out a glowing heat.

• 647 A visit to the Official brought us once more into the tragic conditions of Yamen life. A young man, with signs of the opium habit upon him, received us with the usual Chinese courtesy, and introduced his wife, who was a nice-looking and self-respecting girl ; but there were other women in the household of such a character as must have made existence in Tsikioking a living death to her.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THROUGH THE CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS

133 491 At Tsikioking we were within a few miles of the outer foothills of the Tian Shan, which, on the next stage, we were to traverse from south to north. No sign of the Pass, however, was evident, and it was not until we had covered the first few miles of gently rising ground that we found the road took a sudden turn, and we then quickly entered the mouth of a narrowing gorge. At the entrance to the ravine the yellow sand was piled up on the windward side of the rocks to the height of several hundred feet, but as we advanced naked blackness met the eye on every side, and from here on, a rift through the black rocks sliced a road right across the Celestial Range to the plain of Dzungaria.

For nine hours we followed a narrow path, the gradient rising so evenly as to be scarcely noticeable. The high rocks on either side were absolutely denuded,

113, 648, 162 Sinkiang AII

[For a brief discussion of the political-military role assigned to the Dungan and Uigur minorities of Sinkiang by the Soviet regime of the USSR, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 296-298. Bibliographic notes appear on pp. 300-302.]

113, 648 Sinkiang AI1

/For information pertaining to relations with Russia, see 40: Rostow, AF1 China, Category 116./

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

CHAPTER II Anglo-Russian Rivalry over Sinkiang, 1800–1917

Early British and Russian Empire Building

648 SINKIANG's modern international relations began in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Britain, moving westward and northward through India, became increasingly sensitive to the Russian expansion southward from Siberia. The concern of Britain and Russia with Sinkiang rose steadily during the 1850's and 1860's, and came to a climax in the 1870's, during the exciting days of the adventurer Yakub Beg, who for a time seemed to have succeeded in carving out a new kingdom in the no man's land between the great powers. The forerunners of both British and Russian interest were geographers, explorers, and other daring individualists. Some of these men were primarily in search of scientific information, while others were government officials, traders or intelligence agents.[1]

000 An impetus to obtain improved knowledge of Sinkiang was furnished in the first half of the nineteenth century by talk of the French and later the Russian menace to India. In his march to Moscow in 1812, Napoleon had carried with him dictionaries and maps of India. Perhaps he thought of persuading the Tsar to co-operate with him in a vast expedition to India which would dwarf

[1] The fullest description of the explorations in the third quarter of the nineteenth century is furnished by Herman von Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski (brother of the Adolph Schlagintweit who was murdered at Kashgar in 1857) in his *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*, 4 vols., Jena, 1869–1880, Vol. IV, pp. 217–404.

[p. 24]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

000 British finally decided, the position of foreign powers and foreign trade would deteriorate. London's policy therefore switched over to support of the Manchus, to whom in the years after 1867 British banks extended a number of advances and loans. These helped finance the pacification force which the Manchus in 1867 began to organize to regain control of China's rebellious Northwestern Provinces. These were the first foreign loans obtained by China and it is noteworthy that they were made available for military rather than productive purposes.

Yakub Beg, Inner Asian Adventurer

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To the British in India, however, apprehensive about Russia and desirous of Central Asian trade, the future of Sinkiang was too important to be allowed to depend solely on the slow and uneven progress of Manchu arms. By the end of the 1860's, the adventurer Yakub Beg had already been in power in Sinkiang for half a decade. High British officials, influenced by a series of optimistic reports from Shaw and other travelers and agents in Sinkiang, came to feel that Yakub Beg was well entrenched in power. They saw in his "strong state" a possible "convenient buffer," not only between China and Russia, but also between British India and expanding Russia.[13] In language that has a quaintly modern ring, they referred to Central Asia as an area where "Russian influence immediately fills any space that is left vacant by the English powers. This political process has been aptly compared by a very high authority to the natural rushing of air into a vacuum."[14] Informed British writers pointed with alarm to the progress of relations between Yakub Beg and the Russians. This had occurred, they explained, because of the failure of Britain to respond to earlier overtures from the Kashgar ruler, who had been left with no alternative but "to obey the law of . . . POLITICAL GRAVITATION, under which his small kingdom, in com-

[13] Sir Valentine Chirol (part author), article "China," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed., Suppl. Vol. III, p. 31, London, 1902.
[14] Sir Richard Temple, *India in 1880*, London, 1880, p. 434.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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mon with all small States similarly situated in isolation between two large Powers, existed, viz. to lean upon one or the other." [15] At the very time that London policy was supporting the recovery of Manchu authority in China, therefore, the British in India ended the policy of "watchful waiting" and in the 1870's threw aid and support to Yakub Beg.

This celebrated and colorful figure first appeared in Sinkiang in 1864, in connection with an effort to re-establish Khoja power. The Khojas had been hereditary Moslem potentates in Sinkiang from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, when they were driven out, first by the Mongols and then by the Manchus. They found refuge in Khokand (modern Ferghana), from which base they made periodic sorties toward Kashgar and other towns in the Tarim Basin. When the Manchus lost control of Sinkiang during the Moslem uprisings of the 1860's, the Khojas struck again. In 1864 a descendant of the former Khoja ruling house of Kashgar led a small band of men from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865 he had taken over Kashgar and Yarkand. His chief of staff was Yakub Beg, a Khokandi of humble birth whose youth had been spent as a dancing boy. In his manhood he turned to soldiering, and he played a part in the struggles of Khokand and neighboring Khanates to resist the tide of Tsarist expansion.

After the first wave of successes in the western Tarim Basin, the Khoja prince under whom Yakub Beg was serving devoted himself to dissipation. Yakub Beg soon displaced him and rounded off the Moslem reconquest of Eastern Turkistan by seizing Aksu, Khotan, and Urumchi.

Soon after seizing power, Yakub Beg had tried to buttress himself against the Manchus by securing recognition as an independent sovereign from his two powerful neighbors, Russia and British India. The British response, after an initial period of hesitation, was encouraging. For just as the Russians were arousing British sensitivity about India, the British were bringing pressure on Russia's weakest point, the Black Sea area. To this end the British, and particularly the British Indian Government, desired

[15] Showers, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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"to build up a common front between Great Britain and Islam against Russia. . . ."[16] As part of this program the British encouraged the pretensions of the Sultan of Turkey to the Caliphate — that is, to the primacy of the entire Islamic world, in the hope that the Sultan would direct that world against Russia.

When Yakub Beg, who had taken the title of Atalik Ghazi, sent an envoy to India in late 1869, he was received much more warmly than earlier emissaries from Kashgar. Partly this was because C. U. Aitchison, former Secretary of the Punjab Government, was now Secretary of the Foreign Department directly under the Governor General. More important was the fact that the attitude of the Government of India toward Inner Asian states was now colored by the conception of an Islamic front against Russia, in which Sinkiang might well play an important part. Even in its internal policy the Government of India was at this time in the process of swinging away from the pronounced anti-Moslem phase which characterized the decade after the great rebellion of 1857–1858, the outbreak of which had been attributed by the Government of India chiefly to India's discontented Moslems.

Yakub Beg's envoy was "honorably received" in Lahore by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and then granted an interview in Calcutta by the Viceroy. The envoy transmitted Yakub Beg's request that a British officer pay "a friendly visit" to the Atalik Ghazi's court in Yarkand. The Viceroy agreed to send T. Douglas Forsyth to Yarkand, but strictly as an amicable gesture and not for any official business: his "sole purpose" was to be that of "opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country."[17] Yakub Beg's envoy was permitted to buy four hundred muskets in Calcutta to be carried over the mountains to Yarkand. Forsyth

[16] Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1925*, Vol. I, *The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*, London, 1927, pp. 40–41; and L. E. Frechtling, "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Eastern Turkistan, 1863–1881," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXVI, London, 1939, p. 479.

[17] Sir T. Douglas Forsyth's *Report* of his visit to Yarkand, in *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, London, 1871, Vol. LI, p. 46.

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soon left at the head of a small party, but on his arrival at Yarkand he found that Yakub Beg was far away fighting around Urumchi. He thereupon turned around hastily and just managed to cross the mountains back to India in 1870, before snow closed the passes for the winter.

When a later envoy, Yakub Beg's own nephew Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora, appeared in India in 1873, he was received most warmly and was aided in journeying on to Constantinople. There, the Sultan gave the high title of Amir-ul-Mu'minn (Commander of the Faithful) to Yakub Beg, and advised him to be friendly with Britain and shun dealings with the Tsar. The Sultan also sent Yakub Beg two hundred rifles, three cannon, and three army officers as instructors. As Yakub Beg's envoy traveled through India on his return journey, he was joined by a well-staffed British mission, again headed by Forsyth. Together they crossed over the Karakoram Pass to Kashgar, where in 1874 Forsyth signed a treaty which threw Sinkiang open to trade with India and accorded Yakub Beg the high privilege — unprecedented for any other Central Asian ruler — of exchanging with India envoys carrying the full status of Ambassador. The Forsyth Mission reported that Yakub Beg was securely entrenched in power; British strategists began to look forward to setting up a protectorate over Sinkiang; arms flowed from India to Yakub Beg via a trading company established in 1873 under Government of India inspiration, and in 1876 the Government of India formally ratified the Treaty of 1874.

One year later Yakub Beg was dead, his power shattered, and his realm overrun by Manchu forces.

The Russians, in contrast to the British, had always regarded Yakub Beg coldly. They were extracting many concessions from the Manchus and had no desire to alienate Peking by recognizing the pretensions of Yakub Beg — who, in any event, was an old enemy of theirs and had fought against them before he left Russian Turkistan. They felt that his regime could become a rallying point for the Moslems of all Inner Asia, including Russian Turkistan, against the power of the Tsar. Uneasy Russian officers termed

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Kashgaria "a powerful Mussulman State, to which as to a center would be drawn the sympathy of the population, not only of the weak Mussulman States which had preserved their independence, but also of the population of the provinces which we had conquered. The importance of Kashgaria in our eyes was, moreover, increased in consequence of the attempts of the English to draw this country to their side so as to incorporate it, (1) in a neutral zone of countries, which was to separate Russia from India, and (2) to acquire in Kashgaria a fresh market for the sale of their manufactured goods." [18]

Throughout the period of Yakub Beg's rule Tsarist officers took care to safeguard what they considered to be Russia's basic strategic and commercial interests in Sinkiang. Strategically, their chief concern was with the Ili River Valley, an ancient inland trade and military highway between Russia and China, which a titled Russian historian has termed as important to Russia as the Khyber Pass was to the British in India.[19] About the time of the first Forsyth visit to Yarkand in 1870, Yakub Beg, who was operating around Urumchi, turned westward and seemed to be making a movement in the direction of Ili. "Under the spur of Yakub Beg's move, and concerned for the safety of this trade route, Russia in 1871 moved troops into Kulja and occupied the territory of Ili. . . ." [20] To reassure the Manchu Court in Peking, Tsarist officials announced that the occupied area would be returned as soon as Manchu forces were strong enough to maintain effective control there.

Impressed if not intimidated by Russian military action, Yakub Beg agreed in 1872 to Tsarist proposals for opening Eastern Turkistan to Russian commerce. Up to then he had tried to seal off his state against Tsarist merchants, largely from fear that they might pave the way for political penetration. His sweeping commercial treaty with Forsyth in 1874 was doubtless intended in

[18] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria,* Calcutta, 1882, pp. 4–5.

[19] A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, "Russian Imperialism in Asia: Its Origin, Evolution, and Character," *Slavonic Review,* London, Vol. VIII, 1929–1930, p. 44.

[20] H. B. Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* 3 vols., London, 1918, Vol. II, p. 331.

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large part to balance the British against the Russians. Worse still, from the Russian point of view, was Yakub Beg's action, during the winter of 1873–1874, in accepting arms from the Sultan of Turkey and the title of Amir — the latter in such a way as to make Sinkiang something like a vassal state of the Sultan. Turkey was then the bitterest of Russia's enemies and strongly under British influence. Tsarist officers considered Yakub Beg's action tantamount to waving a red flag in their faces.[21] The Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan concentrated troops in 1874–1875 in locations where they could best be deployed against Kashgar. Perhaps they actually would have been used against Yakub Beg had not a serious uprising broken out in Khokand, in 1875, draining off all Tsarist troops available in the area. In 1876, however, a Russian mission under Kuropatkin descended upon Yakub Beg and made a peremptory demand for strategic posts in the mountain passes west of Kashgar. Yakub Beg reluctantly but speedily acceded.

Yakub Beg's position, by 1876, was in fact becoming very difficult. To the west and north stood the menace of unfriendly Russia. To the east, the Manchu pacification force under the indomitable Tso Tsung-t'ang was moving slowly but relentlessly in Yakub Beg's direction, having already occupied Barkul, Hami, and Kuchengtze. Tso's forces, moreover, were by 1876 receiving at Kuchengtze (a little more than one hundred miles east of Urumchi) important grain supplies from the Russians — thanks to an agreement negotiated in 1875 between Tso and the famous Russian explorer, Colonel Sosnovskii. Funds to purchase that grain came in part from loans to the Manchus by British banks in China.

The British, still interested in preserving Yakub Beg's realm — for, despite their loans, they did not believe that the Manchus would be able to reconquer Eastern Turkistan — tried to medi-

[21] Kaufmann, the Tsarist Governor General of Turkistan, is said to have spoken of Kashgar as *"une création de Monsieur Forsyth"* and to have charged the British with making a strong Muslim state out of a hitherto unimportant country. (Louis E. Frechtling, *British Policy* [an unpublished Oxford dissertation], p. 62 *n.*)

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ate between him and the Manchus. Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister to Peking, proposed to the Manchus in 1876 "that Yakub Beg would surrender should China allow him to keep his kingdom under Chinese suzerainty. When the offer was reported to Tso he memorialized the throne that the status of Yakub was purely a domestic question and if Britain wished to create a buffer state in Central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory." [22] Whether or not Yakub Beg felt himself cornered, he did dispatch to London his nephew and chief adviser, Saiyid Yakub Khan Tora. Wade also journeyed on leave from Peking to London, and secret negotiations began on the basis of Wade's formula. Wade acted as intermediary for the Manchu minister in London, while Sir Douglas Forsyth served as go-between for Yakub Beg's envoy. Meanwhile Tso's soldiers penetrated deeper and deeper into Sinkiang. Even before a decisive battle was joined, Yakub Beg's forces became confused and disheartened, and Yakub Beg himself took (or was given) poison and died.[23] In the ensuing disorder Manchu dominion was quickly reasserted over the entire province, except for Russian-held Ili.

The Age of Stable Empires before the Russian Revolution

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The Russians were in no hurry to return Ili. They had expected the Manchus to win, and their grain supplies had played a significant part in the victory. But the Tsar did not intend to go unrecompensed. As early as March 1876 a conference of the half-

[22] A. W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1944, Vol. II, p. 766, article on Tso by Tu Lieh-che.

[23] There are many conflicting accounts of Yakub Beg's death. Mohammed Yusuf Effendi, a Turkish officer — one of the three originally lent as "instructors" by the Sultan in 1873 — has left us a valuable eyewitness account. His version is that Yakub Beg became prostrated after bleeding from the nose. Previously he had been despondent but not ill. The cause of the bleeding is unknown, but Yusuf Effendi believed "the probability is that the Ameer was poisoned." Statement of Mahd. Yusuf Effendi, September, 1878, in *Parl. Papers*, House of Commons, 1880, Vol. 78 (*c.* 2470), pp. 21–23. According to Bales, "the Chinese seem to have had no doubt about Yakub Beg taking his own life." (W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang*, Shanghai, 1937, p. 365, citing *Nien P'u*, VIII, p. 22).

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Merchants from Tientsin have flourished as far north as the city of Kulja in the Ili Valley. Nearly twenty years ago a British observer remarked that "successful merchants at Kulja come from the towns of Tou Liu and Yang Liu Ch'ing near Tientsin; the commerce of Ili has been kept in the families for generations, and considering the numbers of relations and connections every Chinese has, it is not to be wondered at that Tientsin people form a whole community, ranging from barbers to landowners, at Kulja." [11] 441

Ever since Sinkiang became a province a small Chinese minority has ruled it by the indirect methods which many colonial governments have found effective. The traditional Uighur and Kazakh and Mongol feudal structures have been left more or less undisturbed, with the existing Begs and princes used as instruments of Chinese rule. In Sinkiang, just as in Sikang and the southernmost parts of Yunnan, the result of this indirect rule is an administration with a Chinese upper stratum and an indigenous lower stratum. The chief defect of this system is that instead of promoting political and administrative progress, it fortifies and preserves the feudal system, and hinders the evolution of a more modern form of society. 631 648

While bribery, corruption and venality are almost endemic in the lower stratum of administration, the quality of the upper administration is naturally subject to the policy of the governor or the chairman of the provincial government. At this top level Chinese policy has passed through three distinct stages. From 1884 to 1933 there was a period of about half a century dominated by an old-fashioned feudal bureaucracy. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin and Governor Chin Shu-jen can best be described as the last of the old imperial bureaucrats, though both served under the Chinese Republic. Then followed a decade of war lord rule from 1933 to 1944, under General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whose policy was at first liberal and later harshly repressive. Finally, from 1944 until Sinkiang became enveloped by Chinese Communism on the east as well as Russian Communism on the west,

[11] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Jan. 1931, Vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 140.

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631 Kuomintang policy in this frontier region can best be described as one of fitful opportunism in the face of chronic emergency.

Feudal Bureaucracy, 1884

*175 Of all the feudal bureaucrats in Sinkiang the most able was Yang Tseng-hsin. He was born in Yunnan, though his family originally moved there from Nanking. After having successfully passed the Imperial Civil Service Examinations, he was appointed district magistrate in Kansu and later promoted to be prefecture head and regional administrative head (Taot'ai) in that province. His record was so good that it attracted the attention of Wang Shu-t'ang, Commissioner of Civil Affairs in Sinkiang, who recommended his appointment as Taot'ai of the Aksu region. Still later he became Taot'ai (Intendant of the Circuit) of Urumchi and Barkul. In 1912, after disturbances accompanying the Chinese Revolution, the Governor of Sinkiang resigned and made Yang Tseng-hsin his successor. Yang negotiated with separatist leaders in Ili, prevented a Moslem revolt in Komul, quickly suppressed a rebellion of the Ko Lao Hui (Elder Brethren) secret society in the Tarim Basin, and unified the whole provincial administration.

Most of the important military and police officers under Yang were from Yunnan. These were young men, enthusiastic about the new Chinese Republic. When in 1916 General Ts'ai Ao in their distant home province of Yunnan raised the banner of revolt against Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to set up a monarchy, they wanted to join the Republican movement. Because Yang Tseng-hsin refused to join, they plotted to kill him, but the plot was discovered by one of his intelligence agents. The steps that Yang then took showed his alertness and cunning.

First he called the Yunnanese officials before him to answer the charge. When they denied it, he executed his own intelligence agent to convince them that he believed they had been falsely accused. He then had their families moved into his own residential quarters. Shortly afterward, when he had to entertain an inspector from the Peking Ministry of Education, he invited all

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The maintenance of different exchange rates in different parts of the province enabled the Governor to keep a political check on remittances. The undue concentration of money in any one part of the province, possibly indicating preparations for a political move of some kind, would be detectable through the resulting pressure on exchange rates. 175 * 436

Until the Russian Revolution, Tsarist Russia had by treaty the right to maintain branches of the Russo-Asiatic bank at Urumchi, Ili, Chuguchak, and Kashgar. (After the Russian Revolution, these branches continued to operate for some years under French protection.) Like other foreign banks in China, the Russo-Asiatic bank had the right to issue its own paper currency. In 1916, under the stress of war financing in Russia, it suddenly increased its note circulation in Sinkiang from one million to five million rubles.[22] Then, when the Russian ruble fell, it dragged the Sinkiang tael with it, thus aggravating the inflation in Sinkiang. In that year the total provincial revenue was a little over 5,200,000 taels and the budget deficit amounted to more than 700,000 taels. The most important source of revenue was the tax on cultivated land, which then totaled 10,500,000 *mu*.[23] The gold mined in Sinkiang in that year, under government license or monopoly, was worth less than 5000 taels. 175 * 436 648

The Provincial Government at this period had no money for irrigation schemes which might have opened large areas for cultivation. Poor finance and inflation not only hindered economic improvement through public works but intensified corruption among officials. While in all fairness it must be repeated that Yang Tseng-hsin was both an honest and a competent official by old mandarin standards, it must also be admitted that economic and political conditions toward the end of his rule were shrewdly summed up by the Swiss traveler Bosshard: 175 * 661

[22] *Hsi Pei Yen Chiu* (*Northwest Research*), Peiping, 1932, Vol. 6, issue of April 15, pp. 55 and 129 (in Chinese).

[23] The *mu*, a traditional land measure, varies from place to place. Six *mu* to the acre is often taken as an average figure.

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> In Chinese Turkestan, where corruptness permeated all classes, advancement, like other marketable commodities, was bought and sold. . . . The result was that nothing was done which was not specially paid for, and the people were plundered in order that their rulers might grow rich. Such were the ways in which villages and towns were vampired.[24]

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As an official of the old school, Yang's attitude toward foreign civilization was definitely conservative. Though he was too courteous to show his feelings to foreigners directly, it is known that he disliked them. When a Chinese student attached to the Sino-Swedish Expedition under Sven Hedin asked him why he did not employ foreign engineers to introduce modern techniques into his province, he flew into a rage and said: "Yes, that is just like you students, ready to sell your country to the foreigner."[25]

Yet he was a realist in handling as best he could the international situations with which he was confronted. In 1912, when he was inaugurated as Military Governor, he said in an official statement:

> From the Han and T'ang Dynasties on, whenever China was at peace and powerful the frontier people became obedient; but whenever China was weak and in confusion they revolted. Today the situation has greatly changed. We are being threatened by Outer Mongolia and powerful foreign nations. We shall not be able to come back to Sinkiang if we once lose it.[26]

As soon as he took office as Governor in 1912, Yang Tseng-hsin had to concern himself with problems on the Sinkiang frontier with Outer Mongolia. Then, in 1916, there was a revolt of the Kazakhs in Russian territory, set off by a Tsarist order for la-

[24] Bosshard, *op. cit.*, p. 437.
[25] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 1, p. 89.
[26] *A Survey of Sinkiang*, edited by the Provincial Government, 1938, p. 111 (in Chinese).

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bor conscription.[27] When it was crushed, many armed Kazakhs crossed into Sinkiang, plundering and murdering as they swarmed in thousands over the frontier passes, especially near the mountain lake of Issik Kul. They then dispersed among the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. Governor Yang did not attempt to prevent their entry, and let them go where they pleased.

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As soon as the October Revolution broke out in Russia, refugees began to enter Sinkiang. In 1920 and 1921 two groups of armed "White" (anti-Red) Russians retreated into Sinkiang. They totaled between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Some wished merely to retreat through Sinkiang into China proper; others wished to reach India; others attempted to join up with the counterrevolutionary Russian bands in Outer Mongolia. Yang, who had only about 10,000 troops under his command, dealt with the emergency cautiously but firmly. He disarmed some of the Russian troops and interned them in and near Kuchengtze. He then negotiated with Moscow for amnesty for all those who would return peacefully to Russian territory. At the same time, he asked for help from Moscow to dislodge armed "White" Russians from the Altai region on the Outer Mongolian frontier. He also took advantage of this emergency to revise the administrative structure of the Altai region — which before 1912 had been in some ways subject to the jurisdiction of the Manchu Amban in Kobdo, in Outer Mongolia, as well as to the provincial authorities in Sinkiang — a stronghold of Mongols and Kazakhs, by dividing it into three districts and three subdistricts.

In his dealings with the new Soviet regime across the frontier from him, Yang Tseng-hsin was cautious but not hostile. The National Government at Peking to which he was nominally subordinate was virtually powerless, and for some years had no relations with Moscow. He himself, however, had to deal with a dual

[27] *The Rising of the Year 1916 in Kazakhstan. Documents and Materials.* Edited by B. S. Suleimanov. Compilers: F. N. Kireev, Sh. Ya. Shafiro. Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. (In Russian). We have not had access to this volume but there is a review of it by M. Kim in *Questions of History*, Moscow-Leningrad, 9, 1948, pp. 111–13 (in Russian).

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heritage of Russian interests in Sinkiang and Chinese interests in adjoining Russian territory. In 1920 he closed the frontier toward Russia west of Kashgar — a move which may have been prompted by the fact that the British, who were especially hostile to the new Soviet regime, had strong influence in Kashgar and had, at the beginning of the Russian Revolution, used it as a subsidiary base for their activities in Russian Central Asia.[28] In the same year, however, he concluded a trade agreement between Sinkiang and the local authorities in Soviet territory. Under this agreement he encouraged the return of Russian refugees, while the authorities at Tashkent agreed to take a friendly attitude on the problem of the private property of Chinese citizens which had been affected by the Soviet program of confiscation.[29]

At the same time, the trade route through the Ili Valley was fostered as an alternative to that through Kashgar. Instead of the previous seven Russian consulates, there were to be only two, both in the Ili Valley. A Chinese consulate was provided for at Semipalatinsk and another — in spite of the fact that this was a local agreement made by a Chinese province, not by the National Government — at Verkhne-Udinsk, on the frontier between Siberia and Outer Mongolia. The reason for a consulate at the main gateway of trade between Russia and Outer Mongolia is not clear; there can have been little trade of concern to Sinkiang passing by this route. Most important of all, extraterritoriality was abolished and traders and travelers were made subject to the law of the locality where they happened to be.

This makeshift arrangement was superseded in May 1924 when diplomatic relations were restored between China and the Soviet Union under a treaty signed at Peking. In December of the same year a Soviet consulate was opened at Chuguchak; in the spring of 1925 one at Sharasume and one (already provided for under the provincial agreement) at Ining; in August, a Soviet consul

[28] Among accounts by British officers, see L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1922, and F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946.

[29] M. R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia*, N. Y., 1944, p. 62.

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general arrived at Urumchi; and finally toward the end of 1925 a Soviet consulate was established at Kashgar. Reciprocally, the previous "provincial" Chinese consulate at Semipalatinsk was made a consulate general, and consulates were opened at Tashkent, Andijan, Zaisan, and Alma-Ata.

In the period of civil war leading up to the establishment of the National Government of the Kuomintang, organized at Nanking by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, Yang Tseng-hsin continued to observe neutrality in China's domestic politics. In 1926, he feared that Sinkiang might be entered by the troops of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang, who was then retreating before the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. He therefore negotiated with Moscow and agreed to a Russian proposal for opening a motor service from the Siberian frontier to Urumchi. Since the Russians were at that time on good terms with Feng Yü-hsiang, to whom they had supplied arms (by routes leading across Mongolia, not Sinkiang), there is a suggestion that Russian good offices averted a retreat of Feng's troops into Sinkiang.

In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek broke off Chinese relations with the Soviet Union, Yang Tseng-hsin kept up his contacts with the Russians and with the staffs of the Chinese consular offices in Soviet territory within the field of Sinkiang trade. Thus on December 28, 1927, the Consul General at Semipalatinsk and his secretary sent a statement to the local newspaper in which they declared: "The Consulate at Semipalatinsk has nothing in common with Central China and is not able, consequently, to take upon itself the responsibility for events which have occurred recently in Central China. This consulate is dependent upon Western China, which does not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R." In conclusion the statement, as cited by *Izvestiya*, referred to "relations between Western China [Sinkiang] and the friendly Republic of the U.S.S.R. . . . so dear and so necessary for us, from the point of view not only of commerce but also of politics." [30]

Only in June 1928, when he ordered a change from the old

[30] *Izvestiya*, Moscow, Jan. 8, 1928.

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five-barred flag of the Chinese Republic to the new blue-field, white-sun national flag of the Kuomintang, did Yang Tseng-hsin acknowledge the Nanking Government; but in practice the internal administration of Sinkiang was scarcely affected. In this year, the Sino-Swedish Scientific Expedition, headed by Sven Hedin and backed by the authority of the Chinese Government, reached Sinkiang after a journey through Inner Mongolia. The movements of its Chinese members as well as its Swedish and German members were carefully circumscribed by the provincial authorities. Only reluctantly was Sven Hedin permitted to leave Urumchi for Komul; and in his own words his "reception by the Chinese officials of Hami was as disagreeable as that by the Sultan [of Hami] was the reverse." [31]

In the same year of 1928 Yang Tseng-hsin was assassinated, after he had ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years, dealing successfully with the events that followed the Chinese Revolution, the Outer Mongolian Revolution, and the Russian Revolution. When in 1928 he changed flags and nominally proclaimed allegiance to Nanking, he seems to have anticipated an early end to his career. He had transferred his enormous wealth to British and American banks, and placed his family in Manila, beyond Chinese jurisdiction.[32] To that extent, he was ready for the death that came to him at the hands of his trusted subordinate Fan Yao-nan, in a manner that recalled the way in which he himself, at the outset of his career as Governor, had murdered his Yunnanese colleagues.

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Fan Yao-nan, Yang's Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, gave a feast on July 7, 1928, on the occasion of the graduation exercises of the Government Law School in Urumchi. As that school used the Russian language in its curriculum, Soviet consular officials and other Russians were invited together with all the leading Chinese officials. Yang Tseng-hsin arrived with an escort of two hundred soldiers in addition to his regular bodyguards. Fan's

[31] Sven Hedin, "Hami or Kumul," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 92.

[32] Bosshard, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close to the Chinese frontier in the Ili region, naturally encouraged Sinkiang-Soviet trade, which in that year passed the level of 32,000,000 rubles. In the following year, 1931, shortly after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Urumchi was threatened by Ma Ch'ung-ying, the leader of a Moslem invasion from Kansu, who had already captured Barkul and Komul and was taking over the leadership of a Moslem rising within the province. Since Ma was accompanied by Japanese "advisers" and believed to be backed by Japanese militarists, he was not only a menace to the province but a danger to Soviet frontier interests. Chin Shu-jen, in order to obtain arms from the Russians, and because the rising cut off trade with China, signed a trade agreement in October 1931 which gave Soviet interests new privileges.

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Under this agreement eight Soviet trade agencies were established, at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan. Customs duties on Soviet goods were reduced, and new Sinkiang-Soviet telegraph and radio communications were opened. Chin signed the agreement without authorization from Nanking and without reporting it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for this he was imprisoned when, later, he fled the province and returned to China.

Chin was forced out of Sinkiang by a combination of insurrection, invasion, and a mutiny of "White" (exile) Russian mercenary troops. The insurrection began in the Komul oasis in 1931 and was joined by Chinese Moslem (Tungan) invaders from Kansu. Urumchi was attacked in the winter of 1932 and again in January 1934. In November 1933 an Eastern Turkistan Republic was proclaimed in Kashgar. In the main, the rebellion was brought under control by June 1934; but as late as the fall of 1935 there were still 20,000 Tungans, who had originally come from Kansu, holding out in Guma Bazar on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin. It is estimated that these dark and bloody years cost about 100,000 lives.

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The original revolt in Komul was certainly precipitated by the weak and avaricious Chin. In the winter of 1930 the last Uighur ruler of the ancient principality of Komul died. His son and suc-

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extension of education; encouragement of self-government; judiciary reform.[40] [185]

Before he could do much in the way of reform, however, Sheng had still to cope with the Moslem rebellion led by Ma Ch'ung-ying. While Sheng was taking the first steps toward power in the north, Ma was threatening to secure control in the south, most of which he now held from Komul in the east to Kashgar in the west. By June 1933 Ma's forces had also entered Kuchengtze, in Jungaria, and begun to push toward Urumchi. By this time, however, Ma's ruthlessness and his plundering of the countryside were weakening him by arousing the hatred even of his fellow Moslems. At Komul the shops were closed and the villages nearby had become heaps of rubble. At Ch'ichiaoching, on the main trade route, the streets were littered with the bodies of dead horses. Trade through Turfan had been suspended. 175*

As Sheng Shih-ts'ai at the head of his Manchurian troops went out to meet him, Ma cut south across the mountains and took Turfan, main valve of the trade routes both eastward to China and westward to Kashgar. At the beginning of 1934, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai had to detach some of his forces to face a fresh revolt in Ili, Ma advanced once more from Turfan against Urumchi — only to meet, this time, his decisive defeat. Sheng had been able to obtain war materials from the Soviet Union, including even planes. He threw back Ma's attack and harassed his retreat by bombing the road between Toksun and Kharashahr. Ma himself barely escaped to Kucha, and fled on to Kashgar. There he remained from April to June, 1934; but when Sheng's troops approached, he fled once more — this time to Soviet territory. He was reported to have been seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936.[41] For some years, Soviet policy was to hold an exceptionally advantageous position. Sinkiang was now to be governed by a non-Moslem Chinese who depended on Russia not only for arms but for economic co-operation. Yet the chief alternative 175* 648

[40] Tu Chung-yuan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang*, Hankow, 1938, pp. 67–72 (in Chinese).

[41] Hedin, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 648 claimant to power, the Moslem leader Ma Ch'ung-ying, was living in Soviet territory.

There can be no doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in addition to being dependent on good relations with Russia, was genuinely opposed to Japanese imperialism — which, like many Chinese who had studied in Japan, he thoroughly understood. There is also no doubt that Ma Ch'ung-ying had Japanese agents at his headquarters — agents who can be described as adventurous forerunners rather than acknowledged representatives of Japanese policy. Had Ma won, Japanese policy could have followed up these agents; when Ma lost, Japan had nothing to say in public.

The operations of Japanese agents, however, did not end immediately with the flight of Ma to Russia. As late as 1937, from February to October there was a revolt in Kashgar in which the Japanese were accused of having a hand. In October 1937 Sheng told Tu Chung-yuan, a former fellow student in Japan who was then working with him in Urumchi, that he knew of Japanese intelligence agents in the Moslem strongholds of Ninghsia and Ch'inghai (Kokonor) — Chinese frontier provinces adjoining Inner Mongolia and Tibet — and that Japanese remittances to Sinkiang through the coastal Treaty Port of Tientsin in recent months had amounted to more than three million yen. He believed that another ten million yen or more would be sent into Sinkiang. Tu Chung-yuan describes how four important government officials and some merchants with traitorous connections were then arrested.[42]

*175 185 In the meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai had embarked on a period of real reform. His "Eight Points," announced in 1933, have already been listed. In the following year he declared that Sinkiang was to be considered "the New Sinkiang," and that his "Eight Points" were to be implemented through "Six Great Policies." The first of these was anti-imperialism (subsequently to be interpreted in a strongly anti-British as well as anti-Japanese sense); this was followed by rapprochement with the Soviets,

[42] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 62–63, 97.

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Sheng himself is quoted by the man who was the director of his provincial newspaper as saying that he was not a member of the Kuomintang, so that "It is strange that they should have elected me a member of the Kuomintang Central Control Committee!" [47] 175*

After coming to power with Soviet military assistance, Sheng negotiated a Soviet loan of five million gold rubles for reconstruction purposes. This loan, which involved no political or economic conditions, carried an interest of 4 per cent.[48] Sheng also asked for Soviet technical assistance. In 1937 he instituted a three-year plan of reconstruction, during the course of which he obtained a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans. In 1938 the Provincial Commercial Bank was reorganized as the Sinkiang Commercial Bank, with partly private and partly Provincial Government capital. It issued new notes, and the currency was to a large extent stabilized. By the end of 1939 the old paper currency was declared invalid. During 1939 credits of $17,872,500 (Chinese) were granted to the bank to promote commercial and agricultural capitalization. Funds from the Soviet loans were used to build more motor roads, and trucks in use increased from only 20 in 1933 to 400 in 1938 and eventually to 3000 in 1941. In the same period, 1350 miles of telephone lines were installed. By 1939, there were some 20 factories in the province, and over 400 tons of Soviet machinery had gone into the construction of a refinery at an oil field northwest of Urumchi. 175* 178 648

The development of aviation involved the National Govern-

Communist advisers from Yenan to come to Sinkiang. He later executed some of these advisers and jailed the rest. Miss Anna Louise Strong has kindly let me see her unpublished notes of interviews with survivors of this group, at Yenan, after the war. These notes suggest that the Communists are inclined to claim credit for all the reforms of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his "progressive" period, even before 1938; but the record as a whole seems to make it clear that the reforms were initiated by National Salvationists and other liberals, before the arrival of the Communist advisers. The currency reform of 1938, however, appears to have been the work of Mao Tze-min, brother of Mao Tze-tung, who was executed by Sheng Shih-ts'ai in 1943.

[47] Sa Kung-liao, *op. cit.*

[48] Tu Chung-yuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

*175 178 648 ment as well as the Provincial Government. Under the Nanking-Moscow Nonaggression Agreement of 1937, a through air route had been stipulated. Under the Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreement of June 16, 1939, a Sino-Soviet Aviation Corporation was organized. By the terms of these agreements, Russia obtained priority over other countries in air traffic, jointly with China, over Sinkiang.

*175 648 185 436 In 1941 Sheng decreed a second three-year plan. The economic activities of the Provincial Government were expanded through "Foreign Trade and Local Resources Companies." Reconstruction bonds were issued; and the combined effects of inflation in China and a trade boom in Sinkiang raised the exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar from the low point of 4000 to one Chinese national dollar in 1934 to a rate of six to one national dollar in 1942. At the time Sheng left the province in 1944, the rate was five provincial dollars to one national dollar. The boom was largely promoted by an arbitrary linking of the "official" exchange rate between American dollars and Soviet rubles, which enabled Sinkiang to buy from the Soviet-operated Sinkiang Trading Corporation at artificially favorable rates. During this period many Russians entered the province as technicians, but — according to the British observer already quoted, who visited the province in 1940 — there was nothing to suggest that Soviet administrative control was being forced on Sinkiang.

*175 648 In retrospect, it is clear that Sheng Shih-ts'ai was guided throughout by opportunity rather than by principle. Even while carrying out reforms, which for some years were encouragingly successful, he did not lose his concern for his own interest. This concern led him into a policy of sudden shifts in his relations with Russia, in contrast with the policy of steady neutrality pursued so long and so successfully by Yang Tseng-hsin. From 1933 to 1940 he leaned toward the Soviet Union and away from the National Government of China. From 1941 to 1942 he cut off his relations with the Russians roughly and suddenly, and threw himself on the support of the National Government in a manner suggesting he had little confidence in his own power in his own

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province. In 1944, however, he tried — this time unsuccessfully — to break away again from the Kuomintang and the National Government, offering to assume a position of satellite dependency on the Soviet Union.

175* 648

During the first period, Sheng Shih-ts'ai ran Sinkiang very smoothly, on the three wheels of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, democracy, and increased recognition of the identities and interests of the "nationalities" or ethnic groups of the province. In October 1938 he held a provincial congress of all nationalities, which condemned Japanese machinations in Inner Mongolia, pledged money to contribute ten airplanes to the Chinese Air Force, and promised to keep open an overland route through Sinkiang, facilitating the movement of Soviet supplies to China. Sheng himself visited Moscow, ostensibly in search of medical care.[49] Two years later, on December 8, 1940, he joined other Chinese leaders in condemning the Nanking puppet regime under Wang Ching-wei. In 1941, after the New Fourth Army incident (when Kuomintang troops attacked Communist-led troops in the Yangtze Valley), Sheng told a correspondent of *Ta Kung Pao,* China's great independent newspaper, that Sinkiang was devoting all its strength to transport work and reconstruction in order to hasten victory, and that all parties and cliques in China should continue in their united resistance to Japan.[50]

When Germany invaded Russia, Sheng was informed that he could no longer receive material aid from hard-pressed Russia. Later, with Nazi forces besieging Leningrad and Stalingrad, he appears to have been convinced that Russia, even if not defeated, would no longer be one of the dominating great powers. He turned about-face and made contact with Chungking, indicating that in his belief a man who holds power in Sinkiang must rely on outside support in addition to concentrating control within the province in his own hands. Adjusting his rule within Sinkiang to his new orientation toward Chungking, he converted his earlier

[49] Sa Kung-liao, *op. cit.*
[50] Chen Chi-ying, *A Bird's-eye View of Sinkiang,* Chungking, 1941.

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*175 and relatively democratic policy into authoritarian repression of
648 the Uighurs and other non-Chinese national groups, and began to round up not only his Communist advisers but liberal Chinese as well.

*175 The sudden shift of policy was marked by the imprisonment and secret murder of Tu Chung-yuan,[51] a famous nationalist and liberal, once a schoolmate of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who had been invited to come to Sinkiang during the democratic period to head up cultural work, and had brought with him a considerable number of progressive young Chinese. By 1944 about 80,000 people had been imprisoned, including Sheng's own Soviet-trained brother and his wife. Torture was used to obtain confessions. Christopher Rand, correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune,* reported the case of a man "whom General Sheng's experts began to skin alive. After a square inch of skin had been removed, the victim wisely signed a 'confession.' The terror conflicted badly with General Sheng's 'new deal' program. He imported teachers and experts from China to develop the province; then he would become suspicious of them, throw them into jail and proceed to import more of the same. His schools turned out an increasing number of literate men who might conceivably spread ideas among the people — and a diploma came to be a ticket to jail."[52]

The idea of a transportation route through Sinkiang but independent of Russia was explored — which meant an orientation more friendly toward Britain, although previously Sheng's "anti-imperialism," while emphasizing the menace of Japan, had also brought pressure on the trade between India and Sinkiang. In February 1942, however, when Chiang Kai-shek flew to India, he inspected part of an old trade route from Northwest India into Inner Asia which might be made part of a supply route to Sin-

[51] For some details about Tu Chung-yuan's activities in Sinkiang and his final fate at the hands of Sheng, see two articles by Sa Kung-liao, in *Kuo Hsin National News,* semi-monthly, Hongkong, Nov. 11 and 25, 1947, New Series, Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4 (in Chinese).

[52] *New York Herald Tribune,* Sept. 23, 1947.

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*175 tance. The grazing grounds of the western slopes of the Altai were used not by Khalkha tribesmen of the main group of tribes in Outer Mongolia, but by Torguts and Ölöts of the Western Mongol groups of tribes, whose pastures were partly in northwestern Outer Mongolia and partly in Sinkiang.

*175 578 In the same region there were Kazakhs, whom the Imperial authorities had considered as "tenants" of the Mongols, paying the Mongols for the pastures that they used and having no claim to territory of their own. Some of these Kazakhs made use of summer pasture in the Baitik Bogda. The Baitik Bogda were also partly occupied by Mongols, who practiced a certain amount of agriculture in addition to owning livestock. In the winter it was the custom of the Kazakhs to leave most of their horses in the Baitik Bogda, horses being able to paw down through the snow to get winter feed, but to bring their sheep, cattle, and camels down into the Jungarian Desert, where they were clearly within the jurisdiction of Sinkiang. There was a tendency on the part of the Kazakhs to move clear across the desert and up to the lower slopes of the Bogda Ula near Kuchengtze; but the policy of the Sinkiang authorities was to drive them back toward the Baitik Bogda and to keep them out of the jurisdiction of Sinkiang, because they were regarded as cattle thieves and troublemakers. In practice, therefore, the attitude of the Sinkiang authorities was that the Baitik Bogda lay outside of Sinkiang.

*175 578 648 By 1948, however, the attitude of the Sinkiang provincial authorities and of the Chinese military command had changed. The Kazakh leader Osman Bator, who has already been mentioned, had at first joined the Kulja coalition, had later broken with it, and had withdrawn to the foothills of the Bogda Ula. The policy of the Chinese authorities was to encourage him to move northward from this region and to occupy the Baitik Bogda, which were accordingly claimed as Chinese territory.

*175 648 These attempts on the part of the Chinese-supported Kazakhs were resisted by Outer Mongolian frontier patrols, and the frontier incidents which resulted were sensationally reported. No

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widespread fighting broke out, however, and American reporters who went up to Sinkiang after the first reports tended to minimize the significance of the incidents.[96] 175* 648 ●

The exact location of the frontier in this region remains unclear. Recent Chinese maps show the entire Baitik Bogda within Sinkiang, and the Outer Mongolian frontier running along the main crest of the Altai.[97] Older maps, however, both Russian (Tsarist) and British, show the frontier running either right through the Baitik Bogda or somewhat to the south of the main height of the hills. 175* 131

In December 1948 the Chinese Government made a new move of major importance by dropping Masud Sabri as Chairman of the Province and replacing him with Burkhan, the former Vice-Chairman, who as a "middle-of-the-roader" was more acceptable to the Kulja dissidents. Burkhan, a Russian Tatar by origin, with large trading interests, had been a man of influence in Sinkiang since Tsarist times. He had managed to maintain himself under the regimes of Yang Tseng-hsin, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, and the Kuomintang. 175* 635

In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung returned to Sinkiang to attempt to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty, to replace a ten-year agreement signed in 1939 under the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. It was reported at the time that the Russians were attempting to acquire monopoly rights in mining and trade. There was also speculation that on the Chinese side an elaborate maneuver was being carried out to create a conflict of interest between the Russians and the Chinese Communists, by granting to the Russians exclusive rights in this frontier sector of Chinese territory. In the upshot, no new treaty was negotiated, but the Russian monopoly right to an air service between Komul and the 175* 648

[96] See, for example, dispatch from Henry R. Lieberman, from Urumchi, August 27, 1948, in *New York Times*, September 8, 1948.

[97] See the map on p. 59 of the article by Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, New York, 1949.

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Soviet frontier, secured under the old treaty, was continued for five years.[98]

Returning from Sinkiang after the first few meetings of these negotiations, Chang Chih-chung later joined a five-man "peace team" of the Kuomintang which went to Peiping to negotiate with the Chinese Communists. There, together with the other members of the delegation, he denounced the Kuomintang and declared his adherence, not to the Chinese Communist Party, but to the movement for a coalition government headed by the Communists.

Finally, in September, 1949, all the threads of the politics of Sinkiang were drawn together and tied in one knot: Seyfuddin, of the Kulja coalition, went to Peiping as a delegate to the People's Consultative Council — called by the Communists — where another delegate was Chang Chih-chung, once the Kuomintang's top representative in Sinkiang. Almost simultaneously the oasis of Komul, key to the eastern approaches from China proper to Sinkiang, declared in favor of the new Communist regime, and the Sinkiang provincial government immediately followed with a formal declaration of adherence.[99] A chapter in the history of Inner Asia had definitely closed. The first words of the next chapter were yet to be written.

[98] See, among others, the following newspaper dispatches: Henry R. Lieberman, Nanking, January 31, 1949, in *New York Times*, February 1, 1949. United Press, Nanking, February 13, 1949; *ibid.*, February 14, 1949. Henry R. Lieberman, Canton, February 28, 1949; *ibid.*, February 28, 1949. Walter Sullivan, Urumchi, April 1, 1949; *ibid.*, April 6, 1949. Walter Sullivan, Urumchi, March 30, 1949; *ibid.*, April 18, 1949. Unsigned dispatch from Shanghai, May 11, 1949; *ibid.*, May 12, 1949. Frank Robertson, Canton, in *Christian Science Monitor*, June 6, 1949.

[99] See the following newspaper dispatches: Henry R. Lieberman, from Shanghai, September 24, 1949, in *New York Times*, September 25 and 26, 1949; unsigned dispatch from Hongkong, September 25, 1949; *ibid.*, September 26, 1949; Tillman Durdin from Hongkong, September 28, 1949; *ibid.*, September 29, 1949.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 578 669 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they defeated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 701 668 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforcements sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

*563 701 648 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with relatively good training and American equipment, and with the Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

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Chinese
Great Russians

In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration: 563* 648

> One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.[23]

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east. 563* 161 101

Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average 563* 361 648 463

[23] Aitchen K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

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Great Russians

*563 361 ● 648 463 of technical training in the province, the Russians have been useful both in time of peace and in periods of internal strife. They have served as automobile drivers and mechanics, aided in the training of provincial military forces, and made use of their military experience in actual combat. Their participation in the military struggle on the side of Sheng Shih-ts'ai was an important factor in his victory over Ma Ch'ung-ying in 1934. On this and other occasions, travelers and reporters on the scene, not to mention writers thousands of miles away, have often suggested or flatly stated that these Russians were Soviet Russians rather than White Russians. Both the extent of Soviet influence in the province and the characteristics of Soviet methods of operation have been distorted by such reports.

*563 648 During the period of Yang Tseng-hsin the Russians in Sinkiang managed to get along fairly well. They encountered hard times in the interval from the death of Yang in 1928 to the establishment of Sheng's authority in 1933–1934, and again after his turnabout in policy in 1943. Normally, they lead an existence much like that of other Russian *émigré* communities in China — which means that they have their own organizations, publish their own newspapers, and otherwise attempt to preserve their cultural identity. In general they accommodate themselves to shifting political tides in so far as these do not threaten their very existence. It was a measure of their disquietude that so many of them threw their support behind the program of the Kulja group in opposition to the Chinese administration.

Although the Sinkiang Russian community owed its original formation to the anti-Soviet feeling of its members, this attitude has been considerably tempered with the passage of time, especially as a new generation, not directly involved in the struggles of the civil war period, has begun to assert itself. In line with changes in attitude taking place in many *émigré* communities throughout the world, a growing number of Russians in Sinkiang have taken advantage of the new Soviet policy toward expatriates to identify themselves with the U.S.S.R.

There is now a question whether the Russians in Sinkiang are

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Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population. 563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people. 563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage 563* 167 174

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Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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CHAPTER VII At the Crossroads of Inner Asia

648 DURING the years of the second World War and the years of rapid change that followed it, the situation in the territories adjoining and surrounding Sinkiang has changed even more profoundly than the situation in Sinkiang itself. For more than half a century all writers have described Sinkiang as a partial vacuum which was being filled competitively from China, India, and Russia. The Sinkiang of today, teeming with its own nationalism, can no longer be considered a vacuum; and the most important aspect of its position is that it stands between a Communist-dominated China and a Communist-controlled Soviet Union.

Until this change took place British policy in Sinkiang was directed partly from London, partly from Britain's position as the imperial power ruling India. British policy alternated between two aims: that of establishing a sphere of influence, especially in the Kashgar region and the Tarim Basin, tacitly conceding to Russia a sphere of influence in the Ili Valley and Jungaria, and that of co-operating with the Chinese authorities and supporting the full claims of Chinese sovereignty, thus indicating that the extension of Russian influence would be undesirable. In the last years of Kuomintang rule, and after Britain negotiated withdrawal from India and Pakistan, British policy settled down to the second of these two alternatives, because the British interest is to prolong a relatively weak Chinese overlord rule in Inner Asia, whether under the Kuomintang or the Chinese

[p.200]

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Communists, rather than to accelerate the development of a 648 strong Russian overlord rule, or overriding interest.

In the same period Russia and its dominions in Asia passed from a centralized imperial rule under the Tsars to a federated structure of Soviet Communist Republics. China began its revolutionary changes before Russia but completed them later. Before 1911 the authority of the Manchu Empire had been weakening both in China and in the frontier territories and in 1911 it was overthrown. From 1912 to 1926 China was a republic in which power was divided between war lords; there was no firm central authority either in China or in the frontier territories. After 1927, China was a republic governed by the Kuomintang, whose central authority tended to increase within China, but to decrease in Sinkiang and other frontier territories. Finally, China has now passed under the ascendancy of the Communists, and a trend toward federalization can now be foreseen. Within this federative trend, it is likely that the new Central Government of China will have more authority in the frontier territories of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang than any Chinese government for many decades.

All of these changes must be evaluated in themselves and in their relation to and interaction on each other. The Sinkiang of today cannot properly be described as a vacuum. It has become a crossroads at which meet a number of different nationalisms and the policies of two great powers, China and Russia. These two great federative states are similar to each other in their Communist orientation, but not identical with each other in their domestic interests.

The Russian Revolution and Its Effects

A unique colonial revolution took place within the general 000 Russian Revolution. The colonial domains of the Tsar adjoined and merged into the Russian lands. The degree of interpenetration between Russians and subject peoples was much greater than it could possibly be in any overseas colony. All of the British in

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000 lution and civil war in which some of the non-Russians were on both sides of the fight among Russians. As the revolution deepened from a political struggle into a class war, the lines of cleavage more and more grouped together the possessors, Russian and non-Russian, fighting to preserve at least something of the old order, and the dispossessed, Russian and non-Russian, trying to take complete possession of the new order.

167 648 In many of the regions in which the Russians were in a minority, the outcome of the revolution was determined by non-Russians who took the side of the Russian Bolsheviks.[2] Before the final outcome, however, there were two intermediate stages, and during each of these stages, and after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, there were important migrations out of Russian territory which carried the effects of the revolution into the adjoining lands of Inner Asia.

In the first of these intermediate stages non-Russian nationalists came into power or almost within reach of power in their own territories. In Inner Asia there were two groups of these nationalists. One — including such potentates as the Emir of Bokhara and lesser representatives of the old systems of nobility and chieftainship which had been subjected to the Russsians — was not guided by political theory. Individuals of the group, rather than the group as a whole, simply tried to resume as much as possible of the power that they had had before the Russians came. If the power they could take into their hands was not enough to make them feel secure, they were inclined to look for protection to the British, who were intervening against the Russian Revolution from the side of Asia as well as from the side of Europe.

The second group — many of whose members stemmed from families in the first group — was led by non-Russians who had had some years of Russian schooling and who, very often, had

[2] See above, Chapter I; also Owen Lattimore, "Yakutia and the Future of the North," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 2, February 1945; reprinted in *New Compass of the World*, ed. Hans Weigert, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Richard Edes Harrison, New York, 1949, pp. 145–146.

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held positions in the Russian service. This group had some idea of political theory and modern politics. On the whole, its ambitions did not go beyond local autonomous government, with members of the group holding higher positions than they had formerly held — especially, of course, the top positions once held by Russians. For allies, this group looked to the Russian Mensheviks; as the Mensheviks weakened and failed, they also looked to the British; when the British intervention failed, those who could gave up the struggle and fled into exile — a few to Europe, but many more to Iran, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang.

The second stage, marked by the British intervention, began where the first had ended. The British intervention was directed from Iran and Mesopotamia. It endeavored to mask Afghanistan, where suspicion of British policy was very strong, and it also operated, to a minor though significant extent, from Kashgar in Sinkiang.[3] Beginning as an attempt to prevent German and Austrian prisoners of war interned in Russian Turkistan from being repatriated to Germany, and to prevent accumulated stocks of cotton from being delivered to Germany after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it quickly turned into an attempt to prevent the Bolshevik Revolution from seizing the Baku oil fields, and to complete the *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. As they failed and withdrew, the British carried along with them an ebb tide of people fleeing from the Revolution, both Russians and people of every Inner Asian nationality.

Nor did emigration end with the Bolshevik victory. With each new phase of Bolshevik policy, and especially during the bitter struggle over collectivization, which was virtually a new civil war, new waves of refugees sought an escape into Sinkiang and the other Inner Asian lands around the Soviet frontier. In this way the primary effect of the Russian Revolution was to spread alarm far and wide beyond the Russian frontiers.

In time, however, a second or long-term series of effects began to become apparent. These effects were enhanced by the fact that

[3] See, especially, Lt.-Col. F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946; also L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1921.

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648 everywhere in Inner Asia the Soviet frontier is in one sense artificial: because it originated in the Tsarist conquests, and stops where the Tsarist conquests stopped, it everywhere divides similar peoples from each other instead of separating different peoples from each other, as has been pointed out in previous chapters. The same languages are spoken on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Afghan, and Soviet-Sinkiang frontiers. And, in most cases, they are spoken by people who are minorities under both the sovereignties under which they live. The effects in Inner Asia of the Soviet Revolution must therefore be studied especially from the standpoint of peoples who are minorities in the states under which they live, and who talk in the same language and against the background of a common cultural and social tradition about the different conditions under which they live on the two sides of the frontier that divides them. Five principal phases, which followed each other in chronological order, can be distinguished among the long-term effects of the Soviet Revolution.

565 563 1. As the possessors of advanced skills, refugees from the Soviet Revolution became an elite in Sinkiang. Among the Russians, especially, there were doctors, geologists, and other scientists; engineers, mechanics, and many artisans. Among the Uzbeks, Tatars, and others there were also many whose literacy, skill, and experience in trade — or proficiency as carpenters, builders, leather tanners, or metalworkers — put them above the average level prevailing in Sinkiang. Having escaped from the disorder and insecurity of revolution, they now found that the country to which they had come was culturally and politically even more backward than the one from which they had escaped. They learned that if the superior skills which gave them the qualities of an elite were not enough to make them a political elite, and frequently not enough even to assure them economic security, it was because of the backwardness of the society in which they had settled, and the corruption or incompetence of the officials to whom they now had to defer.

000 2. Having fled because there was no force in Russian Inner

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Asia capable of resisting the Revolution, the refugees now found 563
that there was no adjoining state capable of intervening successfully against the Revolution. As the years of the interwar period went by, they found that in Sinkiang and in every other territory in Asia adjoining their old homes there was not a single anti-Russian government that was able to build up political and military strength as fast as the new Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, or to open up educational and employment opportunities as fast. In their old homes, there was still suffering, and often persecution of those who had belonged to the old order of politics and society; but this was the suffering of revolutionary dislocation, and the same dislocation also offered new careers for those who were willing to work hard and those who were able to profit by education. In their new homes, however, there was also suffering: the suffering of old and stagnant societies, in which opportunities were decreasing, rather than increasing. Even the rich man might suddenly be impoverished if he fell foul of a corrupt official; and there was a steady production of landless peasants in the rural districts and beggars in the towns.

3. In the atmosphere of rapid change and spreading insecurity 648 •
after the second World War, both the refugees and the peoples among whom they live have begun to fear the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, and the Russia standing behind them, more in some ways but less in other ways. They fear them more, as the source of a power that may reach out and take over the adjoining territories or parts of them. They fear them less, because in comparison with most of the adjoining territories, such as Sinkiang itself, Afghanistan, and Iran, and even to some extent Turkey, they have become a focus of stability and of that "law and order" which all stabilizing empires proclaim. The Soviet Republics do not offer security for the investments of the rich, but they do offer a new kind of security, never known before in the "back blocks" of Asia — in a multiplying number of careers, especially for the young and especially for those who pass through universities and technical training schools of all kinds.

4. A cycle has, in fact, been completed. The old Russia was

648 once the greatest and most stable state in Inner Asia. As far as men of the Inner Asian peoples could hope for modern training and modern careers at all, it was in Russian employment or the Tsarist service. A "Russian-trained man" was a man who had escaped from the old ruts of the tribal or oasis life. Even when the Tsarist Empire fell, the refugees who scattered into other Inner Asian countries were respected for their superior knowledge and skills. In the new cycle, the new Russia has regained this position. Its ideology is feared by those whose social or economic advantages are protected by the old orders that still stand just beyond the Soviet frontiers; but these old orders are old, and they are weak, and all know it. The present influence of the Soviet Union beyond its own borders in Inner Asia therefore bears heavily on the stress lines of class conflict and economic inefficiency in weak social structures that have little confidence in themselves. This influence has, especially, a marked tendency to divide the old and the young. Among those who are old enough to know that they could not adapt easily to great changes, fear is strong. Among those who are young enough to know that they could take advantage of new opportunities in education and the making of careers, there is a stir of curiosity and adventure.

5. The gathering momentum of Soviet prestige is enhanced by the withdrawal of other powers that were once great in Inner Asia. The overlord power of China in Sinkiang is diminishing. Even the Communists, triumphant in China itself, have to handle the Inner Asian frontiers of China more by negotiation than by the issuing of decrees. With British power withdrawn from India, neither the Union of India nor Pakistan has the kind of power that can project its influence as deeply into Inner Asia as that of Britain once did. British power has also receded in Iran, and has not been fully replaced by American power. The American influence in Iran is that of a country which is strong enough to fight Russia, but not that of a country with the knack — which Britain once had — of simultaneously propping up both a weak government and a decaying social order. In the short run, the American

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175 region, in which it had always been strongest; and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the years in which his policy was most active, most progressive, and most successful, bracketed the British with the Japanese as imperialists menacing Sinkiang. Partly as a device for turning the pressure of the nationalisms of the Uighurs and others away from his administration, he directed it against the British. The shadow of Japan over Sinkiang never hardened into the reality of a Japanese invasion or even raid; but in the years in which British policy appeased Japan the shadow of Britain over Sinkiang wore thinner.[16]

The Chinese Revolution Reaches Sinkiang

175 It was only after Russian revolutionary influences had become strong and well established in Inner Asia, and after the decline of
648 British power and prestige in the 1930's had obviously begun that the effects of China's own revolution really began to penetrate into Sinkiang. In the 1911 Revolution, all that really happened in Sinkiang was that the title of the Manchu Empire passed to the Chinese Republic. The governing group remained essentially the same, guided by the strong hand of Yang Tseng-hsin. That same strong hand sealed Sinkiang off from the stormy events and heady ideas of the Second or "Great" Revolution of 1925–1927.

175 Revolutionary developments began with the Moslem and na-
648 tionalist risings at the beginning of the 1930's, which were rebel-
669 lions against Chinese rule that turned into revolutions against the traditional social orders of Sinkiang. By an odd twist, however, it was these rebellions that gave the first opportunity of action for those Chinese in Sinkiang whose minds were also turned toward revolution.

There seems little doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, at the time he came to power, was a mixture of the revolutionary and the mili-

[16] For contemporary expressions of Chinese hostility to Britain on the subject of Sinkiang, see Edgar Snow, *Battle for Asia*, Random House, New York, 1941, p. 307 and note, citing the most important independent Chinese newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao;* also Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, pp. 48 and 56, also citing Chinese sources.

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tary adventurer. In the Northern Expedition of 1927 he had accompanied the famous First Army column which was commanded by Chiang Kai-shek with Ho Ying-ch'in as Chief of Staff and Pai Chung-hsi as Assistant Chief of Staff, and had himself served in the Planning Section of the Staff. He had, therefore, watched at close hand those military leaders of the Kuomintang who boldly used class conflict to create a situation in which they could control the balance of power. They developed, and for a time seemed to have perfected, a method of riding the revolutionary tiger without losing control of it and becoming unable to dismount. Sheng Shih-ts'ai may well have thought, when he first assumed power in Sinkiang, that he too could use the methods of revolution without losing control of the process of revolution.

175 648 669

What Sheng Shih-ts'ai faced in Sinkiang was not revolution, but a widespread rebellion which could not be suppressed by force with the military resources at his command. On the other hand, he had no mandate to protect the vested interests of the colonial Chinese families that had long been established in the province. He was a newcomer. There lay before him the opportunity to take command of the situation if he could do so by use of the means available to him.

These means included:

1. Getting material aid from the Russians, in return for preventing Japanese infiltration into Inner Asia.

2. Getting the Russians to repatriate, into Sinkiang, Chinese troops which, after being defeated by the Japanese in Manchuria, had retreated into Siberia and had there been interned. As a Manchurian Chinese himself, he could present himself to these troops as a sympathetic commander, while they in turn had no local political loyalties in Sinkiang, and made him independent of reinforcements sent from China.

3. Concessions to Uighur and other non-Chinese political leaders at the expense of the old Chinese official clique in Sinkiang — a clique to which Sheng was not bound, and whose interests he did not have to defend, if by abandoning them he could create new interests allied to himself and dependent on his new policy.

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175 As was shown in Chapter III, Sheng's "nationality policy" was worded as if it had been based on concessions to peoples, but was 648 in fact directed primarily to winning over some of the leaders of 669 those peoples, whose ambition was simply to hold offices that had been open previously only to Chinese.

4. The recruiting of a new body of Chinese experts and advisers who, like himself, were not tied by common interests to the old regime, and would support his two bold policies of dealing with the Russians and making greater concessions to the non-Chinese nationalities of Sinkiang than their Chinese rulers had ever made to them before.

The first three points have been dealt with earlier in this book, in Chapter III. They are mentioned again here only because of their connection with the fourth point, which concerns the manner in which the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution became, after so long a delay, transplanted to Sinkiang and began to operate there.

Sheng had no difficulty in collecting Chinese, previously strangers to the province, who were far enough to the left to go along with him enthusiastically in his first years of radical innovation. Between the loss of Manchuria in 1931 and the formation of a united front between Communists and Kuomintang at the beginning of 1937, China was a bitter and disillusioned country. Thousands of ardent patriots, who did not want to follow the Communists, were disappointed in the Kuomintang's refusal to make a stand against the Japanese and its insistence, instead, on continuing the civil war against the Communists. Afraid of the Communists as "too revolutionary," but eager for reform, they were ready to rally to a leader like Sheng Shih-ts'ai who was proclaiming internal unity, democratic reforms, and unlimited hostility to imperialism.

Nor were Chinese who felt this way easily frightened by Sheng's friendly association with the Russians. Many Chinese were in favor of good relations with Russia, in view of the clear menace of Japan. To keep one foreign nation balanced against another was an old Chinese tradition; a great many Chinese

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

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175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical.
662 First, as a military leader with an independent following, he sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Rus-
563 sian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
● 648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

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touch the Inner Asian Soviet Republics, the most important block of territory in the Soviet Union inhabited by peoples who are not Russians and not Slavs. 175 563 648

This situation gives a new aspect to old problems and creates new problems of its own. There is the question whether, in the Soviet Union, the interests of the Russians are to override the interests of the other peoples, and the question whether, in the Chinese Republic, the interests of the Chinese are to override those of all others. These are old problems, the development of which has long been watched warily by the neighbors of Russia and China. In addition, there is now the new problem of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China: are the interests of the Soviet Union, as a state, to be made paramount over those of China, as a state?

If statesmen were efficiency engineers, and no more than that, a very good case could be made for annexing parts of Sinkiang to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Republics of the Soviet Union, and for setting up most of the Tarim Basin as an Uighur Republic, also to be annexed to the Soviet Union. In terms of the affinities of peoples, languages, and cultures, geographical accessibility, the most economical laying-out of modern communications, and the rapid promotion of material progress, the natural orientation of Sinkiang is toward Mongolia and the Soviet Union, rather than toward China. On the other hand, however, the material and sentimental interests of China in Sinkiang, though they have been much abused, are real; and so are the interests of Sinkiang in its connection with China, if this connection is wisely handled. 000

The probability is that the Chinese Communists will, as Chinese, renounce no sovereignty in lands long claimed as Chinese. At the same time, it is to be expected that they will attempt to apply new policies — not only to Sinkiang, but to Inner Mongolia, to the districts in which Chinese Moslems predominate in Ninghsia and Kansu, and to such parts of Tibet as they can penetrate. It is to be expected that, as Marxists, they will model these policies on those of the Russians in Soviet Asia. The Sinkiang of

alone, resources are available in such an abundance as can furnish the 135
foundation for a thriving industrialization.

Iron, [illegible], copper and gold have been found near Sui-ting (I-li). 135
Henceforth this important center on the Soviet-Chinese border may 316
take its prosperous tea and fur trade for granted and brag, instead, of blazing furnaces. T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), a frontier locality on the road from the Turksib Railway and probably the only city to have boomed more than Sui-ting, is already boasting of the iron vein one hundred and thirty miles long which runs right through the town, and of the Black Oil Mountain nearby. The oil appears abundantly in the form of springs and is especially black and thick. It is probably a tar, for it gets hard and has been used in the laying out and paving of the new provincial highways. There is coal too, not far away. But miners are nothing new for T'a Ch'eng; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were thousands of them prospecting in the fifty square miles or so of gold mines roundabout, or so the old people say.

Tihwa (Urumchi), the provincial capital, with a population judged 135
at around 100,000, dominates both the North and South Roads: hence its 361
military and political importance. Nowadays, not to be outdone, it has also been showing great industrial promise. Most of its houses are heated with oil or coal produced in the vicinity. One visitor to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's headquarters saw a piece of coal so huge that it took two men to carry it.

Farther south, Kashgar (Su-fu), largest oasis in Sinkiang and hub of 361
both transport and political interests from the neighboring lands of 315
Northwest India, Afghanistan, and Soviet Turkestan, is also blessed 648
with natural resources. Kashgar oil, though often merely "scooped out" by primitive means, has long provided the city with gasoline, kerosene, machine oil, and grease. Even Ma Titai, old-school Commander-in-Chief of the Kashgar district at the close of World War I, guessed at the worth of the oil in his domain. He put most of his personal army to the task of tapping wells for him, and almost negotiated a deal with Soviet Russians of Ferghana for modern machinery. The Russians had said they would supply the machinery and would personally see to its being escorted to Kashgar, when Ma's plans hit a snag. His ambitions

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

IV

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

648 A FRONTIER, it has been written, is by its own nature usually an unsettled region. There rough, unscrupulous men come to seek quick, easy riches; and there the good living of peace, education, responsible government, and material comforts is often either lacking or only ostensibly proffered from the embattled mansions of outlaws or despots. Usually confronting another country, the frontier is the place which feels most suddenly and severely the shocks of changing political and military relationships in the world: the slightest overt military incident on an international frontier time and time again has been the spark to set nations aflame with war. Multiplied a hundred-fold or more is this disquiet and tension when a frontier lies helpless and unprotected at the crossroads of world empire.

Such a frontier has Sinkiang been. Tu Chung-yüan writes:

> Behind the facade of the racial and cultural complex of the province every imperialist force has sought to cause dissension and division. A certain imperialist force, for instance, has increasingly fostered independence for South Sinkiang, and Japanese imperialism has helped the Ch'an Hui [Turban Moslems] promote a Mussulman state. If this matter is not put foremost, if it is not struck a decisive blow, if all the people of the province are not cautioned about it, then all Sinkiang government will share a like fate.

A nineteenth-century outpost for the commerce of China, Russia, Britain, and Japan, Sinkiang has seen her borders patrolled incessantly by the armies of the first three while her steppes and oases have been infiltrated by the counter-agents of probably all four and more. The pulse of life in Sinkiang might be said to have been timed almost literally to beat with the tread of a marching frontier guard. One day it was bruited about that the Russians were plotting to march through Sinkiang to Lhasa and Bombay; the next, that the British coveted Sinkiang as a road to Urga; a third, that Japanese would use Sinkiang as a base to set the Moslems of the Middle East in revolt! Nor has

it only been these. China has had great difficulty in defending this 648
frontier during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet she herself probably began imperialism in Sinkiang some two thousand years ago. And she had to compete even then with the nomads of Siberia, Mongolia, and Turkestan. It is through "Anti-imperialism" that the New Sinkiang has attempted to arm herself against all this.

Chinese Imperialism in the Western Regions

The "Anti-imperialism" of the New Sinkiang may well have been, 648
in the first place, a reproach for Chinese imperialist frontier policies 175
of the past. For Sinkiang Province was not always Chinese territory. The area appears to have been inhabited in ancient times by a number of separate independent clans, principalities, and states which Chinese gradually came to know collectively as the *Hsi Yü,* or "Western Regions." By conquest, and often by repression, of the natives of these Western Regions, Chinese were among the first to acquaint them with imperialism. A related, but slightly different, approach to this point is made by Owen Lattimore in his study, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China:*

> The history of the Chinese in Central Asia . . . is a history of imperialism, of conquest. The Chinese could not here expand, adding contiguous region to contiguous region as they did in their advance toward the Yangtze and beyond, but had to subjugate and dominate from afar. They had, moreover, to compete with the imperialism of the steppe, which also attempted to assert its control over the oasis world. The record of the Chinese in Central Asia is therefore by no means continuous; in fact, their effective control has been estimated at only about 425 out of about 2,000 years, divided into a number of periods, of which the present Chinese rule in the province of Sinkiang is the fifth major period.

China seems to have had earliest contact with the Western Regions during the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-220 A.D.). The Hsiung-nu (Hun?) nomads of Mongolia had been raiding the Chinese frontier, and the Chinese Emperor, Han Wu Ti, wanted to outflank them with bases in the Western Regions. He didn't get those bases at first; but through an emissary, Chang Ch'ien, he did initiate Chinese frontier activity

648 175 in Central Asia. By the end of the first century A.D. a Han general Pan Ch'ao had expanded that activity so successfully in a military sense that "more than fifty kingdoms" of the Western Regions had "sent hostages," and countries as far away as Persia were regularly sending "tributary" missions to the Chinese throne.

China did not retain this position permanently. Some three to four hundred years later, Chinese of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties had to play off "western Turks" (apparently a people of the Western Regions) against the "northern Turks" (probably a people then in present-day Mongolia) to regain mastery of Turkestan. In this period, during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty (713-756) Chinese power extended as far as the sites of Kashmir and Gilgit (in present-day Northwest India).

But this was the limit to which Chinese westward expansion was then to go, and later it even met with severe reverses. When the Sons of Han did carry their authority back to Turkestan, it was centuries later and then they were mainly henchmen to their own "barbarian" overlords: the Mongols in the thirteenth, and the Manchus in the seventeenth century. What memories must have been left the people of Sinkiang by plundering Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan! And by the Manchus! In 1750 during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung, their armies laid waste the Altai region and annihilated 600,000 inhabitants. A century later they slaughtered numberless Moslems in the "pacification" of such Asiatic revolts as that of Yakub Beg of Kashgar.

Nor, for almost a quarter century after Chinese revolt from Manchu rule in 1911 and 1912, did Sinkiang have an opportunity to dissociate the idea of Chinese rule from that of stern military conquest. The administration of the first Republican governor of the province, Yang Tseng-hsin, aroused so much resentment that he was assassinated on July 7, 1928. Once his firm hand was withdrawn unrest again stirred; and it was thus that the Sinkiang civil war which brought Sheng Shih-ts'ai to power broke out in the 1930's.

Tsarist Imperialism

In the later days of the Manchu Dynasty, meanwhile, a new imperialism had come to Sinkiang. The expanding Russian Empire had not been slow to profit from her proximity to China, and in the Treaty of Kuldja of 1851 she gained her first sizable foothold in the Sinkiang economic door. The treaty, kept secret for a time, was made public in 1861. It gave Russia the right to send agents into the region, permitted Russian commercial dealings with Kuldja (Sui-ting or I-li) and Chuguchak (T'a Ch'eng), and foresaw the opening of a Russian consulate at Kuldja. In the Treaty of Peking, November 14, 1860, this beginning was enlarged to permit the opening of another consulate, at Kashgar.

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Then came the Yakub Beg revolt of the 1860's and an upset in the Central Asian balance of power. The Turkestan frontier was so "disturbed" that in 1871 Russia occupied points on the Chinese side, promising that her forces would be evacuated as soon as China had restored order. There was doubt at the time as to Russia's true intentions, and all might not have gone so well subsequently had China's army under Tso Tsung-t'ang not been successful in its bitter campaign to "pacify" the Moslem uprising. Russia, unable in 1881 to challenge the victorious Chinese, reluctantly signed new conventions with China. By these the Tsar, in return for a monetary payment, ultimately gave back much of the Chinese territory he had occupied. A *modus operandi* was achieved by which China, among other matters, recognized the Russian right to open consulates at Kuldja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan, and assented to creation of other Russian consulates at Ha-mi, Tihwa, and Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) should commercial relations warrant.

British Imperialism

Russian ambitions in Chinese Turkestan in the time of the Tsars had, however, additional reactions farther south. It is not too surprising that, once Russian troops had moved across the Sinkiang frontier in 1871, authorities of the British Empire tendered political "recognition" to the "government" which the rebel Yakub Beg had

648 175 then organized at Kashgar. The British felt their "preserve" in nearby India was being "threatened" and as a consequence "countered" Russian action both by recognizing the Beg and by taking a more active interest in "trade" with South Sinkiang.

Sinkiang-Indian trade had been under way for some time, but the British Government became officially committed to its furtherance in 1876. This policy, they found, could not be pursued satisfactorily without dispatch of an armed force to pacify the Northwest Frontier of India. In taking this step, they trespassed on what Chinese feel was and is their ground. Thereupon, say Chinese, when in 1884 a British force marched into "Kanjut" *(K'an-chü-t'i* or *Kan-chu-t'e)*—the site of the Gilgit Agency and Hunza Valley of modern Northwest India—outright English "aggression" against Sinkiang began. Subsequently a British agent and a British consul were established at Kashgar. This South Sinkiang metropolis became a focus for British activity which, under the aegis of the Indian trade agent, the British consul, and native *aqsaqals* (headmen), was carried on mainly as an intra-Mohammedan affair. It became, consequently, subject to a persistent suspicion on the part of Chinese non-Moslems.

Manchu Commercial Efforts

439 That the Russians and British were attempting to dominate Sinkiang trade became apparent to China by the closing years of Manchu rule. In a limited and tardy way the Manchus attempted to strengthen administration in the province, therefore, and to foster new development of intra-Chinese trade. New colonizing blood was poured into the veins of Sinkiang. At the same time went manufacturers and ideas; and from the province came jade, gold, furs, skins, and a number of other items. The avidity with which foreigners in Tientsin and Shanghai sought the furs, skins, and wool especially helped, and by the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese traders were bringing these goods out of Sinkiang in such amounts that she was beginning to experience a new prosperity. But the process of itself could not develop to satisfactory proportions, due to the then current weakness of the

to the Chinese frontier; thus Russia gained another great advantage over her rivals in the markets of Sinkiang. Total recorded Sinkiang-Soviet trade in 1930 had already jumped to over 32,000,000 rubles, and in 1931 Soviet Russia reportedly obtained new and considerable trade and communications privileges in the Chinese province. When the revolt of Sinkiang Moslems during 1930-1933 led to the emergence of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Soviet Russia extended him such substantial aid that he was able to institute sweeping changes in the territory under his administration. 439.

The Soviet Position: One Chinese View

There are Chinese, such as the writer Chiang Chün-chang, who have intimated that the Soviet record in Sinkiang has been merely a continuation of old Tsarist imperial policy and who hint that Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been merely an instrument in the hands of Soviet Russia. Chiang, whose opinion does not necessarily represent that of most Chinese, appears to feel that Soviet as well as Tsarist Russia has been an "aggressor" in Sinkiang. His argument (in public print, 1937-1939) has been that Soviet Russia began to make great headway in Sinkiang after the assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin and after Chin Shu-jen (by specific agreement in October, 1931) had welcomed the importation of Soviet arms into the province. When Sheng Shih-ts'ai's influence had succeeded that of Chin Shu-jen, Sheng got Soviet help in overcoming provincial opposition, and relates Chiang, "has since then been one of the Soviet brood." "Sheng Shih-ts'ai has engaged Soviet advisers in his army," has not conferred "with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," and has not sent "duplicate copies of treaties for the Executive Yüan to keep on record," Chiang adds. Though information on the extent of the authority which is held by such Soviet advisers as have been in Sinkiang is not clear and is largely based on foreign reports, Chang Chün-chang continues, it is to be feared that Soviet Russia has been sending many Kazakhs across the Soviet border into Sinkiang and has planned to have part of Sinkiang enter Soviet Kazakhstan. At the same time, he says, she has reportedly prepared Sinkiang Moslems to form a "Moslem Soviet under Soviet Russia." 648

648 These last accusations of Chiang Chün-chang are notably absent from Tu Chung-yüan's writing, and that Tu takes quite a different point of view is clear. But Chiang's statements ought not, on that account, to be eliminated from consideration completely. Their existence emphasizes that, in the recent past at least, certain influential Chinese have been suspicious of Soviet Russian intentions toward Sinkiang just as Chinese used to be suspicious of Tsarist Russia and of other powers. Since "Anti-imperialism" precedes "Kinship to Sovietism" among the Six Great Policies it is not unreasonable to feel, then, that these Policies have from the first at least been linked with a certain amount of reservation in regard to Soviet Russia. No doubt some Chinese would adhere to the following: To the degree that what Chiang Chün-chang calls Soviet "aggression" may come into too sharp conflict in Sinkiang with "Anti-imperialism" as Tu Chung-yüan conceives it, to that same degree, Sinkiang "Kinship to Sovietism" may very well be weakened. In a word, "Anti-imperialism," so far as Sinkiang is concerned, all along has been a warning to Soviet Russia as well as to other powers.

Other "Aggressors"

Yet Sinkiang "Anti-imperialism" seems to have been formulated as a reaction not only to past policies of the Chinese and Russians, but also to former ambitions of the British and others as well. Chiang Chün-chang has been more outspoken than Tu Chung-yüan about this matter. Whereas the latter has hinted mainly that a "certain" imperialist force "has increasingly fostered independence for South Sinkiang," Chiang has bluntly called the English an "aggressive force" aiming to establish an "independent government" "around Kashgar." He has even cited a "Turkish" report that British have "already" spent a considerable sum in the "South Sinkiang Movement," and he has named an A-k'un-pa-yeh-fu (Akonbaiev?) Trading Company as the supposed center for an English-sponsored Moslem movement in the province. He has even expressed his concern over the religious and other connections between the people of South Sinkiang and the people of Turkey. It is apparently his belief that France had hoped to help

develop an unbroken overland empire from Syria to Indo-China through seizure of Sinkiang, and he also suspects that foreign trade interests—notably German—have been approached in Afghanistan in regard to a Sinkiang movement for Moslem independence. Such Chinese imputations may very well be exaggerated, yet they ought not to be ignored. So far as the principal Axis powers are concerned, by 1939 when war broke out in Europe, all three had openly become active sponsors of Islamic revolutionary activities with direct or indirect effect on Sinkiang Moslems.

Japan—the Foremost Imperialist

Of all these "imperialist" threats to Sinkiang, the foremost in recent years has undoubtedly been that originating in Japan. Chiang Chün-chang has reported not only Japanese sponsorship of a Moslem organization in the Altai region, but even Japanese military support of Ma Chung-ying's revolting forces during the Sinkiang insurrection of the 1930's. Since 1931, when Chinese troops were routed in Manchuria and fled through Siberia to Sinkiang, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has emphasized that the Japanese is the worst form of imperialism. This point of view has since pervaded the entire atmosphere as is strikingly evident now in Sinkiang's co-operation with the rest of China and the United Nations. When Japan attacked Manchuria on September 18, 1931, and began World War II, she set forces in motion which were to be felt not only in Manchuria but on China's whole inland frontier. From Manchuria, if unchecked, Japan might have had easy access to caravan routes which cross Outer and Inner Mongolia and which in normal times enter Sinkiang and Northwest China. Had she been able to master those overland passages she might have broken down the whole inland structure of Chinese Northwest defenses. Sheng Shih-ts'ai knew this, and as a consequence he quickly declared his opposition to Japanese imperialism. In at least this one respect he might well have been thinking along the lines of Marshal Tso Tsung-t'ang who in the nineteenth century said:

> Great weight should be given to Sinkiang as a protection to Mongolia. For as it protects Mongolia, it ensures that the power of the

648 capital and the forearm of the Northwest work in unison. It also ensures that there is no break in the country's topographical defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be at peace. Moreover, then bandits might outflank the whole Kansu, Shensi, and Shansi frontier. In such an emergency those places might be defended, but not victoriously. In such a case, Sinkiang would be a direct north gate to the mountains, and there would not be a day of rest or sleep.

Thus, there was little question in regard to Sinkiang support for the Chinese National Government's resistance to Japan—especially after signature of the Sino-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression in August, 1937. In October, 1938, an All-Sinkiang Congress in Tihwa pointed out that Japanese machinations in Inner Mongolia had also been unsuccessfully aimed at Sinkiang. The Congress pledged not only ten airplanes for the Chinese Air Force, but also that Sinkiang would oppose "Japanese imperialism" and keep open an overland route for Chinese international communications.

The "Anglo-Americans"

Just to keep the record, it is well to know also that the New Sinkiang's open opposition to "imperialism" has not forgotten the Western Hemisphere. After the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, the editorials of the *Sinkiang Daily News* referred not only to the Germans, Italians, and Japanese but also to the "Anglo-Americans" as members respectively of "imperialist" axes. This editorial line, in print before Germany attacked Soviet Russia in June, 1941, and before China formally entered into war against Germany, Italy, and Japan, resembled that followed by the Soviet Russian and Communist press in general.

An "Anti-imperialist Balance"

This, then, is what "Anti-imperialism" has meant to the New Sinkiang. The questions involved have not been simple. One might suggest, however, that at least up to 1942 the New Sinkiang was for the most part trying to promote her own self-interest by "balancing" the "weights" of political affinity to China and economic kinship to Sovietism on an "Anti-imperialist scale." The spread of Axis aggression, since the attack

on Soviet Russia and the bombing of Pearl Harbor, undoubtedly affected this. It made the problems of the Sino-Russian "balance" temporarily less pressing than the question of whether the preponderance of international "weight" was to be finally on the United Nations or the Axis side of the larger, world military, "scale." This may even prove to be the main factor which has facilitated new Chinese, British, and American activity in the province. A unique opportunity seems incidentally to have been offered the United Nations with whom the province is now co-operating. Theirs is now the chance to demonstrate in practice and on the spot whether they, too, are or are not "Anti-imperialistic" in the Sinkiang sense.

V

KINSHIP TO SOVIETISM

Some observers have mistakenly interpreted Sinkiang adherence to "Anti-imperialism" as evidence that this Chinese province had fallen under Soviet Russian domination. Their view may even have seemed superficially substantiated by the way the New Sinkiang openly admitted her "Kinship to Sovietism." Why did the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai do this?

"The Soviet Russia of today is not the same as the old Russian Tsar," says Tu Chung-yüan, in giving a partial explanation. "She does not have aggressive designs . . ." Chao Lieh, another Chinese writer, echoes this sentiment in an August, 1941, *Kuei-lin Ta Kung Pao* feature article, but gives more stress, first to foreign trade and, second, to Soviet help in Sinkiang reconstruction. He adds, also, that a certain kinship necessarily has been forged between Sinkiang and Soviet Russia due to their contiguous frontiers.

There has, indeed, been "Kinship to Sovietism" in Sinkiang. By some strange quirk in Sinkiang history, originally "aggressive" processes affecting the province have brought in their wake progressive

648 and even "radical" ideas as well as material advances for the populace. These changes came for a time almost in spite of what Chinese from China Proper, and probably others from abroad, could say or do; and they may largely be explained by a gradual drift in Sinkiang, dating from Tsarist days, toward close economic relations with Russia. Yet this evolution has not prevented the merging of the Sinkiang political program with that of Nationalist China.

The Difficulties of Early Soviet-Sinkiang Relations

It has been mentioned that, when Republican Chinese overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1911-1912, Sinkiang administration became the responsibility of Yang Tseng-hsin. In at least one sense the advent of his regime was fortunate. Yang's firm seizure of autocratic powers prevented political disintegration in the province, which, nominally at least, remained Chinese and did not fall into alien hands. Otherwise the old life of Sinkiang might have ended earlier in an even worse internal scramble than that of 1931—possibly Sinkiang might even have become openly a part of the Tsarist Empire. As events turned out, Yang watched the borders of his province closely and maintained cordial but not servile relations with Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, however, created a new situation.

Unrest within Russia had manifested itself in Turkestan as early as the Kirgiz insurrection of 1916, and by the next year the Sinkiang-Russian border was severely disturbed. Gabitov indicates that the first reaction was a swiftly increasing surplus of wool. This piled up on the Russian side of the frontier, because of a lack of transport facilities to send it on to Russian and third-party markets. By 1918 the oversupply had halted much of the Sinkiang trade with Russia, and by 1920 that trade had ceased almost completely. Chinese probably were secretly relieved that revolution had upset the Tsarist tendency toward expansion in the direction of Sinkiang, but Governor Yang at first pursued strictly a policy of watchfulness. He virtually closed the Sinkiang-Russian frontier; Nazaroff, a Russian "white" who tried to escape from Russian Turkestan to Kashgar, has given a clear account of the difficulties encountered by anyone attempting to cross into

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Chinese territory. By 1920 the formerly strong Russian colony in 648
Kashgar had dwindled to only twenty-three persons.

So far as relations with the rest of China and with Russia were concerned, Governor Yang's position soon became so powerful that he could afford to dictate. Therefore it is not surprising that the terms of the following agreement which he is said to have concluded with Soviet authorities in 1920 are harsh:

1. Offices for commerce and foreign affairs will be established respectively in Russian Turkestan and in Chinese Turkestan;

2. China will have two of these offices, in the Province of Semirechia and at Verkhneudinsk; and in virtue of the principle of equality and reciprocity, Russia will have two—at I-li and at I-ning;

3. The Russian offices will inform their agents who conduct trade between I-li and Russia that they will be subject to the regulations of the general tax of Sinkiang and to the tariff of the Chinese Maritime Customs;

4. All the imports and exports must go by way of Nikang [? sic]; merchandise which takes any other route will be considered contraband and will be subject to seizure;

5. All commercial litigation between the agents of the two countries will be adjudicated by the local tribunal;

6. The agents of both countries must show their passports in passing the frontier. Questions relative to civil and military (Russian) refugees will be settled amicably.

7. The Russian representatives declare that the general amnesty decreed by the Government at Tashkent for reasons of humanity is inviolable, and that in consequence all Russian civil or military refugees in Chinese territory will be permitted to re-enter their country without fear of molestation. China engages to return them to their homes to take up once again peaceful occupations.

8. Russia will be authorized by the Government at I-li to attach an agent to the Office of Commerce and Foreign Affairs and two or three attachés charged specially with treatment of the questions relative to repatriation of the civil and military refugees; this mission will end as soon as the task is completed. The question of sequestration or confiscation of all private goods appertaining to Chinese will be regulated amicably.

9. The Russian representatives declare that, since they have not the power to treat on questions of this order themselves—until the Government at Tashkent has set up a Commission to study the question—it

648 is best that each claim be made the subject of friendly and direct arrangements between both governments. The Russian representatives nevertheless agree to bring before the Government at Tashkent a measure in accordance with Chinese claims.

The above stipulations, rendered in the Chinese and in the Russian languages, have been approved by the representatives of both parties each of whom is keeping a signed copy.

The most conspicuous points of this document are its local character, the new limitations on the type and extent of Russian representation in Sinkiang, the restriction of trade to one route, and the provisions stipulating return to Russia of refugees in China. Negotiations apparently were conducted between authorities of Sinkiang and Russian Turkestan, not between the Government of China and the Government of Soviet Russia. Instead of the former Tsarist right to seven consular establishments in Sinkiang, by the agreement Soviet authorities are only alloted offices for commerce and foreign affairs at Sui-ting (I-li) and nearby Ning-yüan (I-ning). Only trade via North Sinkiang is apparently provided for, and none via South Sinkiang. Finally the refugee problem, one which the White Russian-Bolshevik differences had been making difficult for Sinkiang authorities, is thrown back on the Soviets. The agreement does, however, open the way to a resumption of trade—of potential benefit to both sides. Moreover, irrespective of the restrictions in the treaty Russian agents appear to have transacted business in Sinkiang shortly afterwards from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak).

648 439 In 1921 Soviet authorities made a good beginning toward recouping the former Tsarist commercial position, only to lose the trust of Chinese tradesmen a year or so later. For instance, the Siberian foreign trade organization, Sibvneshtorg, opened offices at Semipalatinsk and sent an agent to T'a Ch'eng. According to Gabitov, 8,500 head of large cattle and around 169,000 sheep were successfully contracted for. The last payment on the contract was made by December of the same year, only two months after the last delivery of the cattle. This placed Sibvneshtorg on a strong basis in Sinkiang, and even livestock on credit became available to it rapidly. But in 1922 the Semipalatinsk division of Sibvneshtorg went under the control of what was then

called Kirkrai, whose name indicates a "Kirgiz regional" organization. Apparently weaker in resources and interested in local and temporary advantage more than long-range commerce, Kirkrai soon undermined this sound beginning. 648 439

In the fall of that same year the T'a Ch'eng representative of the local Soviet foreign trade agency, Kirvneshtorg (presumably a foreign trade subsidiary of Kirkrai), entered into five contracts with Sinkiang Chinese to purchase livestock. The price was one ruble twenty kopeks banked silver a pood, live weight, for both cattle and sheep. The account was carefully detailed and compensation was to be made in a barter-like fashion thus:

40% in manufactured goods (mostly cotton)
25% in silver
18% in iron and iron manufactures
7% in green tea (brick)
7% in various crockery
2% in sewing thread
1% in glass

The cattle were taken from the market and pastured for the winter in accordance with the agreements; but the Kirvneshtorg payments were held up long after the cattle were delivered. In fact several traders from China were not paid for their livestock until June, 1924; and then many of them received payment only because they themselves traveled all the way to Moscow to get it.

"Similar dealings," wrote Gabitov in 1925, ". . . undermined every trust in Kirvneshtorg . . ." There were other Soviet attempts to revive the trade between 1922 and 1924, but they had little success.

Trade Shifts and Advocated Reforms

While Soviet economic relations were thus muddling along in the north, the Soviet Government "was entirely unrepresented" in South Sinkiang. Considerable anti-Soviet political agitation even emanated from there. This, in turn, was accompanied by a striking shift in trade. A considerable amount was diverted from the Kashgar-Osh 439

safe to say that Russia will quickly regain her former place here in 439
commercial relations. For, under such circumstances, English and Japanese competition with Russian goods should be exceedingly difficult."

A New Diplomatic Gain

Opportunity for Soviet Russia to regain standing in Sinkiang at 648
last came with the opening of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union in May, 1924. Not only did the Soviet Government soon reopen consulates and establish a consulate-general in the province, but commercial relations became greatly improved.

The opening of the first Soviet consulate in Sinkiang, that at T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak), took place in December, 1924. The red flag was raised in the presence of a number of persons, including the Chinese administrator of the circuit and the Soviet consul. Some months later another Soviet consulate was opened at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua), and a Soviet consulate-general established at Tihwa (Urumchi). By August, 1925, a Soviet consul had also taken up residence at Kashgar. China on her side utilized the new friendly relations to establish a consulate-general at Semipalatinsk, in Kazakhstan, and consulates at Tashkent, Andizhan, Zaisan, and Alma-Ata.

Though these events were a part of the increasing Chinese-Russian cordiality from 1924 to 1926, they were to have special meaning for Sinkiang-Soviet relations. For by August, 1927, bloody conflict had broken out between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists in Central China. This quickly put a strain on the friendship that had for such a short time existed between China and the U.S.S.R. Yet Sinkiang authorities, irrespective of Central China policy, appear to have desired to keep close ties with Russia. How strong those ties had become is suggested in the following commitment assertedly made on December 28, 1927, to the editor of a Semipalatinsk newspaper:

> The dark reaction in Central China has taken on frightful proportions in the unprecedented manifestations against Chinese workers and against the representatives and representations of the friendly republic of the U.S.S.R. This fact is grievous to us, for we are the official representatives of the Chinese Republic. In order to make known precisely

648 the true situation we judge it our duty to explain that the Consulate of Semipalatinsk has nothing in common with Central China and is not able, consequently, to take upon itself the responsibility for events which have occurred recently in Central China. This consulate is dependent upon *Western China* which does not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R.

It is true that we are supposed to be dependent also on the Government of Peking, to the degree where the acts and instructions of the latter will not be directed against the interests of *Western China*. In the opposite case, we do not consider ourselves obliged to remain obedient further to the Government of Peking, particularly in the case where its acts are able to involve a rupture of diplomatic relations between *Western China* and the friendly republic of the U.S.S.R., relations with whom are so dear and are so necessary for us, from the point of view not only of commerce but also of politics. We testify once more that the friendship of the two republics is esteemed and appreciated equally on the two sides; we find an example of this in the fact that from the first days of the recent events in Central China, the local authorities expressed their faith and friendship for us and placed an armed guard near the consulate in order to defend us against provocations of isolated individuals. The indissolubility and solidarity of the friendship between *Western China* and the U.S.S.R. is equally confirmed by the fact that we have in the U.S.S.R. five Chinese consulates from *Western China* . . . and that the U.S.S.R. possesses five consulates in *Western China* . . . in keeping with most friendly and most pacific relations. These mutual relations and the friendship between *Western China* and the U.S.S.R. should be eternal and immortal.

This document was cited in the official Soviet newspaper, *Izvestiia*, on January 8, 1928. It appeared over names which have been identified in translation as those of the Chinese Consul-General at Semipalatinsk, Lu Chan-pin, and the Secretary of the Consulate, Tien Shen-chi.

In 1927 China's Revolution had not yet brought about complete unity, and seats of so-called Chinese national government existed in both Central China and North China (Peking). In that regard, this unique declaration states: first, that Sinkiang ("Western China") assertedly had "nothing in common with Central China" in 1927 and, in case of a conflict of interest, did not even feel obliged "to remain obedient" to the "Government of Peking"; second, that Sinkiang in

1927 did "not wish, in any case, to sever its friendship with the U.S.S.R."; and third, that the Chinese Consulate-General at Semipalatinsk and the "five" other Chinese Consulates in the U.S.S.R. (apparently a reference to those in Russian Turkestan at Semipalatinsk, Tashkent, Andizhan, Zaissan, and Alma-Ata) were in 1927 all "dependent upon" or "from" "Western China." Since this representation was published in *Izvestiia* and seems to have been signed by the Consul-General and the Secretary of the Chinese Consulate-General at Semipalatinsk, it may with good reason be considered official. Those who have criticized Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang for "Kinship to Sovietism" may well be referred to this declaration as a most outstanding bit of evidence that such kinship has been a broad historical tendency and has not been "conceived' merely since 1933. 648

The "Seven-Seven" Affair and Chin Shu-jen

Yet seven months later—on July 7, 1928—Sinkiang Governor Yang Tseng-hsin was assassinated. Sinkiang remembers this date as the "Seven-Seven" Affair and has given it a place in the history of provincial emancipation comparable in importance to that of the later "Four-Twelve" Affair.

Blame for Yang's murder has been placed on Fan Yao-nan, a brilliant young man who was then Sinkiang Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. With many of the details lacking, it is of little moment here to speculate too much on the internal politics involved. But the fact that the crime was committed at a time so proximate (1) to the Semipalatinsk declaration on "Western China" (Sinkiang) foreign policy and (2) to the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations at Nanking, ought not to be ignored. All was not well in 1928 so far as Tihwa-Nationalist attitude toward Soviet Russia was concerned.

Dr. Sven Hedin testifies that Yang's successor, Chin Shu-jen, attempted in the early years of his brief regime (as Yang Tseng-hsin for a time had done before him) to close off outside access to Sinkiang. But a combination of factors, including popular dislike of Chin himself and the incidence of the Moslem revolt of 1930 and 1931, so

648 weakened his position that he in turn also fell back on Soviet Russia for aid.

In October, 1931, when the Tung-kan rebel Ma Chung-ying had successfully captured Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Ha-mi, Chin signed a new agreement with the Soviets. By it he permitted the opening of Soviet trade agencies in Tihwa, T'a Ch'eng, Sui-ting, and Kashgar and of outlying offices in Aqsu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan. By the same document he also permitted unrestricted movement in Sinkiang for Soviet trade representatives, provided for reduced custom duties on Soviet goods, and initiated new Sinkiang-Soviet telegraph and radio privileges. Sinkiang is supposed to have received in return only (1) a limited right for two-way transit of goods of Chinese origin across Siberia from Sinkiang to Eastern China and back, and (2) an intimation that the Soviet Government would send specialists to train the Chinese of Sinkiang in the fields of electrification, communications, rural economy, and animal husbandry. For signing this treaty without authorization and for not reporting it to Nationalist China's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Chin Shu-jen was later sentenced to imprisonment in Nanking.

The new agreement did not save the situation for Chin, nor did it end Sinkiang civil war. As we know Chin fled from Tihwa and left his one time "underling," Sheng Shih-ts'ai, to pacify the Sinkiang people. Sheng soon found his military difficulties increasing so much that he, too, at last called upon Soviet Russian troops to aid him in suppressing the rebellion. It is known that Soviet Russian personnel and military aid were sent him; more than one "neutral" eye-witness has testified that such actually happened.

Why Soviet Aid to Sheng?

It is not difficult to understand why Soviet Russia should have been interested enough in Sinkiang events to give Sheng Shih-ts'ai substantial help in suppressing provincial revolt. Owen Lattimore was a sound prophet for the time when he wrote for publication in 1930 that ". . . Chinese control of Chinese Turkestan, though maintained with admirable ability, is only maintained as it were from month to

month . . . A struggle for the succession to power . . . would precipitate Russian control, if not formal Russian rule." 648

Re-establishment of formal Soviet political relations with Sinkiang under Yang Tseng-hsin had given Soviet foreign trade interests a grand new opportunity; and completion of the Turksib Railway, on the Soviet side of the frontier, in 1930 climaxed this. The new railway could bring Moscow's latest products to the doors of Sinkiang in but a few days, and therefore Soviet trade could successfully overcome all competition—including that from the Chinese and British. By 1930 Sinkiang was already falling economically into the hands of her Soviet neighbor; and the Ha-mi insurrection left Chin Shu-jen too weak to resist the trend.

When civil war came, it threw the province not only into military and political, but even into financial, chaos. Sinkiang money was then principally fiat paper currency, with little value once public confidence had been lost; and the civil war indeed destroyed public confidence in it. To a certain extent the evil might have been alleviated by shipment of real goods out of the province and by deposit of the foreign or Nationalist Chinese currency receipts in foreign banks or other banks elsewhere in China. But, since Soviet Russia had gained a near monopoly on Sinkiang trade, outside currency could be obtained for Sinkiang inhabitants practically only by Soviet sufferance. Through her control of Sinkiang trade Soviet Russia had gained a hold on Sinkiang finances as well. 648 652

Nor did Soviet Russia have reason to consider her favored position in Sinkiang lightly. Between 1923/24 and 1930 inclusive, Sinkiang annual exports into the U.S.S.R. had risen from 3,015,000 to 16,033,000 rubles; and annual imports into Sinkiang from the U.S.S.R. had leaped from 418,000 to 16,027,000 rubles. This meant a rise in the total annual trade from 3,433,000 to 32,060,000 rubles. Moreover, up to that date, in tonnage as well as in value of visible items of trade, Soviet Russia had continually received more from Sinkiang than she had returned. That situation even continued from 1931 to 1937 inclusive, so far as recorded bulk is concerned, though it altered at times in respect to recorded value. 648 439

It was not merely the rubles that could be realized from what Sin- 648

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All

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kiang had or would buy—not merely the wool, the cotton, sheep guts, livestock, and horses that came across the border—that made Sinkiang so valuable to the Soviet Union. Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 had upset the whole strategic orientation of Northeast Asia; and a new, dynamic Soviet interest in Sinkiang development was a logical counter. A new aggressive force had thrust herself upon the Asiatic continent and, from the Soviet point of view, had endangered not only the Soviet Maritime Province and Mongolia but the whole Russian strategic position in Northeastern and Central Asia. For Manchuria is but a part, the easternmost sector, of a vast and interrelated Inner Asian living space which includes Mongolia and Turkestan and which quickly reacts in each of its distinct parts to political changes in any other part. Specifically, from Manchuria there is in normal times relatively easy access to the caravan routes which cross into Sinkiang from Outer and Inner Mongolia. Should Japan master or influence those, Russia would be completely outflanked in Asia. Already by 1933 Japanese designs on Jehol and Inner Mongolia had been revealed, and they were thought to have been reflected in the Sinkiang war. Had China herself been able to consolidate Sinkiang strongly in opposition to Japanese intrigues, perhaps Soviet concern would have been less. But the flight of Chin Shu-jen in 1933 left instead a Sinkiang political chaos which Soviet Russia could ignore only at her own peril.

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The specific technique by which Soviet aid was given Sheng Shih-ts'ai has not been adequately revealed. But without an attempt at too complicated an analysis, it can be indicated by a glance at the record of Soviet-Sinkiang commerce since 1923. The steady increase by bulk in total Soviet import-export trade with Sinkiang from 1923/24 continued till 1931 and 1932, when sharp drops were registered. After 1933 on trade again rose. The bulk rise in 1933, practically all of it, represents Sinkiang shipments to Soviet Russia; that in 1934 mostly Soviet shipments to Sinkiang. The trade figures after that show a steady rise by bulk on both sides. By 1936 and 1937 total import-export trade had jumped to over 60,000,000 rubles in value and to over 50,000 tons in bulk—in sharp contrast with the record of around 3,000,000 rubles and 13,000 tons in the year 1923/24.

There may be no positive proof gained, but it is nevertheless worth while to point out: (1) that 1931 and 1932 were the years of the initial great strain of the civil war and years when Soviet-Sinkiang trade might therefore be strongly hit; (2) that in 1933 Sheng Shih-ts'ai together with his Manchurian and Russian aides had already begun to regain control of the trade route from Tihwa to T'a Ch'eng on the Russian border and so might be able to utilize that route once again; (3) that 1934 was the crucial year for the province and that during that year considerable Soviet aid came to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who as a consequence was able to repulse his arch-rival, Ma Chung-ying; and (4) that Sinkiang political "unity" is said to have come in 1936, by which time a new prosperity in Soviet-Sinkiang trade relations had become obvious. The temporal relationship thus shows a rough correlation in the shifts of Sinkiang politics and war to trade in the same period. 648

Exact information on the nature of Soviet aid to Sheng Shih-ts'ai and of Soviet participation in Sinkiang affairs has up to now been quite successfully kept from most public knowledge in the Occident. But, in describing Soviet-Sinkiang relations, Chinese stress Sheng Shih-ts'ai's desire to "revive" Sinkiang through provincial reconstruction. Since his plans required backing in the form of capital and talent, it is said, he turned at first to Soviet Russia.

As a matter of fact, he probably had almost nowhere else to turn in the 1930's; besides he was in debt for Soviet help in suppressing the insurrection. And by 1933 trade with Soviet Russia had grown to be so important that to turn elsewhere might have seemed contrary to the economic interests of his province.

The Soviet Position: A Second Chinese View

Up to this point, the argument fits in with the explanation previously given for Sinkiang's concern over possible Soviet Russian "imperialism" in her region. Yet, whereas Chiang Chün-chang has carried it on from this stage to hint that Soviet Russia as well as Tsarist Russia has been an "aggressor" in Sinkiang, Tu Chung-yüan insists, instead, that "Kinship to Sovietism" has been anything but insidious. Tu admits that in Sinkiang specialists in animal husbandry, doctors in hospitals, phar-

648 macists of the provincial pharmacy, and instructors for the provincial Military Officers Academy and for the provincial Air Force have come from Soviet Russia. But, he inquires, does that mean Sinkiang has gone "Red"? Did not Soviet Russia, at the beginning of her national reconstruction, get assistance "from thousands upon tens of thousands" of "capitalist" experts? Yet wouldn't it be difficult to say Soviet Russia is "White"? According to Tu, there has never been Soviet political control in Sinkiang. If Soviet Russia had "controlled" Sinkiang politically, would she have tolerated the White Russians who still remained there? Have not the Three People's Principles textbooks of Sinkiang been identical with those elsewhere in Nationalist China? Are not the military and administrative authority of Sinkiang still in the hands of China?

"Kinship to Sovietism" and Chinese Nationalism

668 It appears that up to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's accession to power, Sinkiang's concern with the Chinese National Revolution and its *San Min Chu-i* (The "Three People's Principles" of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood) was not too serious. Sinkiang was geographically and economically a great distance from most other Chinese provinces, her leaders were devoted almost exclusively to selfish acquisition of wealth, and the Chinese Republic's then existing national political structure was not mature in Sinkiang. Since 1933, however, the year of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has altered this. As politics have taken on national stature elsewhere in China, Sheng Shih-ts'ai's background and interests have carried Chinese political organization and support of the Three People's Principles in a new way into the far Northwest. Remembering Japan's invasion of his Manchurian homeland in 1931, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has also warmly supported China's resistance to the aggressor; and having seen the needs of his own administrative region, he has particularly devoted himself to its reconstruction. Thus his work has fitted neatly into both the basic revolutionary program of the Three People's Principles and the wartime program of *K'ang-chan Chien-kuo* or "Resistance and Reconstruction." True, Sinkiang's Six Great Policies of Anti-imperialism, Kinship to Sovietism,

Racial Equality, Clean Government, Peace, and Reconstruction are 668
unique. But they are not so strange to the ideals of China that they do not keep within the bounds of Nationalist principles, of Chinese political unity, of successful resistance to Japan, and of freedom from Soviet Russian domination.

This view is further supported by a brief glance at the manner in which Sinkiang's interprovincial and international record has evolved since 1934.

Sinkiang and World Affairs, 1934-1943

It was largely Soviet help which enabled Sheng Shih-ts'ai to gain 648
mastery of Sinkiang, but in 1934 Chinese authorities from Nanking still had been able to attempt negotiation of the civil war and formation of a compromise administration. Since Soviet troops had operated with the White Russian forces already in Sinkiang, it is obvious that their restoration of order had been a "coalition measure" and not an attempt at immediate Soviet annexation. Soviet military aid is, in fact, said to have been withdrawn as soon as order began to appear though "Kinship to Sovietism" remained important in Sinkiang affairs. By 1936 Sheng Shih-ts'ai had established a "unified" government in all Sinkiang.

Outbreak of open Sino-Japanese hostilities in July, 1937, made Sinkiang an obvious region for Chinese-Soviet compromise. The treaty signed by both Governments in August, 1937, guaranteed there would be no Russian aggression against China; and a through overland truck and air route, between eastern China and Soviet Russia, through Sinkiang, was thereby made practicable. Sinkiang's three-year plan of reconstruction was instituted with Soviet advices in the same year. By the fall of 1938, when China had been forced to retreat from Hankow into the west, Sinkiang's new truck highways provided assurance that China would not be internationally isolated in her Northwest. At that time Tihwa even telegraphed a resolution to that effect, pledging that the province would keep open China's international communication lines, would intensify efforts to help fulfill the national Resistance and Reconstruction program, and would work with the rest of China to-

648 ward ultimate victory over Japan. Other Chinese negotiations culminated in signature of a new trade agreement with Soviet Russia on June 16, 1939. By it, though not expressly mentioned in the text, the use of Sinkiang's international communication lines was underwritten.

But Russia's Treaty of Non-aggression with Nazi Germany in August, 1939, introduced a new guardedness into Sino-Russian relations. The march of Soviet armies into Poland, Finland, and the Baltic countries after the opening of European war gave rise for a while to a fear that Russia might at the same time be considering initiation of a "forward" policy against China through Sinkiang. This fear was evidenced in late 1939 by a noticeable falling off of the truck traffic that had already begun to pass between Russia and China along the Sinkiang-Kansu motor road. China concentrated exceptionally heavy numbers of soldiers in the northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'inghai. This was a wartime precautionary measure, but many of the troops were only ostensibly training for the Sino-Japanese war front to the northeast and east. Final ratification of the Sino-Russian trade agreement was, moreover, delayed until early 1940.

Sinkiang, through her policies supporting both Soviet Russia's actions in the west and China's resistance to Japan in the east, however, became more important than before in the role of a kind of Chungking-Moscow "middleman." At this time the *Sinkiang Daily News* was interpreting the policies of both of the benefactors of the province as aspects of a "Eurasian" front for "peace" and "anti-imperialism." It was also following the then current Soviet line of deriding the so-called "imperialist axes" in the world. This attitude neared its high point at the close of 1940 and early in 1941. When signature of the Tripartite German-Italian-Japanese Alliance was announced on September 27, 1940, the *Sinkiang Daily News* commented to the effect that the contradictions between the "two imperialist forces" of the German-Japanese-Italian Axis and the "Anglo-Americans" would soon bring an open clash between them while an armed peace would persist on the Eurasian "peace" front.

Yet, as throughout the war, Sheng Shih-ts'ai evidenced continued support of the Chinese Nationalist Government. On December 8, 1940,

he joined other Chinese leaders in condemning the Wang Ching-wei 648
Chinese puppet regime which had recently been recognized by Japan. At the turn of 1941 also, when differences between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang over the New Fourth Army seemed to have approached a breaking point, he reiterated his position. He told a *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper correspondent (1) that Sinkiang was devoting her whole strength to transport work and reconstruction in order to hasten Chinese victory; and (2) that all parties and cliques in China should continue in their united resistance to Japan.

Whether or not this was an attempt to maintain a "balance" between Sinkiang's political affinity to China and her economic kinship to Sovietism, it was soon to be proved insufficient. For Soviet Russia and Japan signed a non-aggression agreement on April 15, 1941; and by an accompanying joint declaration Soviet Russia formally recognized "Manchoukuo" in return for Japanese recognition of the Soviet-sponsored "Republic of Outer Mongolia." The new agreement and declaration were sound business for Soviet Russia, who thus became more free to face the Nazi attack when it came on June 22, 1941. Somewhat differently they offered Japan more freedom for activities in Southeast Asia and Pearl Harbor, both of which she attacked on December 7, 1941.

But the easing of Soviet-Japanese tension over Manchuria and Outer Mongolia did not erase the basic contradictions on which the Asiatic policies of the two countries had been based. For the inner Asian flank of Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia was left formally unaccounted for. In these zones either power might possibly attack the interests of China (and less directly the interests of each other) without violation of any public agreement. This, in turn, made Sinkiang more desperately concerned than ever with the strength of Chinese defenses on her east, in West Suiyüan and Ningsia (Inner Mongolia), not to mention the provinces of Shensi, Shansi, and Kansu. The Soviet-Japanese accord postponed any final decision in the area, but at the same time it made possible the Intensification of Japanese intrigues on the less protected Sinkiang frontier farther inland.

This, with other factors, has now drawn Sinkiang closer than ever

648 to the fold of Nationalist China and has even helped effect a significant shift—perhaps temporarily—away from Soviet Russia. Sinkiang's anxiety concerning the recently exposed areas on her eastern borders was matched in 1942 by Nationalist Chinese interest in wartime development of precisely the same region. Such interest, instigated by the Japanese threat to Southwest China from Burma and Western Yünnan and possibly backed by ample monetary credit from the United States, has brought a new and stirring Nationalist activity in all Northwest China including Sinkiang. At present, therefore, there appears to be (1) the closest expression to date of Sinkiang-Nationalist co-operation in internal Chinese affairs; and (2) at least a temporary substitution of Nationalist Chinese influence in the Sinkiang area for that of Soviet Russia. It may still be too early to say conclusively whether this change has or has not been accomplished without serious international differences. Press dispatches of October and November, 1943, in connection with Russian "withdrawal" from Sinkiang suggest the shift has been carried out "without unpleasant incidents of any kind," "peacefully, with the minimum of possible friction." Yet more recent (though scanty) dispatches (issued under Ulan Bator and Chungking datelines) state that both at the close of last year as well as in March of this year, small armed clashes took place on the Sinkiang-Mongolian frontier. During the incidents in question, it is alleged, Soviet as well as Chinese airplanes went into action when a question arose as to Chinese treatment of Kazakh nomads in the Altai area. These incidents do not, however, necessarily warrant hasty assumption that a change in Sinkiang policy has come which will be permanent; neither need they prove that the whole structure of "Kinship to Sovietism" in the New Sinkiang is in the process of destruction. The unfolding pattern is, instead, another clear demonstration that "Kinship to Sovietism" has not meant Soviet Russian political domination over Sinkiang, which has on the contrary retained and strengthened her political ties with the Chinese National Government.

[p. 76]

642 nor the National Government wants Sinkiang and her officialdom to be other than Chinese in name.

648 The Chinese National Government may not, it is true, always have been able to do what it liked in Sinkiang since Sheng Shih-ts'ai achieved power. It appears, from Chinese testimony, that Sheng has in the past negotiated with foreign powers without conforming to customary national procedure, and that his administration has often excluded Chinese of other provinces from Sinkiang territory and has found ways at times to circumvent—if not necessarily to disobey—National Government regulations.

This situation gave a certain credence to distasteful accusations in regard to Soviet Russian influence in the province. After China and Soviet Russia signed their Non-aggression Agreement in 1937 Tokyo quarters fanned rumors that China had been forced to give up Sinkiang as a concession to Soviet Russia. Since then—and especially at the turn of 1939 and 1940 when Russia was advancing her armies into Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—like sources often hinted at the "invasion" of Sinkiang by Soviet troops.

I have no first-hand evidence by which I can prove that such reports are false, but I believe in their falsity. I saw many Soviet Russian "volunteer" troops in Lan-chou, Kansu (adjacent to Sinkiang Province), when I was in China in 1939 and 1940, and there could have been more such troops in Sinkiang. But in late 1939, on the other hand, I also visited Sining, Ch'inghai, which is west of Lan-chou and between Kansu and Sinkiang, and I did not see Soviet Russian troops there. After weighing available evidence, I do not believe that Soviet Russian troops have been in "occupation" of Sinkiang or have been "controlling" it during the years since Sheng Shih-ts'ai summoned their aid to put down Sinkiang rebellion. I do not even believe that they were "occupying" it before the widely publicized reports of October, 1943, came forth proclaiming the "withdrawal" of Soviet Russia from Sinkiang. It is admitted that there have been many Soviet advisers in Sinkiang in a number of capacities, civilian and military, in that period; and among them there may have been Soviet "volunteer" soldiers and

aviation pilots. But there is not justification for saying that such "volunteers" and advisers ever made Sinkiang a Soviet dependency. 648

Indeed the evidence seems to demonstrate that, far from being a Soviet Russian "puppet," Sheng Shih-ts'ai has been one of the most far-sighted, enlightened, and independent military leaders of modern China. The Chinese colonial record in Sinkiang was not very praiseworthy up to Sheng's appearance on the scene. He was able to assay the needs of the situation and the resources at his command; he was also competent enough to make constructive use of opportunities offered him. The Six Great Policies and especially the program of Sinkiang reconstruction which Sheng Shih-ts'ai fashioned out of the rough clay of the Moslem revolt of the 1930's indicate that he has had at heart the interests of both Sinkiang and China. That he has been able to turn these interests into a positive program which did not completely sacrifice China's title to the province but which brought to Sinkiang instead much of the best qualities of both China and of neighboring Soviet Russia is truly an amazing achievement, too long unappreciated by the outside world.

It was inevitable that Sheng Shih-ts'ai's New Sinkiang should have been influenced by Soviet Russian ideas, personnel, and materials. Developments in neighboring Soviet areas had so drawn the attention and admiration of Sinkiang people by 1933 that a feeble Chinese version of an outmoded military or economic imperialism not only might have fallen flat but might have flung the province—politically as well as economically—into Soviet Russia's perhaps embarrassed lap.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai is no puppet and the New Sinkiang is no political 642
dependency of Soviet Russia. Sinkiang instead has incorporated Chinese ideas of loose political authority with the Soviet creed of cultural and economic autonomy. From the two has come a unique Chinese frontier political economy. From them also the basically non-Han Chinese people of Sinkiang have gained new opportunities of livelihood, and by the combination much of the old bitterness between Han and non-Han has been removed.

X

WAR REOPENS SINKIANG

648 SHENG SHIH-TS'AI'S TECHNIQUE, which favored guidance and help from Soviet Russia, had at first required as strict and selective control as possible over all other contact with Sinkiang from the outside. This in the main kept knowledge of what was happening in Sinkiang from the rest of China as well as from the rest of the world. The province, for most purposes, became autonomous and isolated, and with Soviet help Sheng Shih-ts'ai kept it so.

648 468 Open warfare between China and Japan in 1937, however, made it necessary for Sheng to allow a limited relaxation of his policy. He permitted Soviet military supplies to come into Eastern China and allowed Chinese wool, skins, tea, and bristles to get out in repayment to Soviet Russia over tightly controlled truck highways running through his province. By 1939 the outbreak of European war also made it advisable and possible to open Chinese-Russian air communications via Sinkiang. But a large measure of the provincial seclusion was strictly maintained. A rigid watch was kept over what strangers went in and out of the province, and strict penalties were invoked by government authorities on trespass of transit privileges.

648 Now, however, the policy of extreme Sinkiang seclusion has at last been discarded. By the spring of 1942, Japanese pressure on Yünnan Province had forced Chinese attention to the Northwest, and especially to Sinkiang. Soviet Russia, in contrast, was less able to provide the personnel and resources that had been earlier available. Since there is doubt that Sinkiang can longer count on Soviet Russia's direct help, she has turned for assistance to the Chinese National Government and to other United Nations Powers.

Nationalist China has already acted dynamically to replace the aid which Soviet Russia gave to Tihwa for almost a decade. In so doing she has initiated a sweeping program of reconstruction in the Chinese Northwest, has emphasized new ties with India and the Middle East, and has shown new co-operation with the United States and the United

Kingdom. This can presage heavy shipment of United Nations goods 648
to China and the Chinese war fronts at last by a revitalized "back door" to Asia.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself was dramatically responsible for starting Sinkiang back into world prominence. In February, 1942, two months after Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he flew to India and conferred there with British officialdom. His epochal journey took him on February 13 to the Northwest Frontier of India, where he and British companions inspected part of an old Northwest India-Sinkiang transport route. He took the occasion, moreover, to address mountain tribesmen who guard its strategic passes and still pay token tribute to Chinese suzerainty. Almost simultaneously General Chu Shao-liang, military governor of key areas in the Chinese Northwest and a trusted friend of the Generalissimo, traveled to the Sinkiang capital to engage in conversations with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Shortly thereafter the Chinese National Government appointed a British-educated Chinese, Chaucer H. Wu (Wu Chai-hsiang) to the post of Sinkiang Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. The Chungking appointment signalized, first, that control of Sinkiang foreign relations had, probably for the first time since 1927, returned openly to Nationalist authorities in China; second, that predominant Soviet ascendancy in Sinkiang foreign relations might be on the way out.

Chinese announced in July of 1942 that six hundred economic and engineering experts had gathered at Lan-chou, capital of Kansu Province, in connection with proposed development projects for the Chinese Northwest, and that Moslem General Ma Pu-ch'ing had been appointed Pacification Commissioner of the hitherto neglected Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, through which it is feasible to lay out one or more routes from South Sinkiang into Kansu. Lan-chou is a key terminus on the Sinkiang-Kansu motor road of Northwest China, and General Ma has long been famous among Chinese for his successful road construction work in Shensi and Kansu provinces. These reports might, therefore, even at that early date have sufficiently hinted at Nationalist China's intentions. Visits subsequently made to Sinkiang by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs

648 Wong Wen-hao undoubtedly were occasions which helped Chungking and Tihwa to seal their new bargain. On September 16, 1942, it was announced that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself had just returned to Chungking after a month's inspection of the Chinese Northwest, and the next day came word that $10,000,000 CNC was being allocated annually for reconstruction projects in the latter region.

167 In the fall of 1943, after almost a month of conferences between Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, a great pilgrimage toward Chinese Central Asia began. By October 23, fifteen hundred Chinese settlers, refugees from the famine area of Honan, had arrived at Tihwa to engage in land reclamation, over four thousand more had reached the town of Ch'i-t'ai and many additional thousands were expected to migrate to such Sinkiang cities as Tihwa and Kashgar. It was reported that the Sinkiang provincial government was to make a loan of $5,000 Chinese currency available to the settlers, and each family was to receive over fifteen acres of land. "Provisions, seeds, cows, farmhouses and all necessary farm implements," together with an outright subsidy of $2,500 CNC for "each family" were also to be theirs. Is it any wonder that the hard-pushed Chinese peasant, weak from the barest of sustenance, has straightened up with new hope at the promise of land, tools, and capital in Sinkiang!

"Sinkiang today," a Chinese writer has stated, "is like California before 1849 and Altai is like Alaska before 1867." Not only can the land be made to produce more food, but the mineral wealth is relatively untouched. It has been said that wars make nations, and it may well be that the Chinese in days to come will feel positively indebted for the restlessness of necessity which Japan's aggression has aroused in the melting pot of Asia. For thousands of picked men out of the fifty millions who fled from Eastern China to Szechwan and Yünnan in 1938 and 1939, once more have picked up possessions and have poured across the mountains and plains—this time north and westward into Sinkiang. Over the gravel-mud roads of Shensi and Kansu, across the turbid Yellow River, west of the River, and then through the Jade Gate to Central Asia they went, taking their bedding, their baskets, treasured family heirlooms, needed household utensils, their wives and

sons and hopes. The man on foot, the riksha, the rubber-tired cart, a camel of the Gobi, a General Motors or a Russian Ziss truck—all these have been China's "covered wagon." The throng of people has been jolly, too; jammed in with youth, and gasoline drums, and the *ch'i-lai* of the Chinese marching song. Behind this push into China's vast Northwest has been largely a determination to build a land hard with metal and tough with industrial sinew. But there has been also the lure of adventure, good living, age-old lore, and rich cultural promise. 167

Into the land of the Wei-wu-erh to which Sheng Shih-ts'ai has brought his Six Great Policies and the understanding and justifiable pride among races that they have taught, the Chinese today once again has come. This time he has come not merely as in antiquity but also as a producer—a farmer, a laborer, a technician, a leader united with the leaders of many other races. As a Chinese he has been among the first to perceive that superlative amounts of ideas, energy, men, and machinery are needed in a hurry in Sinkiang and that part of all this may come from any one or more of a number of neighboring areas—India, Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan, Siberia, and Mongolia—as well as from China proper. Ultimately the matériel and technical initiative for much of it, he knows, must flow from the United States and Britain, as in the past decade much has come from Soviet Russia. Pioneers of American and English, as well as of Asiatic, background may be expected to hear this call of the Chinese Far West. Through them, and others, Sinkiang promises to be transformed into a grand new frontier area of progress.

That there has been serious American interest in these Sinkiang developments was revealed on April 19, 1943, with the temporary appointment of Mr. Oliver Edmund Clubb as United States Consul to Tihwa. Mr. Clubb's assignment, the later arrival in the Sinkiang capital of a British colleague, and reports from usually reliable sources in October, 1943, that "Russians" have been "leaving Sinkiang Province in large numbers" and "dismantling and removing Russian-built plants," that the roads of the province have been "dotted" with "cars hauling out Russian equipment" and that a "Russian garrison" was leaving "by truck, in small units"—these suggest that Chinese aid and influence 648

648 in the province may already be replacing that which the Soviets have apparently decided not to continue. Should such a change in Sinkiang affairs be in the process of accomplishment with friendly understanding on the part of the four great powers of China, Soviet Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, it might prove to be an important diplomatic achievement in Sino-Russian relations.

XI

GATEWAY TO ASIA

000 It is well, indeed, for the United Nations that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and General Sheng Shih-ts'ai have been able to arrange the reopening of Sinkiang. For Japan's blockade of China extends in an arc from the northernmost tip of Manchuria southward around the coast and up into Burma and western Yünnan Province. Except for the northern tip of Burma, the remaining land gaps, the terrain not yet caught in the Japanese blockade pincers, are on the Chinese inland frontier of Tibet, Sinkiang, and Mongolia.

The physical difficulties of sending matériel into China across upper Burma are not at all insurmountable, and this is now being demonstrated by the Assam-China air transport service, which is now the main source of foreign supply and carrying more than the Burma Road used to. Construction of the Ledo Road, too, indicates the belief that land supply can be pushed along mountain trails of Indian Assam and over the Burma-Yünnan ranges—some of the loftiest in the world. But traffic run across this terrain meets exceptional difficulties. It passes on the edges of bristling war fronts, confronts danger from Japanese guns, can carry only a limited volume of goods, and must defy day-to-day uncertainty. When a successful military campaign reopens the Burma Road, it may again become one of China's "lifelines." But too much should not be immediately hoped for from even that direction in view of adjacent Japanese armies and of the uncertainties of the sup-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71–2.

439 Hissar, Karghalik and elsewhere. Besides these there are colonies of Muhammadan British subjects in nearly all the districts, some of them purely agricultural immigrants from Northern Kashmir and Chitral, others (and these among the wealthiest in the land) merchants engaged in the Indian trade. Many of the latter have married Turki wives, own land and houses, and have a considerable stake in the country. •648 All these people[1] cling tenaciously to their British nationality, and their right to the protection of the Consular court, which 692 under the existing arrangement exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction over them. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the extra-territorial system in general or the details of its application to Kashgaria. Suffice it to say that the Consul-General is kept very busy maintaining order among the British subjects of the various districts, settling their civil disputes, trying cases brought against them by Chinese subjects, helping them to obtain redress in the Chinese courts and generally watching over their interests. Although theoretically the Consul-General deals only with the Taoyin, the representative of the Governor of the province, in practice very few cases, and those only the most important ones of an "international" nature, are heard at Kashgar. The Consul-General works informally with the District Magistrates, either directly or through the British agents ("Aqsaqals") in the various towns. As the majority of the British subjects live from five to twenty marches from Kashgar, it can readily be understood that the most effective and expeditious method of dealing with their cases is regularly to visit the districts in which they reside and settle matters on the spot, either with the District Magistrates or among the British subjects themselves as the case may be. In fact, it was only by travelling once a year down each of the two main roads, Yarkand-Khotan-Keriya and Maralbashi-Aksu-Kucha, with halts varying from one to fifteen days at each district headquarters and with an occasional extra visit to the chief centre of the Indian trade, Yarkand, that I found it possible to keep in touch with the Indian colonies and (what is no less important) on friendly personal terms with the 484 Chinese magistrates. Nearly half of the two and a quarter years we were in Kashgaria was thus spent on tour, and D. and I covered, apart from holiday jaunts to the hills, some 3,400 miles, almost entirely on horseback with our baggage in Peking carts or on the back of pack-ponies. There was

1 [INDIAN MERCHANTS -- ANALYST]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

202 the telegrams from Misgar in 11–13 days. Hunza men carry the bags on foot or horseback as far as Tashqurghan, Consulate couriers the rest of the distance. Except in early spring, when the mails are sometimes held up for a week or two by snow on the passes and the telegraph line over the Burzil is broken by the same agency, the service is remarkably regular. Accidents do happen, but are fortunately rare; in 1921 a Hunza courier with his mail-bag fell off the path near Ata'abad and was dashed to pieces, and another was lost in the snow on the Mintaka Pass in the spring of 1923. Needless to say, these men are well paid, and the Kashgaris on the Tashqurghan section, who do the double journey by the Gez route once a month all the year round, have in addition comfortable married quarters in the Consulate "village," a coveted privilege.

205 Legation correspondence and other mails from China Proper, on the other hand, came by the Chinese post, which was regular and remarkably speedy, considering the vast distances involved. Letters took two months to reach Kashgar from Peking, and parcels (which came by cart) five to six months. Except for two private couriers whom we maintained for our heavy correspondence with Yarkand, we depended entirely on the Chinese post within the borders of Sinkiang. Our letters reached Keriya, for example, in ten days, though the distance is well over 400 miles, including 150 miles of sandy desert. The service between railhead at Pingtang and Keriya, viâ Kansu, Hami, Maralbashi and Yarkand, some 3,000 miles, is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world. Its efficiency is all the more creditable in view of the enormous difficulties with which the Department has to contend. The head of the Postal Department in Sinkiang during our time was an Italian and is always a European official of the Chinese Board of Communications; and the Chinese Postmasters whom we met at Kashgar were all men of up-to-date Western education with a good knowledge of English.

"Society" at Kashgar consisted of the Chinese official 647 world, the Swedish Mission, the Russian colony and the 648 British Consulate-General. The Chinese officials of whom we saw most were the Taoyin, usually known by the honorific title of Tao Tai; his Foreign Affairs Secretary, who spoke English; the Magistrates of the Old and New Cities, which are the headquarters of separate districts though only six miles apart; the Commandant of the Old City garrison; the 648 Postmaster (another English-speaker), the Master of the Mint,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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and one or two others. The Swedish Church Mission has branches at both the old and the new towns, as well as at Yarkand and Yangi Hissar. They were short-handed during our time owing to the Russian road being closed and transit viâ India both difficult and expensive, and there were only three ladies and two men at the Old City Mission. We had some very good friends among the Swedes; most of them spoke English, and we came to regard them almost as our fellow-countrymen.

Before the Revolution of 1917 the Russians were very strongly represented at Kashgar. The Consul-General was usually a diplomat of high rank with an escort of a hundred Cossacks and a very considerable retinue. Owing to this and to the relative proximity of the Transcaspian centres of Russian culture, the Tsarist Consulate-General was the preponderating element in Kashgar society. By 1920, however, it had died a natural death and the Russian colony had dwindled to twenty-three, of whom seven were children. The former Trade Agreement between Russia and the Sinkiang Government having been abrogated in 1922 and no new agreement having yet been concluded with Moscow, the Soviet Government was entirely unrepresented in southern Sinkiang during our time, though this was by no means the case north of the Tien Shan.[1] Moreover, the whole Russo-Chinese frontier from the Pamirs to Aqsu was closed by the Chinese, who allowed no Russians of the new régime to enter Kashgaria, so that the surviving colony consisted almost entirely of pre-Revolution residents who either could not or would not return to their own country. Like the Chinese, hardly any of them spoke any language but their own, a fact which added considerably to the complications of official entertaining. Indeed, had it not been for two of the Russians, who spoke English and Turki respectively and acted as interpreters, intercourse would have been impossible, for neither D. nor I could speak a word of Russian.

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In spite of the language difficulty, the official and foreign community met frequently and on the most friendly terms. We all "did our bit" in the matter of entertaining, including the chief Chinese officials, who were most hospitable, and keenly appreciated European hospitality in return, although it must have seemed strange and barbarous to them. Some

[1] A Trade Agreement has since been concluded between the Soviet Union and the Governor of Sinkiang; and a Russian Consul (without escort) has been in residence at Kashgar since July 1925.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

culturist and his beds of dahlias and chrysanthemums were a sight to behold; altogether, I found the gardens of Toqquz Bulak worthy of their reputation. One of the other guests, the Tungling or Commandant of the infantry, was of a type quite new to me. Tall, stooping, cadaverous, with bushes of hair sticking out all over his face, he looked remarkably un-Chinese and odd in his Celestial costume. When he addressed me in perfect Turki I was still further puzzled, and at the first opportunity I asked him who he was. He told me that he was a "Wangzada[1]" or direct descendant of the native princes of Kucha, called in Chinese Wangs or "dukes." It was the Wangs of Kucha, he told me with obvious pride, who had been mainly instrumental in destroying the power of the Chinese in Southern Sinkiang in 1863-4 when the Tungans revolted in Kansu; Yakub Beg had come afterwards and had turned the Wangs out when they were weakened by their struggle with the Chinese. When the Celestials returned in 1876 and regained the province from Yakub Beg they took over the lands of the former ruling family, but granted them "political pensions" (as we should call them in India) in lieu of their lost dominions and offered them posts in the Army and Civil Service. Several of the younger Wangzadas, including my friend's father, accepted service under the Chinese Government, which entailed adoption of Chinese customs and dress as well as language; on his death many years ago his son had inherited the pension, 200 taels a month, and the command of a regiment of infantry. It was interesting to me, as a member of the Indian Political Department, to have an opportunity of comparing the methods of the Chinese and Indian Governments in their treatment of deposed native ruling families.

In spite of his curious appearance, "rather like a cross between a Skye terrier and one of the Minor Prophets" as I irreverently described him in a letter home, the Tungling was a well-bred and intelligent old gentleman, and I enjoyed my talk with him. I heard afterwards that he was held in great respect by the Turki population, who always called him "Khojam." The commandant of the Cavalry was a man of a very different type. He was a Chinaman, but a bad specimen of his race, sensual and repulsive. He showed a certain *naïveté*, however, which caused me no little amusement. By

[1] *Zāda* is a Persian suffix meaning "born from," cf. *shahzāda* (pronounced *shahzda*) "prince."

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personnel adequately to garrison and administer their holdings. Under such conditions, as the American White Paper on China suggests, their occupation "meant a loss rather than a gain."[24] This situation eventually was the beginning of their doom. Inner political necessity, their ambition, and the Russians' diplomatic and military maneuvering had conspired to bring it about.

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The Russians emerged from the negotiations over Manchuria better off than when they went in. Indirectly they benefited by every advantage they had permitted the Chinese Communists to obtain. Their direct advantages were no less striking. They were in control of Dairen and Port Arthur and of the greater part of the vital Chinese Changchun Railway. They had established considerable economic interests. They did not have the form but they had much of the substance of power in Manchuria, and they used it to reinforce their position further as time moved on. In 1947 they created an "independent" Kwantung Administration in Dairen. In July 1949 they signed a trade pact with the Manchurian People's Democratic Authorities. The pattern of Soviet control became quite clear. Manchuria was destined to become a part of the Russian "safety belt," as Outer Mongolia had been for many years. Sinkiang was the only gap in the "belt" left, and the Soviet Union set out to turn it also into a satellite.

This goal could not be achieved, however, through an "interpretation" of the treaty of 1945, which had served the purpose for Manchuria. The Russians had committed themselves in 1945 to noninterference in China's internal affairs and therefore to staying out of Sinkiang and its involved politics. The treaty provided no opening through which the Russians could enter. They had to use indirect and subversive methods, which had already been employed both before and during World War II in the attempt to prepare Sinkiang for its satellite role.

In the recent past, generally speaking, the loyalty of Sinkiang to China or the Soviet Union has depended largely upon the person who happened to be governor of the province. From about 1932 to 1942 this was Sheng Shin-ts'ai. He had gained control under Soviet guidance and maintained a regime of virtual autonomy oriented toward the Soviet Union. But times were bad in 1942, when Germany invaded Russia, and few supplies came to Sheng from across the border. The voice of the Chinese government began to sound persuasive and, apparently, became irresistible when Mme. Chiang K'ai-shek in person flew to Urumchi to

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change Sheng's loyalty. Sheng reaffirmed his loyalty to the Chinese government. Russian advisers, trade agencies, and troops were withdrawn from the province. Relations with the Soviet Union were interrupted. In 1944 Sheng was recalled to Chungking, upon Russian demand, it was said, and promoted to a nominally high position. Chinese national troops were reinforced in Sinkiang, Soviet sympathizers were purged, and the central government regained control.[25]

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But the government's success was not to last very long. Also in 1944 the Soviet Union resumed interest in Sinkiang and – perhaps by coincidence, more probably not – at the same time a revolt broke out in the Ili area against the Chinese government. Within one year the rebels conquered the country down to the Manas River and declared the three northwestern districts of Kulja, Chuguchak, and Altai the independent "Eastern Turkestan People's Republic." The remaining two-thirds of the province stayed under central Chinese control. The rebels had justified grievances, but without the moral and perhaps other support of the Soviet Union it is not likely that they would have gone so far.[26]

General Chang Chih-chung was sent to negotiate with the rebels. He did so, the Russian consuls at Kulja and Urumchi serving as intermediaries, a circumstance which lent credibility to Chinese claims that the revolt was Russian-engineered. In 1946 an agreement was reached in which some slight concessions toward autonomy of the Ili group were made This was followed from the central government by a few mild attempts at improvements in the administration and occasional conciliatory gestures. But the after-effects of the corrupt, despotic, and mismanaged administration of Sheng remained too pronounced, and the number of Chinese and pro-Chinese officials too great to please the rebels. The Chinese reforms under the slogan "Peace, Unity, Democracy" carried no conviction. The rebels demanded independence and engaged in strong anti-Chinese propaganda.*

The rebel-controlled and the Chinese-controlled parts of the province remained divided into watertight compartments. There were no direct relations between the rebel territory and China. On the other hand, the rebel area had close relations with the Soviet Union. Sinkiang minerals

* A few years after Sinkiang had become Communist-controlled, this line was changed. The people were then told that their struggle had formed "part of the general movement of the revolution of the Chinese people" and that nationalism was "unjustified" under a Communist regime.

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flowed freely to the west. All communications with the outside world went through Russian channels.

By the spring of 1949 a pro-Russian trend developed in the Chinese-controlled area as well. The Ili group used it immediately by pretending to veer toward the Chinese government and suggesting closer cooperation with the provincial government. The approach that took place between the rebels and the Chinese turned out to favor the Communists. For a few months later, in September, Sinkiang went over to them.

This was only one of several developments which permitted the gradual expansion of Russian influence and control over the province. There were also international complications which arose from numerous border incidents between Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia. In every incident the Chinese government considered the Russians involved and sent its protests to them as well as to the government of Outer Mongolia. Naturally the Russians never admitted any part, though they confirmed that the Outer Mongolians had Russian-trained pilots and Russian-made planes with markings "very similar" to those of the Russians.

The Russian explanations of the incidents varied. Sometimes they claimed the territory involved was not Chinese at all; or they claimed that the incidents had been provoked by the American consul; or they maintained that the Chinese had provoked them because they "liked what was going on in Greece" and wanted American aid. No settlement was ever reached, and until Sinkiang became Communist, the incidents continued, all, somehow, tending to favor the Soviet Union.

The Chinese government had been aware of this trend and tried to stop it. Simultaneously with its protests and angry outbursts, it tried to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union by which the Russians might be satisfied in return for withholding their support from the Chinese Communists or other groups friendly to Russia. Taking up a suggestion by the Soviet Union of early 1947, the Chinese early in 1949 began to negotiate treaties for trade, mining rights, and air communications. They hoped to kill two birds with one stone: by increasing but specifying Russian rights, they hoped to limit Russian penetration into Sinkiang and to strengthen their own hand against the Chinese Communists.

The reported Chinese plan was to give Russia a three-way monopoly: a monopoly on trade in Sinkiang's raw materials, in return for the supply of finished goods; a monopoly on mining rights, to be exploited by enterprises run jointly by Russians and Chinese; and a monopoly on civil

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C S 648 669 aviation in the province. These proposals were not as radically new as might appear. In many respects they merely confirmed and legalized a situation which already existed in fact.

C S 648 509 Since 1939 the Russians had had a monopoly on air traffic in Sinkiang (with the exception of a direct line, Urumchi-Shanghai), and their planes landed in several places controlled by the Ili rebel group. The Chinese National Assembly, in an attempt to put pressure on the Soviet Union, had called upon the government to cancel the 1939 agreement. The government announced its intention of doing so. But when the negotiations were terminated, an agreement emerged in which Russian privileges were extended for another five years, instead of the twenty-four asked for by the Russians. The government had not even succeeded in making the Hami-Ata line a less Russian and more Chinese affair.

C S 648 In mining and trading the Russians already had a monopoly in the "Eastern Turkestan People's Republic" and wanted to extend it to all of Sinkiang. The Chinese objected on general principles. At the same time they wavered and were considering what concessions ought to be made to reach their political purpose of satisfying the Russians. The indecision reflected the split within the cabinet over the insoluble problem of how far Russia ought to be satisfied in order that it might stop supporting the Chinese Communists. No treaty was ever signed with the National Government. The Communist government later concluded agreements with the Soviet Union through which the Russians obtained in Sinkiang what they wanted.[27]

The Chinese government's position was indeed an unenviable one. Its attempt to stop the double-barreled attack by the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists by appeasing the one in the hope of weakening the other was obviously a choice among evils. The policy had its opponents inside the cabinet and failed to find favor with large sections of the public. Yet with occasional rescues by Chiang K'ai-shek, Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh succeeded in maintaining himself and his policy in power against all attacks until early 1949. It was a policy in which the Chinese government relied on good relations with the United States to counteract bad relations with the Soviet Union. Depending upon the response from Moscow and Washington at any given moment, of course, relations with both had their ups and downs. The basic theme of this policy, as Wang described it, was close cooperation "forever" with the United States and "moderation" and strict enforcement of treaties with the Soviet Union.[28]

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N 175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bük even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bük's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
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During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

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17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
(131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their
S retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
175 in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
• 648 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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into China to establish militaristic states in North China. The aggregation of invaders included the Huns, the Hsien-pi, the Juan-juan, the Toba, and the Tibetans. But the dominant group to emerge was the Turks, who eventually ruled an extensive territory stretching from Mongolia to the Urals. Once more China, reunited under the Sui dynasty, was able to hold off the nomads. Under the T'ang dynasty the Chinese were able to advance into the domain of the nomads and to destroy the Turkish federation.

By the ninth century, as China declined in power, the nomadic peoples on the northern rim of the Chinese empire came into their own again. The situation appeared to be a repetition of what had happened at least twice before. The decline of the Chou had been followed by the disintegration of China into warring states (cycle one); the collapse of Han had ushered in the Three Kingdoms and the North and South Dynasties (cycle two). Now, with the fall of T'ang, there came the chaotic Five Dynasties and the division of China again into the north and south (cycle three). In each successive stage, the extent of nomadic power was greater than in the previous one. In the first period of division, both northern and southern states were primarily Chinese; in the second stage of division, the northern states were non-Chinese while the southern states were Chinese; but in the third stage, at first the northern states were alien and the southern state (Sung) Chinese, but later the northern invaders (Mongols) succeeded in conquering all of China.

3. Mongol expansion

In the period following the fall of Tang, peoples from Manchuria, Khitans and Juchens, as well as peoples from Turkestan, such as the Sha-t'o (or Chöl) Turks, poured into China. In the Northwest, the Western Turks and their offshoots, the Qarluqs the the Uighurs, were active. Later, some of the Khitans, ousted from North China, also established themselves in Turkestan. Here too, the Arabs, who had penetrated Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries, were influential. But the most powerful were the Mongols who, having united the tribes of Mongolia into a vast confederation of nomadic people in a series of sanguinary wars, in the 13th century embarked on a career of conquest that was to include all of Asia and part of Europe.

The Chinese, in their resurgence under the Ming dynasty, did not recover Turkestan. Central Asia remained in the grip of the later Mongols, from the Timurid dynasty in Persia, through the descendants of the Chagatai princes in Turkestan, to the Oirats in Northwestern China, the last of whom by the mid fifteenth century, were bold enough to make forays into China. The 17th century saw the rise to power of the Oirats who dominated vast areas of Mongolia and Turkestan. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the power of the Oirat confederacy broken and China,

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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105 nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan
175 and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and
648 pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations
182 were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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*175 In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the
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[101] province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's
635 administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of
175 Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang.
648 At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh
167 refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete
635 repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in
175 the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible
648 to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was
648 characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 took advantage of it, Ja Lama assumed the role of liberator. He
• 648 was influential in swinging Western Mongol support from the Sinkiang government to Outer Mongolia. His apparent objectives were the conquest of Sinkiang and part of Tibet, and a union of all the Western Mongols to form a new Western Mongolian state. In 1912 he led a successful attack on the town of Kobdo. He assumed religious and princely titles and served briefly as military governor of the region. In 1914 he was arrested and deported by the Russians, whose negotiations for a Chinese-Mongolian treaty were being disturbed by his aggressive activities. Eventually he returned to eastern Sinkiang. There he again rallied a group of Mongol adherents and built a fortification. He was hunted down and killed by assassins from the Urga(Outer Mongolian) government, which apparently feared the consequences of a new Western Mongolian union.

The destruction of Ja Lama and his "organization", and the policy of the Sinkiang government in dealing with the Mongols, both contributed to the permanent detachment of the Kobdo district from Western Mongolia. The actual separation dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century and the Manchu conquest of the Northwest. In 1754 the Imperial government set up the Kobdo region as an administrative district under the administration of Outer Mongolia. When Ja Lama attacked and captured the city of Kobdo and established himself as governor of the district, it was Russian power that expelled him and forced the return of Kobdo to Outer Mongolia. Finally when Ja Lama established himself in eastern Sinkiang and attracted a new following of Western Mongols, he again threatened the detachment of Kobdo. It was the Urga government that sent men to kill him and thereby insure Outer Mongolia's retention of Kobdo. The Mongols of the Kobdo district were, and probably still are, descendants of Oirats whose attachment to Outer Mongolia was merely a military and political convenience for the Manchu administration. Ja Lama's temporary success and the actions taken against him by the Russian and Outer Mongolian governments probably reflected a real feeling of "Oiratism" among the Mongols of Kobdo.

175 Before the Chinese Revolution in 1911, Western Mongol tribal territories were administered by princes who enjoyed virtual autonomy under the provincial government. This arrangement was continued with some modification under the Republic. The government extended its control over the princes and consequently over the Mongols themselves. The league and banner system probably remained in effect until the establishment of regional autonomy in Sinkiang, although the administrative units did not correspond strictly to tribal divisions and, in some cases, even included groups of unrelated peoples. There were three leagues and two special groups which were constituted as follows:

The Unen Susuktu League consisted of ten banners of Torguts,

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

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The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. [illegible] (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again
159 in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul
635 (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides.
669 In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the
[648] Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled,
[506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

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175 5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and
159 misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in com-
635 parison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the
669 characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N IV. The Rise of the Communists

*175 While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang,
*668 events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast
669 territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

S The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war
175 against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a
159 virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he main-
648 tained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather
[635] than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

175 One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
669 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
[563] protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
[648] tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were chocked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

N 315 S [315] N 315 648 177 new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N [133] N [433] S 315 [648] [433]

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to [433] thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chin- [433] ese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.) 1/A

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest
654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures,

1/A [See p. 129--Analyst]

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity S [377] than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was S [377] recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N 377 653 According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

000 N *175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 186 [563] The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 49 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

S
N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
177 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was no: 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
• 648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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795 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important
798 function administered by the qadi.
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177 Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death
S and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to
* [648] have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the
[669] anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260.000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1958.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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795 B. Lamaism
792 As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also
* 668 tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of
177 the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution
795 differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Gen-
792 erally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the in-
* 563 fluence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mon-
* 668 gols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their
177 princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

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464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
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648 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen, former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and landowners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this
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[316] area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
199 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
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464 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town
465 Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the
315 Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.
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648 After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo)
469 of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who
697 are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern
[167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration
[648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

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121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunnas forming the
177 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

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648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[797] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1937 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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attempts of the nat ve peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
467 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

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*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47
S of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts,
[175] and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign
[668] to resist America and aid Korea.

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*175 Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*668 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
[467] to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League
S in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953,
[175] there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members.
[668] Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

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*175 Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*668 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
648 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

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N 60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were
*175 from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-
*668 Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-
648 chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-
S presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friend-
175 ship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the
668 following figures show: three million in 1950, 17 million in 1951,
648 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953.
The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Achan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

N B. Elevation of Political Consciousness
*175 Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association
*668 in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign
S in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities.
175 This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or over-
668 lapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only S 175 592 162 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [496] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
631 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they
563 could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü) level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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C. The General Election of 1953-54

*175 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
*668 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
666 tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's
[641] Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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N *175 625

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

S 175 625 [648] [563]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

I. Strategic Importance of Sinkiang

175 648 439 Sinkiang has been one of the most strategic areas of China in imperial and modern times. Ever since the area first came under Chinese control during the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), it has been for China a key position for the control of central Asia. [487] The two caravan routes to the north and south of the Tien-shan range linked China with the steppes of western Turkestan and with Europe and the Near East. The control of the oasis cities along these caravan routes gave China not only a dominant position in the trade, but also a check over the states of central Asia that profited from this trade. In the times of the empire the Chinese control over tribal groups in central Asia was strongest when the corridor of trade was safely in Chinese hands.

175 648 Full Chinese control over Eastern Turkestan was maintained, however, only over limited periods in imperial history. In the period of division and chaos that followed the Han period, Turkestan was lost to China and became a contested area between rival tribal states. Chinese control was reasserted in T'ang times by a Chinese dynasty which itself was partly of Central Asian origin. The area was included in the Mongol empire when the Mongols established their rule over China. Lost again under the Ming dynasty, Chinese Turkestan was finally reconquered by the Manchus in the eighteenth century and has been recognized as a part of China since the time when the modern West came in contact with the Chinese world.

The strategic role of Chinese Turkestan has become somewhat modified in modern times. When Czarist Russia expanded her frontiers across the Asiatic continent towards the Chinese border, the Inner Asiatic frontiers of China were threatened by a new type of attack by a modern Western state. The Russian expansion across Asia found its counterpart in the British conquest of India. From that time on the British regarded the high plateaus of Asia as potential basis for an attack on India through the mountain passes of the northwest. Chinese Turkestan became an area of conflicting British-Russian policies, and at the same time an anchor of the whole Chinese defense of Central Asia against Russian and British invasion.

Of the two powers, Russia was by far the more dangerous to Chinese control. Through her move into Asia, Russia became China's neighbor along a frontier of 3,000 miles. Her pressure was exerted in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in Turkestan. The British-Indian border with China was shorter and the high mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Karakorum provided a

175 much greater physical barrier than existed on the Turkestan-Man-
648 churian-Mongolian border with Russia.

II. Russian Advance in Sinkiang

In the middle of the last century when the Western powers, including Russia, opened treaty ports along the coast and in China proper, Russia had combined this coastal penetration with an inland advance. In the Treaty of Kulja of 1851, which was made public in 1861, the Russians secured the right to trade in Northern Turkestan by the establishment of trading centers in the Ili valley at Kulja. In the Treaty of Peking in 1860 Russia also secured the right to establish a consulate at Kashgar in southern Turkestan.

175 The Russian-British pressure on Turkestan came to a head in
648 the 1870's when Chinese control was temporarily thrown off by the
669 rebellion of Yakub Beg. This was the period when major rebellions were taking place within China, and the revolts against the ruling dynasty spread to the northwestern border. The Moslem rebellion began in the Northwest region of China and extended to Chinese Turkestan where one of the former ruling Moslem families which had been driven out by the Chinese administration into western Turkestan attempted to re-establish its power. Its leading military figure was Yakub Beg who soon took over the rebellious movement and attempted to set up an independent government over the southern and nortnern parts of Chinese Turkestan. During his stay in power, he negotiated treaties with both Britain and Russia. The British recognized Yakub Beg and permitted him to secure arms through India. A British envoy signed a treaty with his government at Kashgar in 1874, a treaty which was formally ratified by the government of India in 1876. In this treaty Sinkiang was opened to trade with India, and a British trading company was formed with the assistance of India. Through India, Yakub Beg established contact with the Sultan of Turkey in a Moslem religious alliance. At that time, the British believed that Yakub Beg would be able to maintain himself and hoped that Chinese Turkestan would become an independent or at least autonomous area, a buffer between India and Russia.

The Russian reaction to Yakub Beg's rebellion was a direct attack on the territory of Chinese Turkestan. When Yakub Beg had occupied Urumchi and moved towards the northwestern border area, the Russians moved troops across the border and occupied Kulja and the territory of the Ili valley in 1871. In 1872 they forced Yakub Beg to conclude a commercial agreement which opened Eastern Turkestan to Russian trade. In 1874-75, Russia concentrated troops on the border of southern Sinkiang. But unrest in Russian Turkestan prevented them from further military action. In 1876, they forced Yakub Beg to surrender the strategic moun-

175 tain passes west of Kashgar to Russian control. The Russian
648 government had thus used the unrest in Turkestan for military
669 expansion into Chinese territory, although it declared at the time that the occupation was only a temporary move for the protection of Russian commercial interests and that the area would eventually be given back to China.

This Russian attack gave the Turkestan rebellion an even more dangerous character in Chinese eyes. What was at stake now for china was not only the subjection of a rebellious leader but the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asian position. China's realization of this danger became very clear in the discussions that preceded the Chinese military compaigns to reconquer Turkestan. Two views were expressed at that time on the importance of that area to China. One was represented by Li Hung-chang, who had come to power as the leader of the Anhwei army, one of the regional forces that had been established to suppress the Taiping Rebellion. In this campaign Li had had his main base at Shanghai and had come to control the financial resources of the central coastal region. Later his army had been used in the suppression of the Nien Rebellion in Anhwei and Shantung and after this successful campaign he had become governor-general of the capital province of Chihli and was the leading military figure in the north. Li Hung-chang was willing to abandon China's position in Central Asia in favor of strengthening coastal defenses. According to him the expenses of a Sinkiang campaign would seriously endanger the coastal defense, so important for holding the capital.

III. Policy of Tso Tsung-t'ang

175 In contrast to Li's regional view on the importance of China's
648 coastal area, Tso Tsung-t'ang, then in charge of the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in the northwestern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, saw the control of Sinkiang as a vital part of the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asiatic frontier. According to Tso Tsung-t'ang, "The reason why great weight should be given to Sinkiang is the protection of Mongolia. In protecting Mongolia, one ensures the defense of the capital. When the fingers and forearms of the West and North work in unison and the topographical position is continuous then there is no break in the country's defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be safe. Not only the border provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi would be constantly open to invasion and it would be difficult to defend them, but also Northern Chihli and Shanhaikuan would not have a day of rest or sleep." (Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi, chüan 50, pp. 76a, b.) Tso argued that the defense of Sinkiang would be less expensive in the

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long run than would be an inland defense of the northwest, if the Sinkiang passes were lost. The defense of Peking depended on the Chinese military garrisons at Kalgan, Uliasutai, and Kobdo in Mongolia; the defense of Mongolia depended on the control of Sinkiang; the defense of Sinkiang depended on the passes at Kulja and Chuguchak. He did not believe that there was a real military threat to the Chinese coasts because in his opinion the Western powers were interested in commercial privileges rather than in military conquest. When at that time the British minister to Peking intervened in support of Yakub Beg and suggested that the imperial government should allow the rebel leader to maintain his rule over Turkestan as an autonomous area under Chinese suzerainty, Tso Tsung-t'ang sent a memorial to the throne stating that the status of Yakub Beg was purely a domestic question, and that "if Britain wished to create a buffer state in central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory." (Arthur W. Hummel Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, 1944, vol. II, p. 766.)

Tso Tsung-t'ang's main concern, however, was the Russian military invasion. It was his avowed strategy to use such overwhelming force in the defeat of Yakub Beg and to make the reconquest of Turkestan so convincing that Russia would have to live up to the promise which she had given at the time of the occupation in 1871 and return the Ili area to Chinese control. But the diplomatic negotiations between China and Russia which followed did not bring the results for which Tso Tsung-t'ang had hoped. In the draft treaty concluded in St. Petersburg in 1879, Russia returned only the city of Kulja and the eastern part of the Ili valley but retained the western part of the Ili area including the valley of a tributary, the Tekes, and most important of all, the strategic mountain passes of the Altai and related ranges. This treaty aroused a storm of indignation at the court in Peking. The government refused to ratify it and imposed a death sentence on the returning envoy who had negotiated it. The sentence was not carried out, but a new envoy signed another treaty at St. Petersburg in 1881 with somewhat more favorable conditions. While Russia retained some of the territory she had occupied, she returned the Tekes valley and the strategic passes to China.

After it had reasserted its authority over almost all of the Turkestan area, the Chinese government carried through an administrative reorganization in order to strengthen the ties with its outlying region. In November, 1884, an imperial edict made Turkestan into a Chinese province under the name of Sinkiang ("The New Territory"). Urumchi (the Chinese Ti-hua) became the provincial capital and the province was divided into more than twenty districts. Thus, while Chinese political control

175 648 was re-established, economic penetration from Russia and to a lesser degree from British India continued. In the treaty of 1881, Russia had established consulates at Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan. The treaty also stipulated that consulates should be established at Urumchi, Hami (Qomul), and Ch'i-t'ai, if the development of Russian trade warranted it. England arranged in 1884 for the stationing of a British trade agent at Kashgar.

In the following period the Chinese political position in Sinkiang was not threatened again by either Russia or England. Chinese control created, in effect, something of a buffer area for the conflicting expansionist interests of these two powers. Towards the turn of the century, attempts were made to delimit Russian and British areas of expansion in order to diminish chances of conflict. In 1895 the two powers agreed to delimit their respective areas of expansion in the Pamirs. In a decision of the Pamir Boundary Commission the two powers agreed to set aside a narrow corridor of Afghanistan to the Chinese province of Sinkiang. This corridor would prevent a direct Russo-British-India frontier. The Anglo-Russian tensions came to a new height during the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. When the war was over, Russian and England came to settle all their conflicting interests in the Triple Entente of 1907. By that time the neutralization of the central Asiatic area of possible conflict had already been recognized for so long that Turkestan was no longer mentioned in the agreement.

IV Policy of Yang Tseng-hsin

175 648 635 The Chinese position in Sinkiang entered into a new phase with the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The Revolution changed the relationship between the province and the new types of central governments that succeeded each other in China. In imperial times the Chinese governors were a part of the imperial bureaucracy, and the court had been able to appoint and recall governors more or less at will. It had also given the provincial administration a yearly subsidy of over two and a half million taels (a tael equals about 1.28 U.S. dollars). With the revolution, the central control over the province was greatly weakened. No more subsidy was forthcoming from China and the governors had to base their power and position almost entirely on local support. Yang Tseng-hsin, the Chinese governor of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928 gained such support by giving the non-Chinese population groups greater economic autonomy. At the same time he maintained good relations with Russia by permitting Russian economic activities which had considerably increased since 1905. The Russo-Asiatic Bank had its branches at Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, and Kashgar with the right to issue paper currency. These branches played a large role in the local trade.

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648 The isolation of Sinkiang from the Chinese government became even more pronounced as a result of the events in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave the Mongols the opportunity to declare their independence from Chinese control. This move was in part inspired and supported by Czarist Russia which established itw osn control over Outer Mongolia. Though Outer Mongolia remained nominally a part of Chinese territory, Chinese control ended and Outer Mongolia became in fact a Russian protectorate. The loss of Outer Mongolia changed the position of China in central Asia and greatly affected her hold over Chinese Turkestan. Tso Tsung-t'ang had described Turkestan as the key position for the defense of Mongolia, which in turn was important for the security of north China and of the capital. Now Turkestan itself was outflanked by the Russian position in Mongolia. From Mongolia, Russian forces could at any time cut the corridor that led from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. Sinkiang, formerly the central basis of the Chinese military position in Inner Asia, now became an exposed advance position which could only be held in the long run if a new and safe connection with China Proper could be found.

Of still greater importance for the power sturggle in central Asia was the change brought about in Russia by the October Revolution. The new Soviet Russia soon resumed the Czarist policy of expansion in central Asia. But to the economic and strategic interests which had been the morivating force behind Czarist advance there was now added the Communist aim of infiltrating the neighboring area with its ideological and political organization. This Soviet advance began slowly and accelerated with the growing strength of the Soviet government. During the early years of the civil war in Siberia, Soviet Russia was in no position to resume an aggressive policy in central Asia. The Russian position in Outer Mongolia was also temporarily lost and regained only in 1922, when after the defeat of the White Russian leader Ungern Sternberg, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet satellite.

[167] The outcome of the red victory in the civil war in Siberia had the immediate result of bringing a stream of White Russian refugees to the central Asiatic areas. In addition to smaller groups, two White Russian armies retreated into Sinkiang in 1920 and 1921. The number of these troops has been reported as 30,000 to 40,000 men, a much stronger force than the Chinese army of governor Yang Tseng-hsin. In Outer Mongolia, White Russian forces retreating at that time had been able to take over the government, but the Chinese administration of Sinkiang managed to bring the Russian influx into its territory fully under control. Most of the Russian troops let themselves be disarmed and were interned at Kuchengste. Other troops which had retreated to the Altai border region of Russia and Outer Mongolia retained their arms.

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648 The Altai region has been an area of conflict all the more critical because of the potential value of its mineral resources. In imperial time some control had been exerted over part of the area by the Imperial Amban in Kobdo in Outer Mongolia. The border between Chinese and Russian territory was also not clearly delineated, and the Chinese claim that the highest mountain ridge formed the border being at times contested by Soviet Russia. The area was mainly inhabited by Kazakh tribesmen who were closely related to similar groups at the other side of the border in Russian Turkestan. During World War I a number of Kazakhs from the Russian side had moved over into Chinese territory to escape the draft for labor conscription, and no control had been exerted over these groups. Of all the Turkic people of the province of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs were the most nationalistic and unruly. The attitude of the Kazakh people played, therefore, an important role in the relations between Russia and Chinese Turkestan.

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At the critical time, in 1920, when the White Russian influx became a problem, the Chinese governor negotiated with the Soviet authorities an agreement which established friendly relations across the border but at the same time enabled the governor to deal successfully with the problem of White Russian immigrants. He gained a Soviet promise of amnesty for all those White Russians who wanted to return to Russian territory and encouraged as many as he could to go back to Russia, while others continued their journey to China proper. At the same time, he asked for Soviet support in removing the armed White Russians from the Altai region and strengthened the Chinese position in that area by dividing it into regular Chinese districts and sub-district administrations. Connected with this political agreement was a trade agreement in which the Ili valley area was opened to Soviet economic activities. Two soviet consulated were established in this area, in contrast to the seven consulates which the Czarist government had maintained in its last years in Sinkiang. In exchange for the Soviet consulated the Chinese administration was permitted to maintain two consulated in Soviet territory. These consulates were to be established at Semipalatinsk and at Verkhenevelinsk on the border of Outer Mongolia. The agreement also abolished extraterritoriality, and in opening economic relations with the Soviets, Governor Yang gained Soviet release of the property of Chinese merchants in Russian territory which had at first been confiscated by the new Soviet regime. Through this agreement of 1920 Chinese-Soviet relations were established in Sinkiang long before the beginning of official relations between the government at Peking and the Soviet government and even before the arrangement of Soviet support to Sun Yat-sen at Canton. The agreement of 1920 was broadened by the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1924, signed at Peking, which provided for the opening of additional Soviet

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consulates. Soviet consulates were opened at Chuguchak, at Sharasume in the Altai region, and at Urumchi and at Kashgar in exchange for the opening of Chinese consulates at Tashkent, Andijan, Zaisan, and Alma Ata.

The Chinese administration under Governor Yang thus maintained a very cautious policy of friendly economic relations with the Soviet Union. This policy was continued even after the leaders of the Kuomintang had broken with the Chinese Communists and had sent the Russian advisers home. The economic relations between Turkestan and Soviet territory remained close; the Chinese consul at Semipalatinsk was quoted by Izvesta as stating that Sinkiang had nothing in common with central China and that the commercial as well as the political relations between western China and the friendly republic of the USSR remained unchanged. Even after Governor Yang accepted the nominal authority of the National Government at Nanking, this policy did not change.

From the side of the National Government, however, the first attempts were now made to strengthen the physical link with Sinkiang. These attempts were later to be renewed during and after the years of World War II and led to the building of new communication links, a policy to be continued later by the Chinese Communists.

In 1928 the Sven Hedin expedition was sent by the National Government to explore a new road connection from Inner Mongolia to Chinese Turkestan as well as to investigate the possiblity of using older caravan routes to the south of Qomul. The expedition was treated politely by the Chinese administration but was closely supervised and restricted in its movements. Even so the routes which the Sven Hedin expedition investigated would not have provided a road between Nanking and Sinkiang which would not have been in easy reach of Russian forces based on Outer Mongolia.

V. Foreign Relations under Chin Shu-jen

While Sven Hedin's expedition was still in Sinkiang, the Russian influence was greatly increased when the Chinese administration of the province was changed. Governor Yang was assassinated, and the former chief of the Political Department, Chin Shu-jen, assumed power. The assassination was carried out by Fan Yao-nan, the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, at a feast at which the Soviet consular officials and several other Russian guests were present. The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs was in turn seized and executed by troops under the control of Chin Shu-jen, who himself then became governor. Under Chin's governorship there was soon an opportunity for great expansion of the Russian influence. In 1929 the Russians reputedly began building up Communist Party cells in

175 Sinkiang. In 1930 the completion of the Turksib Railroad in Rus-
648 sian Turkestan along the Chinese border enabled Soviet Russia to intensify the exploitation of the Sinkiang economy. Ever since the Russian development of central Asia, the weight of Russian influence had increased and the Chinese National Government lagged behind in its attempt to answer this threat by a new development of the communications between Sinkiang and China.

175 The greatest increase in Russian influence came as the re-
648 sult of the revolt of the Chinese Moslems, the Tungans, in 1931,
669 who called in as their leader Ma Chung-ying, a Moslem from Kansu who came close to capturing the provincial government. Governor Chin's administration was saved by Soviet Russia, which gave him arms and military support under the pretext that some Japanese had been on Ma's staff, implying that Japanese schemes were endangering Soviet interests in the province, although no proof has ever been brought forward for such Japanese activities. In order to get Russian support, Chin concluded in November, 1931, an agreement with Soviet Russia which was kept secret from the National Government. By this agreement, eight Soviet trade agencies were set up at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan; the tariff for Soviet products was reduced, and telegraph and radio communications were established with Soviet territory. Chin Shu-jen did not succeed, however, in suppressing the rebellion, and according to one account by a Mr. Tshumabay, then chairman of the GPU mission in Sinkiang, the Soviets, in order to weaken the Chinese military forces, did not at first provide the military support they had promised. When a Moslem force reached the outskirts of the capital of Urumchi, Chin turned over the defense to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, an officer of Manchurian origin. Sheng was placed in command of Chinese troops from Manchuria who had in their fight with the Japanese retreated on to Soviet territory and had been transported by Soviet Russia to Turkestan. Thus from the outset Sheng derived his military power from Russian support. He was substantially supported by another military force recruited from the White Russians living in Urumchi and neighboring cities. Within the ranks of this force could reportedly also be found Red Russian soldiers. When asked about this comradeship-in-arms the White Russians stated to members of the Sven Hedin expedition that there was no difficulty in working together for a common purpose. The equipment of both these forces was provided by the Soviet Union.

With these troops Sheng succeeded in driving off the Moslem attackers. In April, 1935, a coup d'etat by these Russian troops forced the retirement of Governor Chin, who fled to Russian territory and from there returned to China. Sheng Shih-ts'ai became governor and, with the help of Russian war materiel, including

175 648 669 military planes, succeeded in destroying the Moslem forces of Ma Chung-ying who was eventually driven to Kashgar from where in June, 1934, he fled to Soviet territory. All the three leading figures in the struggle for power, Chin Shu--jen, Ma Chung-ying, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai were thus in different ways under Soviet control. Chin had been supported and at the same time handicapped by the Russians who finally permitted him to return to China through their territory. Governor Sheng, his successor, depended from the very beginning on Russian support for his power. And Ma Chung-ying, the defeated aspirant for power, who might have established a closer link with the National Government, entrusted his fate to the Soviet regime. He was reportedly seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936, but from that time on his fate has remained unknown.

VI. Policy of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 648 From the outset Sheng Shih-ts'ai was strongly under Russian dominance. Soviet Russia did not only have influence over the locally recruited Russian forces and over the Manchurian troops of Sheng, both equipped with Russian weapons; it also sent a special tank regiment of 3,000 men, the so-called "Altai Volunteers," to be stationed near Komul on the main caravan route from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. This force was stationed in a strategic position ostensibly to guard against any Japanese advance from Inner Mongolia. In practice it also could interfere with any attempt of the Chinese National Government to re-establish its authority over Urumchi. Soviet military advisors supervised the training of the Chinese as well as the Russian troops, and through their influence communists were reputedly introduced also into the officer and private ranks of the Chinese forces. They also trained political commissars for the indoctrination of the Chinese forces. In addition to this control of the forces the Soviet government had a hold over the administration of the province. Two Russians, a Mr. Yuravlev and a Dr. Lapin, held high positions in the civil administration of the province and Russian advisers under the direction of the Russian consul-general had decisive influence in all important departments of government. Many of the Turks employed in the administration were recruited from West Turkestan or Turkic groups living in the Soviet Union. According to Chinese reports (see article by Yolbars Khan "Sinkiang Under the Control of Chinese and Russian Communists," Chung Hua Nien Pao, vol. 4, 1954, pp. 52-55), Governor Sheng was told by the Soviet consul at Urumchi that he had to follow Party orders. This was the time when, after the Sian kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, a united front had been established in China proper for the war of resistance against Japan. During the time

175 648 when this united front continued in operation, in 1937 and 1938, a number of Chinese Communists were brought in who seemed to have worked in close cooperation with the Soviet advisers.

When he came to power, Governor Sheng was given a Soviet loan of five million rubles for reconstruction. For the plans of reconstruction he was provided with Soviet technical advisers. In 1937 Sheng introduced a three-year plan of reconstruction for which he received a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans; a second plan was introduced in 1940. These funds were used to build motor roads, among other things, and to introduce a large fleet of Soviet trucks. It was reported that 1,350 miles of telephone lines were installed by 1941. By 1939 twenty factories had been set up in the province and over four hundred tons of Soviet machinery had been imported for the exploitation of oil resources and the establishment of an oil refinery northwest of Urumchi. In november, 1940, Governor Sheng concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Union which included permission for Soviet Russia to prospect for and exploit tin and other mineral resources in Sinkiang, and which gave Soviet Russia control over the mineral resources of the province. (The text of this agreement was published in 1950 in Formosa and appeared in 1954 in the American Journal of Foreign Affairs, and in November, 1954, in the German newspaper, Ost-Probleme.")

175 648 669 While extending their military and economic influence over the government of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet government attempted to deal separately with a group of Kazakhs in the Ili and Altai regions who had begun in 1940 to work for an autonomy of their region. When some of their leaders were invited to Urumchi and arrested there at the beginning of 1940, the Kazakhs rose in revolt in February of that year. A truce was concluded on May 15, 1940, in which the insurgents agreed to cease fighting provided that no more Russian troops would be brought into their area. But fighting soon broke out again and the Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, succeeded by the end of 1940 in establishing a provisional government in the Ili and Altai region which was called the National Republic of East Turkestan. A Soviet attempt to deal with the government of Osman Batur failed. Osman Batur turned down the Russian offer of arms which was coupled with a request to withdraw his forces from the Altai region and move them to the Ili area. In September 1941, the insurgent leadership split. Abdulaziz Kasim, a leader who was a Soviet citizen, concluded an agreement with the Soviets, while Osman Batur and his followers continued their fight against Soviet troops as well as the forces of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai. At the beginning of 1942, the Soviets brought 23,000 troops into the Altai area but the critical situation in the war with Germany forced the Soviets to discontinue their campaign and to concentrate on the protection of a few bases in Sinkiang.

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648 In the meantime Governor Sheng attempted to end his dependence on Soviet Russia and to turn instead to the National Government. When the pressure of the German advance forced the Soviet government to withdraw most of its forces from Sinkiang, it attempted to maintain its position by disorganizing the Turkestan administration. Aside from the negotiations with the Kazakh rebels, the Soviets made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Governor Sheng when they feared he would seek cooperation with the Chinese National Government. This Russian move precipitated a switch of Sheng's administration to the Chinese side. Sheng drove out his Russian advisers and arrested large numbers of his staff who had been cooperating with the Russians as well as with Chinese Communists who had been brought in through Russian support.

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668 The cooperation between the Soviet representatives in Sinkiang and the Chinese Communists during this time seems to have been close. While the Russian representatives conveyed the policy line as determined in Moscow and provided the military and political power behind it, the Chinese Communists infiltrated Sheng's staff and helped to work out many of Sheng's administrative measures. For instance a currency reform instituted in 1938 was claimed to have been the work of the brother of Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-min who had come to Turkestan with the Chinese Communist group under Russian protection. The Communists also established the Fan-ti-hui, or Anti-Imperialist Association which was used for propaganda and intelligence. When Governor Sheng broke with the Soviets and turned to the National Government, he attempted to eradicate this Chinese Communist group. Mao Tse-min and a number of others, including Governor Sheng's secretary, were executed, and many were imprisoned.

VII. Chinese Nationalist Attempt to Reassert Nationalist Influence

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648 The new active interest which the National Government took in Sinkiang was related to the military situation of the time. The Russian withdrawal was the result of the military defeats brought on Soviet Russia by the Nazi armies which threatened Moscow and forced a concentration of all available Russian troops at the European front. The Chinese National Government could not count on any further Soviet support in its war against Japan, and the further developments in Soviet Russia were uncertain. Even if Soviet Russia could hold out, this seemed an opportune time to eliminate the dangerous Soviet control which was no longer compensated by any military advantage.

The Chinese situation had become still more desperate after Pearl Harbor and the Japanese conquest of the mainland of southeast Asia. Cut off from the supply routes which could bring in

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175 support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Govern-
648 ment searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942
N on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the
*175 supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long
*648 and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as
491 a communication link over which large commercial caravans
S passed for many years, even after the war. This development
175 brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem
648 general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-
S establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-
175 ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the
648 chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Chaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand
S Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943,
[167] and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

175 completed by March 1943. Soviet Russia not only withdrew its
648 military forces but also retreated from its economic expoitation of Sinkiang. The Soviets capped the main oil well north of Urumchi and shipped back to Russia all the movable machinery from the oil refineries and the gold, copper, and iron mines which they had set up in Ili, Chuguchak, and in the Altai area, and from the factories they had built in Urumchi and other cities.

This Russian retreat was, however, far from complete. The Soviets maintained their consulates in all the larger cities of Sinkiang with a staff of several hundred people. At these consulates the Russians left military guards. At Urumchi a company of Soviet infantry with a strength of at least four hundred men was left behind to guard the consulate. Other consulates were guarded by units of ten to fifty men each. Other units were left behind to guard the gold, copper, and iron mines in the Ili and Chuguchak regions as well as the oil wells at Wusu and at Urumchi where the valuable machinery that could not be removed was protected by these troops. Soviet troops also continued to guard the airfields at Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan. In each Soviet
175 consulate the biggest department was the propaganda section.
648 These departments distributed among Turks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz,
208 and Mongols pamphlets printed in Soviet Russia. Agents of the consulates traveled throughout the province giving out these pamphlets and explaining the contents to the illiterate. The pamphlets gave favorable accounts of the Turkic people within the Soviet Union and contained material on methods of agriculture, irrigation, and animal husbandry. Altogether, the Soviet consulates concentrated more than before on the support and protection of the nationality groups who had started to fight the Chinese administration. Although the Soviets did not establish Communist Party cells among these nationality groups, they attempts to infiltrate their leadership. And since Chinese policy aimed at the suppression of this nationality movement, the nationality groups depended on the intervention of the Soviet consulates with the Chinese administration for the protection of the lives of their leaders. In several cases the Soviet representatives prevented execution and in other cases secured the release of imprisoned nationality leaders. As a result the Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs, and Mongols, had to accept the orders of Soviet agents in their dealings with the administration of Governor Sheng.

175 VIII. Soviet Efforts to Regain Power in Sinkiang.
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By 1944 the defeat of Nazi Germany enabled Soviet Russia to return to an active policy in Sinkiang. The Soviets supported a
[669] Kazakh uprising which broke out in the Ili valley on November

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the
[635] reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in No-
648 vember 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [701] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease theRussian-supported Kulja Nationalists

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
(635) ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in
[668] September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against
the Chinese provincial administration under the National Govern-
ment, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with
Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have
been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this
time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Os-
man Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi,
together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist
leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet
Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to
Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's
Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and
several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on
August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an
anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit
former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made
a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang
officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive
Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race."
This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful
and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly
rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed
forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist
Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of
its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The move-
ment was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary
bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists"
who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races
in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at
another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, 'Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

175 the Soviet economic stake in Sinkiang.

648 Over the next years, the strength of the Chinese Communist
668 government increased within the Soviet-Chinese relationship. The treaty of 1950, concluded by Mao Tse-tung in Moscow after lengthy haggling, was replaced in December 1954 by a new treaty concluded at the occasion of a visit of Krushchev and Mikoyan in Peking. Among other concessions, this new treaty provided for the liquidation of the Soviet shares in the former joint stock companies. Nevertheless some element of Soviet control remained since the Soviet shares were to be repaid through deliveries of raw materials and other commodities from Turkestan. The whole industrial and communications development of the province which was to be rapidly expanded under the Chinese Communist Five Year Plans depended also on Soviet economic and technical assistance. Most important, Soviet Russia has reportedly kept possession of the atomic energy center at Mirgrad in the T kla Makan Desert and has through the maintenance of military forces full control over the exploitation of uranium deposts in the Altai region where a large number ofRussians, estimated by one observer to be as large as 80,000, has been reported.

648 On the other hand, a recent British correspondent (New York
668 Times, August 13, 1956, p. 9) has reported that throughout the region "up to the Soviet borders, the direct control of the Central Government on development plans and on political life is everywhere apparent. There are Soviet advisers and experts and plenty of Soviet machinery, but no more than in other parts of China, and the over-riding impression is that China is in complete charge.

"Peking's orders stretch into the remotest villages, where the ever-present cadres and Party members are kept in constant touch with the capital through provincial committees. Nowhere is there any external evidence ofSoviet influence outside the technical sphere."

This observation of a Chinese Communist administration directed from Peking does not necessarily exclude consideration of Russian military and economic decisions for Sinkiang by the Chinese policy-makers in Peking. Nor does it exclude the possibility of conflict in the districtuion of the Turkestan resources between the Soviet and Chinese Communist economies, especially in the case of the uranium exploitation at present obviously in Soviet hands. The railroad from Lanchow to Aktogai in Russian
[496] Turkestan, which in 1956 has been pushed beyond the Yumen oil fields in Kansu, is the most important physical link between the two economies but is also a highway for a vast and growing stream of young Chinese immigrants who are brought in to work on the oil fields, the railroads, and the construction of new towns and factories. This movement, which is aimed at filling up the

648 668 thinly populated area with a Chinese population, is the most important factor in the reassertion of Chinese control. The Chinese link with Turkestan is also not limited to the railroad under construction which will run along the old caravan route via Qomul, Urumchi, to the Soviet border. In addition the [491] [496] Chinese Communists follow the policy of the National Government in the construction of road and railroad connections through the Tsaidam Basin. This area is reportedly also to be developed by Communist China into a new key industrial center in central Asia. Oil and mineral resources are claimed to exist in abundance. The Tsaidam region is farther away from the Soviet or Outer Mongolian border than is the main railroad line and it provides a position in depth in the Chinese Communist connection with Sinkiang. In its advance into central Asia, the Chinese Communist regime seems to follow the main strategic considerations which had been observed by previous Chinese governments

With the shrinking distances and the means of modern industrial development, the importance of Sinkiang with its rich natural resources has vastly increased. There is at the moment no indication of any hitch in the Soviek-Chinese cooperation in the province. But should any conflict evolve between these Communist organizations, Sinkiang must, by the very reason of its geographic location and economic importance, become one of the decisive areas of conflict.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 578 These internal differences have made it impossible for the people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N *175 657 *563 578 The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China, but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social structures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing S 175 657 563 578 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S 175 669 648 668 In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control. Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

S 175 669 648 668 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan. Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

S 175 669 648 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ung-ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

S 175 669 668 S [646] The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culminated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C.C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

N *668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations

*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
N cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
*668 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
575 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
• 648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.

[668] 2. Formosa

[669] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Com-
[648] munist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

S 668 708 208 545

4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

S [668] [208]

N *668 796 *[563] [771] [651]

A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

Burkhan Shahidi
Chinese name: Pao-erh-han

159 Burkhan was the last governor of Sinkiang under the Nationalist Government, and the first governor of Sinkiang under the Communist regime. He is a Uighur, born in 1894 at Aqsu, Sinkiang. In 1912 he went to Berlin, Germany, and in 1916 was graduated from the University of Berlin specializing in economics and political science. Following his return from Germany, he took different positions in the local government in Sinkiang. Under the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen (1927-1933) he was in charge of foreign affairs. Later he was sent to Germany again to investigate political and economic conditions. Under the administration of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, for some time, he served as commissioner in the Altai (A-shan) region. In 1937 he was appointed by the Nationalist Government as the consul to Saizan, Soviet Central Asia. When he returned home the next year he was accused by Governor Sheng as a German spy and was imprisoned for seven years until the end of 1944, when Governor Sheng was relieved of his governorship.

159 669 631 In the early stages of the Sinkiang disturbances, which lasted from 1944 to 1949, Burkhan played a rather insignificant role. Under the administration of Governor Wu Chung-hsin, 1944-1945, he served as deputy commissioner for civil affairs, and later as the political commissioner of the first region. When the Sinkiang disorders developed to such an extent that the Central government had to send a special representative, General Chang Chih-chung, to Sinkiang with the hope of settling the differences between the rebellious tribes in Ining and the so-called Youth Corps of Eastern Turkestan, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as Governor of Sinkiang in 1946, and Burkhan was appointed as one of the lieutenant governors.

The Sinkiang situation continued to develop from bad to worse. Unable to solve the complicated problem, Chang Chih-chung in 1947 recommended Maksud Sabri (Mai-ssu-wu-te) a member of the Kuomintang and a minority leader in Sinkiang, for governor. In May 1947 the Central government appointed Maksud in the hope that he, being a native, could better handle the situation. Rebellious forces, however, aimed their attack at Maksud. At this crucial time, Burkhan suggested to Chang [648] Chih-chung, who was still political chief for the Nationalist Government in the Northwest, that the only possible way to settle the Sinkiang problem and improve relations between Sinkiang and the Soviet Union was to remove General Sung Hsi-lien,

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159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
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[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.
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159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
631 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

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* [668] In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
[669] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist general, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

159 At the same time the Pei-t'a-
669 shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian
635 invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began
668 their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopeless-
(648) ness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist
648 A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940,
669 opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

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159 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the gov-
648 ernment of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional
669 post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

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159 Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-
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[701] 1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

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159 When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he
631 served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

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159 Pai Ju-ping: Communist

A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the per-
631 iod of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as
*668 the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

159 669 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi) from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 669 648 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the successful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai 159 648 allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

643 During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became absolute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union. 159 64 Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

159 The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
• 648 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relationship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor
159 was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

N 159 669 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand S [669] secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and N [554] southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse N 159 was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Rus- [648] sians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg S in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien- 669 648 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

N 159 S 669 648 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frustrated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 S 635 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike foresight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned S 159 668 648 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945, organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

S 159 668 648 in Europe, while his National Turkistanian Unity Committee, in which he is president, has, unofficially, the support of such countries as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries, with the exception of Iraq, the committee has a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish tribe of East and West Turkistan. Among his many activities, Vali Kajum-Khan has also the supervision of the political and ideological education of exiled Turkistanian youths. He publishes various Turkistanian newspapers and maintains important contacts with his native country.

N 159 *668 S 159 668 Wang Chen (1908-): Army officer, Communist Party member

Born in 1908 in Hunan in a poor farmer's family. Studied in grade school for three years. Railway worker, member of railway workers' union, 1924; joined Communist Party, 1927; member of the Executive Committee of Communist Youth, 1928; secretary of Communist Party at Liu-yang, Hunan; political commissioner, First Independent Division of Hunan and Kiangsi, 1932; political commissioner, Sixth Division, 1934; chief of staff to General Li Hsien-nien, 1937; since 1952, first secretary in the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Communist Party; in 1950-52, commander, First Field Army, Acting Commander, Sinkiang Military Area. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang Chen's outstanding status in the Party is due partly to his long membership in the Party and partly to his excellent record and achievement both as an army officer and as a worker. He participated in the Long March, 1935-36. He won fame in the army when he led a vanguard unit which marched from the Yellow River down to Kwangtung Province, hailed as another "long March." When he was stationed at Yenan, the capital of the Communists, he was given the task of utilizing the soldiers to do production jobs, and the result was that the army became a self-supported team which not only got no help from the government, but paid taxes to help support the government. When the military campaign of the Communists began, Wang Chen played a rather significant role by taking over the whole of the Northwest territory. First he received the surrender of Kansu on September 23, 1949; then on October 21, 1949, he flew to Sinkiang and took over that province.

In Sinkiang, Wang's first job was to crush the opposition, whom he denounced as counter-revolutionaries. His troops took part in destroying the forces of Osman Batur and in pursuing the fleeing Kazakhs to the border of India. In his capacity as first secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP, a post he held for only a year, he helped further the so-called united front of the workers and farmers.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) .1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N **Yang Shen-chih: Local leader**

159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S **Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang**

159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, form-
344 less, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.

205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters
206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the
471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished
[648] refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

this end he allows no newspaper to be published in his territory, and the postal, telegraph and wireless offices are under the control of his appointed censors. News from the outside world filters through but slowly, and all restaurants are posted with the announcement: '*No political discussions allowed.*' It is certainly to Governor Yang's credit that the roads of Turkestan are notably free from brigandage, and during the past decade of civil war in China, Turkestan has remained peaceful. At the time of our visit the whole Yamen was busy with preparations for the journey to be shortly taken by the Governor's son and suite to the town of Zaisan in Russian territory, where the young man had been appointed Chinese Consul.

We were the first British women who had ever visited Urumchi, and our application for passports to cross the Russian frontier at Kuswun created a precedent. Three years previously some of our boxes were stolen from a Kansu inn, and our British passports were lost with them. The papers with which we now travelled were passports written in the Chinese language, and issued by the Chinese Foreign Office and British Consul in Hankow. These documents refer to us by our Chinese names only. We had early made application for permits to travel across Russia, which request had been forwarded to Moscow by the Soviet Consul in Urumchi, and on the day after our arrival word came that this permission was granted, when we immediately presented ourselves to make personal application for a visa. This was duly affixed to the Chinese passport, and all possible help and information with a view to making the journey easy was given to us by the Consular Staff.

The weeks of our stay were very happy and interesting and the time passed only too quickly ere arrangements

3; Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to
361 Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called
136 Behya—'The Town of Seagulls'—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically
[487] and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia
361 for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a
[648] Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There
[205] are postal and telegraph offices and a military station.
[206] The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and
[712] friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that 'the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore
000 sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. 'Certainly,' we said, 'show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, 'Here they come again!' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To 'save face' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 Otherwise it would be difficult to avoid internal conflicts and to ward off aggression from without.[17]

He was also fully aware of the underlying weakness of Chinese rule in this distant frontier province. In the same memorial he wrote:

> It is a pity that what is called five races in one family [Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans] has been only nominal and has not become a reality. Chinese officials, without a sense of moral obligation but full of ideas for selfish gain, are rarely talented in administration. There are too many bad officials and too few good ones. This is why there have been more days of trouble and fewer of tranquillity. This is true of all provinces, but it is worse on the frontier. It will be impossible for the Chinese officials to control the Moslems permanently unless administration is greatly improved.[18]

*175 231 441 In keeping with the ideas expressed in his own memorial, Yang Tseng-hsin made certain attempts to improve the economic situation in Sinkiang. As early as 1915 he put an end to the monopolization of the trade in silkworm eggs. In Yarkand, Khargalik, Guma Bazar, Khotan, Lob, and Keriya especially Chinese magistrates had been accustomed to import silkworm eggs from Russia and India. These they sold to the peasants, charging over three taels and sometimes as much as five taels for a case of eggs that cost one tael at most.[19]

*175 651 In 1916, Yang made an attempt to end the special form of *corvée*, known by the Manchu term *wula*, widely prevailing in such frontier provinces as Sikang, Szechuan, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, under which officials and travelers with official authority can requisition food, lodging, and transport. The requisitioning is done through local officials, and is a source of abuse because of the extra requisitioning which the officials exact on their own be-

[17] Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, p. 599.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 595–596.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued. 175* 651 ●

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent. 175* 426 655 661

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private 175* 426 661

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 233
1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these 131
are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial au- [651] thorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding ani- 233
mals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the [436] steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land [651] revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the [161] fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. 311 We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, 631 notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

[241] The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its 262 products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. 251 In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

438 A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant [434] traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

651 Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
162 Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.

The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:

4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.

Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 like they had never seen before. They were particularly
609 impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

361 In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus
• [651] for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1¼*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

[312] There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next
487 halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

137 The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

342 At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks
231 of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass
• 651 up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

651 be commuted at 12 tengas (2s.) per *charak*, the market price being 4 tengas.[1]

356 Talking to the mountain people one occasionally gets amusing little side-lights on the difficulties of house-keeping in an *aq-oi*. Among the woods at Chikir Aghzi we came upon some families striking camp. They said they were moving to an open piece of ground only a mile lower down.

"What is wrong with this camping-ground?" we asked.

"The mice have found us out and eat our bread," was the reply.

"Why don't you keep cats to eat the mice?"

"Because the cats would drink our milk!"

This was unanswerable, as anyone who had seen the interior of an *aq-oi* and its carefully-guarded "dairy" ought to have realized.

487 We crossed the Arpa Bel on 13th September, after spending the night at a chilly camping-ground above the highest fir-woods on the north-side. On the way up, when I was behind trying to take photographs, D. saw a pretty sight while she was waiting for me to come up. A herd of great shaggy yaks, unattended by any herdsman, came trooping down through the forest to drink at the stream. They came with such a rush, bringing earth and stones with them, that for a moment she thought it was an avalanche. They stood about in the water and on the grassy banks of the torrent, exactly like Highland cattle. They were still there when I came up, but my cortège disturbed them and they bunched together in the stream-bed as if awaiting attack, spoiling the picture. The dust-haze was worse than ever at the top of the pass, which I found to be 13,350 feet above the sea, and nothing whatever was visible of what would have been an unrivalled view. Both from the surveying and from the photographic point of view it was one of the worst pieces of luck I have ever had; for according to the calendar it was, or ought to have been, autumn and the clearest time of the year.

The Arpa Bel is a decidedly stiff pass, 6,000 feet on either side without a break, but although nothing whatever has been done to the track it is not actually dangerous. Still, it was as well that we had hired from the Pilal people fifteen

[1] The object is to encourage cultivation, even in pastoral country, and thus increase the population. Similarly, the Chinese encourage the planting of trees in the plains by collecting the land revenue partly in the form of timber.

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that
233 cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[65] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
[651] selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
563 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
798 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful
182 Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 586 563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the rulingleader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a S N (798) united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

C 668 642 421 other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of C [651] [461] paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

S 668 423 N *668 423 The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'uh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S 668 423 Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S [518] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

426 loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the
661 complete withholding of government loans.[20]

More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's
*175 policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to
439 limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change
652 its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established
436 in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

month . . . A struggle for the succession to power . . . would precipitate Russian control, if not formal Russian rule." 648

Re-establishment of formal Soviet political relations with Sinkiang under Yang Tseng-hsin had given Soviet foreign trade interests a grand new opportunity; and completion of the Turksib Railway, on the Soviet side of the frontier, in 1930 climaxed this. The new railway could bring Moscow's latest products to the doors of Sinkiang in but a few days, and therefore Soviet trade could successfully overcome all competition—including that from the Chinese and British. By 1930 Sinkiang was already falling economically into the hands of her Soviet neighbor; and the Ha-mi insurrection left Chin Shu-jen too weak to resist the trend.

When civil war came, it threw the province not only into military and political, but even into financial, chaos. Sinkiang money was then principally fiat paper currency, with little value once public confidence had been lost; and the civil war indeed destroyed public confidence in it. To a certain extent the evil might have been alleviated by shipment of real goods out of the province and by deposit of the foreign or Nationalist Chinese currency receipts in foreign banks or other banks elsewhere in China. But, since Soviet Russia had gained a near monopoly on Sinkiang trade, outside currency could be obtained for Sinkiang inhabitants practically only by Soviet sufferance. Through her control of Sinkiang trade Soviet Russia had gained a hold on Sinkiang finances as well. 648 652

Nor did Soviet Russia have reason to consider her favored position in Sinkiang lightly. Between 1923/24 and 1930 inclusive, Sinkiang annual exports into the U.S.S.R. had risen from 3,015,000 to 16,033,000 rubles; and annual imports into Sinkiang from the U.S.S.R. had leaped from 418,000 to 16,027,000 rubles. This meant a rise in the total annual trade from 3,433,000 to 32,060,000 rubles. Moreover, up to that date, in tonnage as well as in value of visible items of trade, Soviet Russia had continually received more from Sinkiang than she had returned. That situation even continued from 1931 to 1937 inclusive, so far as recorded bulk is concerned, though it altered at times in respect to recorded value. 648 439

It was not merely the rubles that could be realized from what Sin- 648

873

SOME WORK OF THE CULTURAL PROGRESS SOCIETIES OF SINKIANG (1936)

Society	*Wei-wu-erh*	*Ha-sa-k'o*	*Hui*	*Totals*
Central Office	1	1	1	3
Regional Branches	8	5	3	16
County Branches	41	8	14	63
Village Branches	23	?	?	23+?
Total Educational Institutions	1,980	207	37	2,224
Total Students	129,649	10,194	2,700	142,543

Currency and Finance

For currency stabilization and a practicable operating budget, Sinkiang Province has persistently required outside financial help. Not only was this true in the old days of the Chinese Empire but it was particularly true in the period just before and during Sheng Shih-ts'ai's rise to power. In the 1934-1941 period Sheng met the situation mainly by internal reforms and aid from Soviet Russia. But he has not yet got the problem licked. 652

For decades after the province was established, Sinkiang operated on a substratum of financial subsidy. The first annual grant came from the Manchu government and amounted to 600,000 taels. This was gradually increased until in 1905 it had risen to 2,980,000 taels. With the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the old subsidies—one year excepted—were discontinued. Various measures were taken in an attempt to cope with the new situation, but the principal method used for many years thereafter was issuance of provincial notes. These notes in turn began to bring on Sinkiang inflation. By 1934 that inflation had become seriously disturbing to the provincial economy.

Sinkiang has had a wide variety of mediums of exchange. Formerly, in addition to paper notes, these included silver coins, stamped silver "shoes," irregular bullion, and at times tea or even sheep. Paper provincial notes were first circulated in 1899, and were backed by a Tihwa cash reserve. Later "oil cloth notes" *(yu-pu piao)* were also issued by provincial bureaus at Sui-ting and Kashgar. These had a 436

436 sixty per cent note and a forty per cent bullion backing. Yang Tseng-hsin, military governor immediately after abdication of the Manchus, 652 even permitted additional notes to be issued to make up for discon- 436 tinuance of the imperial subsidy. It was, however, during the governorship of Chin Shu-jen and the years of the Moslem revolt that the gradual devaluation in Sinkiang currency became most alarming. In the period, 1912-1929, three Sinkiang dollars (taels or *liang*) at the lowest would exchange for one dollar of Chinese Nationalist currency *(yüan)*. Yet by 1934 the Sinkiang note issue had grown so excessive—it is said to have amounted to more than 1,200,000,000 taels—that one Chinese Nationalist dollar at times would buy more than 4,000 Sinkiang dollars. How well Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration met this serious predicament is suggested by the report that a Sinkiang Province dollar by 1942 had become worth six Chinese Nationalist dollars—although, to be sure, the Chinese Nationalist dollar had by then itself lost value through severe inflation.

Many Chinese writers attribute the change in the provincial monetary situation to Sheng's numerous reforms. Among such reforms, the 1939 reorganization of the Sinkiang Provincial Bank into a commercial [453] bank with an expanded field of operations is especially notable. This new Sinkiang Commercial Bank began to issue new notes, took steps to improve and to unify Sinkiang currency, and undertook to withdraw old notes from circulation. It has been remarkably successful in carrying out this program, and the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration does deserve praise in this connection. But it would be a mistake not to realize that the greater exchange value of the Sinkiang dollar is in part due to at least two other major factors: (1) Sinkiang's protected geographical position at the rear of the Chinese War of Resistance; and (2) Soviet Russian credits. Chao Lieh, a Chinese authority on Sinkiang to whom I have already referred, gives these credits particular emphasis. By 1941, he writes, Sinkiang is said to have borrowed a total of 15,000,000 rubles from Soviet Russia. Though this money went for many purposes, such as purchase of machinery and trucks, one of its most important functions was to serve as backing for Sinkiang currency. It is doubtful if Sheng could have come near stabilization of his province's monetary unit in the years 1933-1941 without such credits.

An indication of confidence in Sinkiang finance is seen in the report that over $5,444,000 Chinese were subscribed in the province for her 1941 Reconstruction Bond Issue. Yet this does not necessarily mean that she is financially solvent. Quite the opposite is suggested by Chinese comment of November, 1942, that the Sinkiang budget of that year showed a considerable deficit and that the achievement of a budget balance is still considered one of the most serious current problems before the provincial government. 652

Agriculture and Irrigation

Because of their basic importance to the life of the province, agricultural and irrigation developments deserve special scrutiny. There are indications that the Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration has given the problem considerable attention, but the available information is not satisfactory. Under these circumstances it might first be well to consider the following base figures given by Chiang Chün-chang for 1918 cultivated acreage in Sinkiang: 241

CULTIVATED ACREAGE IN SINKIANG, 1918

Crop	*Acreage*
Wheat	480,782
Corn	340,486
Rice	52,790
Melons and other fruit	46,737
Cotton	40,025
Sesamum	33,815
Kaoliang	32,325
Beans	23,040

These figures can hardly serve as a definitive 1918 total of cultivated land for the province; some of the crops may, for instance, have been rotated on one and the same acreage. They do suggest, however, that in 1918 there was a total Sinkiang cultivated area in round figures somewhere between a minimum of 500,000 and a maximum of 1,000,000 acres. If Chiang's figures may be considered typical, they also show that cultivation of wheat and corn has by far overshadowed that of other agricultural products, and that the province does have a history

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the S [377] Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants S [377] in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N 377 According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by • 653 building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

464 701 708 668 177 241 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 653 312 668 177 503 464 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 241 668 177 464 [248] A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 708 464 466 668 177 000 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).

II. Conscript Labor

N
135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu
N during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells
[315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil
[489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation
difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-
[497] Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July
1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation
of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking
Government's planned economy gives top priority to the
development of the known and the search for the unknown
N mineral wealth of China's Northwest.
315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen
Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955.
A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce
N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent
316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field
was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the
new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million
metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery
of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines
in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent
N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology
315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are
[654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in
Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil
shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April
19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the
prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan
Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the
Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June
1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered
in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered
and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new
S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal
N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in
316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China,
ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve,
Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal
reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric
tons and can last for three hundred years at the present
daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was [433] flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an [433] American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chinese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.) 1

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest
654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures,

1, [See p. 129--Analyst]

175
242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued. 175* 651

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent. 175* 426 655 661

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private 175* 426 661

S N 214 171 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 [656] Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 *668 177 V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 647 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
• 657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

S
668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

N
2. Chinghai

*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

N
*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*175
433

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half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued. 175* 651

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent. 175* 426 655 661

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private 175* 426 661

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426 loans and the lending of public money, and then by ordering the
661 complete withholding of government loans.[20]

More effective, because more easy to carry out, was Yang's
*175 policy of regulating trade balances. He required merchants to
439 limit imports to values which would not exceed the value of exports. The object of this policy was both to prevent the draining of wealth from the province and to prevent Uighur merchants from banking their accumulated wealth in Russia (before the Russian Revolution), and also to stop Chinese merchants from holding their wealth in provinces other than Sinkiang. He himself, however, through Chinese merchants acting as his agents, sold Sinkiang exports, principally in Tientsin, and then banked the proceeds not in China but under the American flag in the Philippines.

*175 During Yang Tseng-hsin's rule Sinkiang was forced to change
652 its fiscal basis completely. Before the Revolution, the province had been heavily subsidized by the Imperial treasury. The annual subsidy was at one time as high as 2,920,000 taels; then it fell to 2,600,000 taels, and by the time of the Republic the poverty of the Central Government cut off the subsidy altogether. Yang Tseng-hsin then issued his own provincial paper currency to a face value of about 10,000,000 taels.[21] This measure inevitably caused an inflation and considerable hardship.

*175 Eventually, no less than four paper currencies were established
436 in the same province. The Urumchi, Turfan, Ili, and Kashgar regions each had its own currency, and each currency exchanged against the others at different rates. Each paper currency, carrying values not in dollars but in taels, had a subsidiary copper coinage. Only in the Kashgar region, with its two-way trade with both India and Russian Turkistan, was there a certain amount of silver backing, with silver coins in circulation in addition to paper.

[20] For these reforms or attempted reforms, see Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–596.

[21] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, Nanking, 1936 (reprinted Chungking, 1939), p. 45 (in Chinese).

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The maintenance of different exchange rates in different parts of the province enabled the Governor to keep a political check on remittances. The undue concentration of money in any one part of the province, possibly indicating preparations for a political move of some kind, would be detectable through the resulting pressure on exchange rates. 175 * 436

Until the Russian Revolution, Tsarist Russia had by treaty the right to maintain branches of the Russo-Asiatic bank at Urumchi, Ili, Chuguchak, and Kashgar. (After the Russian Revolution, these branches continued to operate for some years under French protection.) Like other foreign banks in China, the Russo-Asiatic bank had the right to issue its own paper currency. In 1916, under the stress of war financing in Russia, it suddenly increased its note circulation in Sinkiang from one million to five million rubles.[22] Then, when the Russian ruble fell, it dragged the Sinkiang tael with it, thus aggravating the inflation in Sinkiang. In that year the total provincial revenue was a little over 5,200,000 taels and the budget deficit amounted to more than 700,000 taels. The most important source of revenue was the tax on cultivated land, which then totaled 10,500,000 *mu*.[23] The gold mined in Sinkiang in that year, under government license or monopoly, was worth less than 5000 taels. 175 * 436 648

The Provincial Government at this period had no money for irrigation schemes which might have opened large areas for cultivation. Poor finance and inflation not only hindered economic improvement through public works but intensified corruption among officials. While in all fairness it must be repeated that Yang Tseng-hsin was both an honest and a competent official by old mandarin standards, it must also be admitted that economic and political conditions toward the end of his rule were shrewdly summed up by the Swiss traveler Bosshard: 175 * 661

[22] *Hsi Pei Yen Chiu* (*Northwest Research*), Peiping, 1932, Vol. 6, issue of April 15, pp. 55 and 129 (in Chinese).

[23] The *mu*, a traditional land measure, varies from place to place. Six *mu* to the acre is often taken as an average figure.

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*175 661

> In Chinese Turkestan, where corruptness permeated all classes, advancement, like other marketable commodities, was bought and sold. . . . The result was that nothing was done which was not specially paid for, and the people were plundered in order that their rulers might grow rich. Such were the ways in which villages and towns were vampired.[24]

*175 648

As an official of the old school, Yang's attitude toward foreign civilization was definitely conservative. Though he was too courteous to show his feelings to foreigners directly, it is known that he disliked them. When a Chinese student attached to the Sino-Swedish Expedition under Sven Hedin asked him why he did not employ foreign engineers to introduce modern techniques into his province, he flew into a rage and said: "Yes, that is just like you students, ready to sell your country to the foreigner."[25]

Yet he was a realist in handling as best he could the international situations with which he was confronted. In 1912, when he was inaugurated as Military Governor, he said in an official statement:

> From the Han and T'ang Dynasties on, whenever China was at peace and powerful the frontier people became obedient; but whenever China was weak and in confusion they revolted. Today the situation has greatly changed. We are being threatened by Outer Mongolia and powerful foreign nations. We shall not be able to come back to Sinkiang if we once lose it.[26]

As soon as he took office as Governor in 1912, Yang Tseng-hsin had to concern himself with problems on the Sinkiang frontier with Outer Mongolia. Then, in 1916, there was a revolt of the Kazakhs in Russian territory, set off by a Tsarist order for la-

[24] Bosshard, *op. cit.*, p. 437.
[25] *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 1, p. 89.
[26] *A Survey of Sinkiang*, edited by the Provincial Government, 1938, p. 111 (in Chinese).

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own bodyguards, of whom eighteen were serving as waiters, had 175* red bands on their arms and Browning pistols in their sleeves. As soon as the guests sat down to lunch, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Fan's men fired on Yang Tseng-hsin and he fell dead at once. The commander of Yang's bodyguards and some other officials were also murdered, and the foreign guests fled.

Fan Yao-nan went at once to the Governor's office, took the official seals, and sent for Chin Shu-jen, Chief of the Political Department. Instead of going, Chin sent troops headed by the son of the commander of Yang Tseng-hsin's bodyguard, who had just been killed. They seized Fan and killed thirteen of his bodyguard. Fan is said to have been tried at once by a special government committee, and on the next day, July 8, he and a number of his accomplices were executed. Others were executed later. Chin Shu-jen was immediately chosen by the other officials as Commander in Chief and Chairman of the Committee [Governor] of Sinkiang.

Like Yang Tseng-hsin, under whom he had held high office for many years, Chin Shu-jen was a bureaucrat of the old school; but he was not to be compared with Yang in ability and wisdom. On becoming Governor he increased the number of secret service men — presumably out of fear. He entrusted all important posts to his relatives or men from his own native province of Kansu. He promoted one of his bodyguard to be a brigade commander. One of his younger brothers was made military commander at Kashgar; another became the head of the Military Bureau of the province.

Chin's administration was shot through with corruption. Land 175* revenues were collected to almost double the legal amount, and 661 in this process the corruption of the Chinese officials intensified venality among the Uighur Begs. The working of gold at Keriya and of jade in the Khotan district was managed by private contractors, but the output was sold under government monopoly at high prices.[33] The export trade in newborn lambskins was also monopolized. With the backing of military and police power, the

[33] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, as already cited, p. 137.

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*175 lambskins were collected at only a tenth of the market value. 661 Monopolies of this kind, through collection at the source of supply by the assertion of official authority, were common in China — especially in the frontier provinces. A Russian observer estimated that in Urumchi only 12 per cent of trade capital belonged to local merchants, 37 per cent to agents of foreign firms, and as much as 51 per cent to Chinese officials.[34]

*175 While Governor Yang had issued paper currency to a total of 436 10,000,000 taels, Governor Chin increased the inflation by expanding the issue to 145,000,000 taels. Under Yang, the paper currency had a uniform face value of one tael (subject to an exchange differential between regions, as described previously); under Chin, notes were issued in denominations of one, three, five, eight, ten, thirty, and fifty taels. At one time, a tael of silver (about one and one-third ounces) could be bought for two paper taels; by the end of Chin's regime, it took 80 taels in paper to buy a tael of silver.[35]

*175 Both Yang and Chin could be described favorably as "cautious" or unfavorably as "suspicious" in their dealings with foreigners. According to Sven Hedin: "Chin hated foreigners. He took a cynical pleasure in tripping them up, in hindering or frustrating their endeavors. . . . Marshal Yang had decided that a house should be placed at the disposal of the expedition so long as it remained in Sinkiang, arguing that our work was of benefit to the development of the province. For this house Chin demanded an unreasonable rent, which he made retroactive. For that matter, the narrow-minded despot treated everyone with the same meanness."[36] On the other hand, my wife and I, when traveling through Sinkiang in 1927, met with the most cordial treatment from Chin Shu-jen, who was then administrator of Aksu oasis.[37]

The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close

[34] M. Nemchenko, "The Colonial Regime and Agrarian Relations in Sinkiang," as already cited, p. 187.

[35] Chiang Chün-chang, *Hsinchiang Chin-Yin Lun*, p. 136. Chin frequently issued paper notes, the total of which amounted to 145,000,000 taels.

[36] Sven Hedin, *The Flight of "Big Horse,"* New York, 1936, p. 3.

[37] Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, Boston, 1930, pp. 304–306.

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Youth Corps were set up at Urumchi, Aksu, and Kashgar. The C.C. Clique member controlling all of these activities was Ch'en Hsi-tseng, who was able to count on co-operation not only within the Provincial Government but on the part of the garrison commander and the police. 175* 665

Whereas Chang Chih-chung had no strong staff of his own, the C.C. membership penetrated all political ranks. In spite of the unpopularity of the Chinese, it was able to recruit members among all non-Chinese nationalities through its ability to open the way to public office. The Clique has never hesitated to use graft as an auxiliary to party organization, and accordingly in Sinkiang, as elsewhere in China, its party officers and magistrates and military officers affiliated with it have been accused of organized corruption.[82] Organized association with gangs is also widely attributed to the C.C. Clique, especially for the purpose of breaking up elections and popular meetings. Among "incidents" attributed to the C.C. Clique were the murder of a government delegate at Emin, near Chuguchak, in November 1946; a big riot in Urumchi in February 1947, in which five were shot and many wounded; and riots in Turfan, Toksun, and Shanshan during July 1947. The pattern follows that long established by the C.C. Clique in China, down to the detail of having such incidents reported in controlled newspapers in such a way as to imply that the blame for them lay on the Uighurs and other non-Chinese.[83] 175* 665 661

With a deteriorating situation in China itself, Chang's policy of moderation and compromise in Sinkiang was bound to appear more and more like a policy of temporizing, and to seem, to the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, more like a reluctant retreat 175*

[82] Detailed accusations in *Observer* (weekly), Shanghai, March 22, 1947 (in Chinese).

[83] See editorial in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 1, 1947 (in Chinese); also article by Chang Chi-yun (member of the C.C. Clique), in *Ta Kung Pao*, Tientsin edition, September 21, 1947 (in Chinese). The other side is given in a manifesto of Chinese in the Chuguchak district (under control of the Kulja dissidents), denouncing the Chinese riot of February 1947 in Urumchi, published in the Chinese edition of *Ta Cheng Min Sheng Pao* (*Justice and the People's Livelihood*), Chuguchak, April 30, 1947.

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households of *chakars,* from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691
authority of an official called the *mirab,* who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
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175 whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion
779 of spiritual love." [16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

175 Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal
779 practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of or-
661 ganizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts." [17]

175 It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China
578 that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

irrigation projects, more extensive colonization, and a land survey. 175
But most important, Tso recommended that the Western Regions 642
be consolidated into one province, *Hsin-chiang* ("The New Dominion") or Sinkiang. By this he at last crystallized the Sinkiang frontier, on the one hand for China and on the other hand against the empires of the modern Occident. Actually the regional lines—that is to say, China's more rigid northwest national boundary and the framework for the province of Sinkiang—cut across the natural grain of traditional Central Asian life and jarred the nomad, the farmer, and the merchant there. The strategem, with local squabbles within Europe indirectly assisting, did help to counter the threats of imperialism, primarily that of Tsarist Russia.

But for at least three reasons Tso Tsung-t'ang's recommendations did not suffice. First, his major emphasis was upon the old-style Ch'ing military control which could not stand up in the face of the weapons Europe was even then beginning to fabricate. Second, his constructive measures do not seem to have been far-reaching enough in scope or in execution or to have provided suitable means of binding Sinkiang to China Proper through economic ties. Finally, the ebb of Ch'ing power which brought Republican revolt and the fall of the Dynasty in China by 1912 was bound to be felt keenly on the far-flung Sinkiang frontier.

Under the Early Republic

Tu Chung-yüan speaks of administration in Sinkiang during the 661
early years of the Chinese Republic in this manner:

> . . . The Yang [Tseng-hsin]-Chin [Shu-jen] period was lengthy and greedy. The politician did not believe in working but only in officiating; even when he was officiating he aimed only at making money. This arose from the fact that Yang and Chin were basically that type. In general if a person were to come to Sinkiang from the interior it was not asked whether he had qualifications or not, whether he was talented or not. All that was necessary instead was that he be of an "experienced" temperament or perhaps that he had served in an office of a military governor or of a provincial government for eight to ten years so that it could be seen he had been reared in the atmosphere of slavery. . . . Or, again, if he were appointed, say as a county magis-

661 trate or as a tax collector, it was only desired that he collect eighty to one hundred thousand dollars in a year's work. Can one ask that a man's talents be developed in this type of government atmosphere? Since the culture of other peoples of Sinkiang had been submerged so much, the Han official became like a god, and if a magistrate were appointed for a county in South Sinkiang he need not have been especially greedy to receive fifty to sixty thousand from the Moslems on one visit. Therefore all people coming to Sinkiang from the interior had such hopes. But now it is not possible!

The "Clean Government" of the New Sinkiang

In the face of provincial discontent over the old Sinkiang administrative system, Sheng Shih-ts'ai set about in 1933 to institute reforms. It would have been surprising indeed if prevalent and all too customary Chinese foibles—of "squeeze," "rotten gentry," and excessive taxes, for instance—had been completely eradicated under his policy of "Clean Government." Since almost no first-hand data, such as reports from any long-time Occidental resident in the province, are available it may be some time before what may or may not have been accomplished along these lines can be fully known. But so far as Tu Chung-yüan is concerned, the changes have already been praiseworthy. Former abuses concerning salaries, "gifts," and taxes by office-holders in the province have been checked, he says, by a provincial commission which is required to enter accounts in regard to all public moneys in the records of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's own office. Sheng himself has set a leading example in governmental unselfishness, according to Tu, by accepting a monthly salary of less than $100 Chinese for his work. Mrs. Sheng, an administrator of a girls' middle school, is held before the reader's eyes as a model also because she gets a monthly salary of only about $10 Chinese. Such examples, Tu points out, are in sharp contrast with the practices of past administrators.

643 In regard to the type of administration in the New Sinkiang, this much can be also said. The province is governed under a "committee" system similar to that in other provinces of China. Members of a provincial committee are appointed by the Executive Yüan of the Chinese National Government, which also ratifies the appointment of one

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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the effect on the gaiety, or at any rate noisiness, of the party and on the circulation of the liquor is remarkable.

The manners and customs of the table-servants were a never-failing source of delight to D. and myself. I have mentioned in a former chapter the staid Chinese butler at Yangi Hissar who clapped his master's bowler on top of his own Homburg and stood solemnly wearing the two hats throughout the tea-party. Often at dinner-parties in the open, when we had left the table and were sitting over tea and dessert in another part of the garden, I noticed the waiters going round the table and pouring back into the bottle any champagne or brandy left by the diners in their glasses. After one of our own dinners on the terrace, I happened to go back suddenly to the table to fetch something and found two attendants who had come with Chinese guests similarly occupied—but it was not into my bottles that they were pouring the remains of the drinks. At a certain ladies' dinner-party at Khotan D. was electrified to observe one of the waiters take away a guests' cup, drink off the cold remains of the tea and, without washing it, fill it up from the tea-pot and hand it back to its owner. After that, she said, she took care to drain her cup to the dregs every time!

Harding and I (D. fortunately was not invited) attended during our first week in Kashgar another meal which was very different from the civilized banquet described above. This was a lunch given by General Ma, Titai (G.O.C.) of Kashgaria, one of the worst scoundrels in Central Asia. This person was a Muhammadan of Yunnan province, aged over seventy yet full of vitality, who had held the chief military command south of the Tien Shan for seven or eight years and had taken advantage of his position to enrich and aggrandize himself by the most brutal and oppressive methods. He made everybody call him *Padshah* (king) on pain of death; he had a whole harem full of the prettiest Turki women in Kashgar, and his armed agents roamed the country-side "looking for new cows to milk," as the Titai facetiously put it. The only person in Kashgaria of whom he was afraid was Chu Tao Tai, and after the latter's transfer his extortions quadrupled. He had a pleasant way of trumping up charges against people whom he did not like, or who refused to pay him the blackmail he demanded, and cutting off their fingers or toes, joint by joint, in an immense hay-chopper he had constructed specially for the purpose. In fact, he emulated the exploits of the worst robber-Tuchuns of China Proper, the only difference being

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

661 that his army was mostly on paper and he had no real strength behind him.

574 Ma Titai's headquarters were at the New or Chinese city, six miles east of Old Kashgar, and here he kept up great state. Harding and I looked forward with much interest to seeing this ogre; nor were we disappointed, for there was something distinctly ogre-ish about our experiences. Half an hour's ride from the Consulate brought us within sight of the long massive walls of the Titai's citadel. Here we were met by a troop of well-mounted but untidy and apparently only quarter-disciplined Chinese cavalry, who escorted us in a thick cloud of dust through dirty, tumbledown bazaars thronged by a sinister-looking half-breed populace to a huge mud-brick gateway of the *lasciate ogni speranza* type. Here the smell which rose from the dry moat below nearly knocked us off our horses. Within, more gateways, skew-eyed like the first to keep out the devils (in China the devils can only fly straight, so a gateway with a kink in it defeats them) followed by a long street of shops rather more prosperous-looking than those outside. Here and there we had peeps up side-lanes of fantastically-shaped temples and other buildings, some half-ruined, others grotesquely painted and surmounted by symbolical wooden figures of birds and beasts.

344 At last we came to the Titai's *yamen* or palace and found ourselves in a vast square with a pagoda-roofed gateway in front of us and enormous figures of dragons on either side. Troops of soldiers dashed about presenting arms as they ran and fell hurriedly into line with much shouting of words of command, while the salute-guns banged their welcome and horses shied in all directions. Passing through huge painted doors we were welcomed in an inner courtyard by a short, grizzled, monkey-like old man with a long wispy moustache and fierce eyes, resplendently arrayed in a saxe-blue Chinese Field Marshal's uniform several sizes too large for him, complete with plumed hat, several rows of stars and medals and gold lace epaulettes the size of hassocks flapping from his shoulders. With the gold-encrusted tunic hanging about his wispy old frame like a frock-coat on a scarecrow, and the overalls, as usual in the Sinkiang Army, innocent of braces, he looked a regular Chinese Count Hedzoff of Paphlagonia; but there was a sinister feel behind the *opera-bouffe*—or was it only because we knew about the murders and torturings which went on somewhere behind the grim walls of his citadel?

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kashgar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
(635) ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in
[668] September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against
the Chinese provincial administration under the National Govern-
ment, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with
Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have
been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this
time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Os-
man Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi,
together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist
leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet
Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to
Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's
Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and
several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on
August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an
anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit
former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made
a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang
officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive
Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race."
This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful
and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly
rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed
forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist
Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of
its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The move-
ment was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary
bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists"
who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races
in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at
another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, "Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

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The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province." [11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

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the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in support of interests more essential to other groups. New coalitions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of unsteady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical. First, as a military leader with an independent following, he
662 sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Russian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood
563 between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

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oned without trial, and their property was confiscated.[55] With some 200 Chungking men out of the way, General Sheng, according to one report, "asked Generalissimo Stalin to incorporate Sinkiang into the Soviet Union. The Russian leader, who evidently had had quite enough by this time, refused. Chungking also had had enough, and decided to remove General Sheng by a delicate operation."[56] 175*

General Chu Shao-liang was again sent to Urumchi, and persuaded Sheng Shih-ts'ai to leave Sinkiang and accept the post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Chungking. (Under the Kuomintang, this Ministry had become a sinecure for men out of power, because of its inability to do anything challenging the interests of the landlords who had increasingly gained control over the Kuomintang.) On September 2, 1944, the provincial *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* published the news that Sheng had been transferred to Chungking, and on September 11 he departed from Urumchi airfield. His reign was over.

Breakdown of Chinese Frontier Policy

Yang Tseng-hsin, Chin Shu-jen, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai had one after another established themselves as the rulers of Sinkiang, and had then been "recognized" by the National Government. After the deposition of Sheng, on the other hand, the National Government was able to name four men in succession as its own appointees to the post of Chairman of the Provincial Government. These men were Wu Chung-hsin, Chang Chih-chung, Masud Sabri and Burkhan. The constrast shows that since 1944 Sinkiang has once more come within the orbit of Chinese national politics. 175* 635

After the surrender of Japan in 1945 the C.C. Clique and the Political Science Group became the main sources of Chinese national policy in Sinkiang. The C.C. Clique — the "Tammany" of 175* 665

[55] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Tides of the Dry Sea*, or *Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January, 1947, p. 19; also Shanghai edition of the same date, p. 21 (in Chinese).

[56] Dispatch from Christopher Rand, dated Urumchi September 22, 1947, in *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1947.

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*175 665 the Kuomintang, controlling more political machinery and more key appointments than any other faction — was known for its impatient policy of direct repression, and its preference for the use of force in extirpating any challenge to its supremacy. Its strength came from the brothers Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu, nephews of an early political patron of Chiang Kai-shek and confidential secretaries to the Generalissimo who helped to engineer his original rise to power. The Political Science Group — made up of experienced bureaucrats and administrators, with something of the subtlety and refinement of the old mandarinate — preferred moderation whenever possible.

Both factions, however, required a strong military leader as a pivot around which to revolve, and both always revolved around Chiang Kai-shek. They have been used by him, at his discretion, in alternating phases of policy. They represent different expressions of the Confucian tradition that the function of officials is not to represent the people but to rule over them. Despite the friction of rivalry between them they held basically the same view with regard to minority peoples within the Chinese realm: these peoples are not entitled to equal representation in a Chinese federation, but should be ruled over by the Chinese.

*175 642 This view differs from that of Sun Yat-sen, who definitely recognized the Moslem Turkis (the Uighurs) in Sinkiang as a distinct nationality. According to Article Four of his National Reconstruction Program, and also the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, all such "nationalities" in China are entitled to self-determination. Sun Yat-sen only developed this view fully at the very end of his life, almost certainly under the influence of Russian and Chinese Communist advisers, and probably under the influence of the successful example of the Soviet policy toward national minorities. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, however, this approach was abandoned by the Kuomintang. Even Kuomintang members who recognized the distinct nationality of such peoples as the Uighurs had no policy providing for self-determination in practice. The narrowest

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese, accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 665 from 1935 to 1937, and Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission from 1938 to 1944. During this period he headed an important and personally profitable mission to Tibet, and supported a land-grabbing colonization policy which did much to turn Inner Mongolian nationalism against China.

His appointment in Sinkiang was backed by General Chu Shao-liang, who has already been mentioned, who was then active on behalf of the C.C. Clique. The most important members of his staff were also members of the Clique, including Tseng Shao-lu, Secretary-General; Teng Chiang-hai, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Yu Tao-yun, Reconstruction Commissioner; and Hsü Lien-chi, Educational Commissioner. Only his Finance Commissioner, Lo Yo-wen, was an adherent of the Political Science Group.

*175 669 By the end of November 1944 Wu had set free most of the Chungking appointees who had been arrested by Sheng Shih-ts'ai;[65] but many prisoners who had no connections with the C.C. Clique or with Chungking remained in jail, and much confiscated property was not returned. Political refugees who had fled to a number of cities in China, and even to Mecca, India, and Afghanistan, were not allowed to return. The passport fee for a merchant leaving the province was first trebled and then multiplied by ten.[66] Inflation and corruption increased to the point where the saying became current in Sinkiang that "one Sheng Shih-ts'ai went out, but two came in."

Opposition to the new trend in Chinese rule was not long in crystallizing. A rebellion broke out in the Ili Valley in November 1944. Fighting lasted for more than forty days, until Chinese forces gave up the city of Kulja and withdrew. This rising, referred to in the Chinese political literature as "the Ining Affair," marked the opening of a new phase of nationalism in Sinkiang.

A regime calling itself the Eastern Turkistan Republic was set up at Kulja, headed by a council of three — an Uighur, a Kazakh,

[65] Yu Han, "Sinkiang Memoir," in *Tu Chih Wen Choi* (*Reader's Digest*), Shanghai, July 16, 1946, Vol. 1, No. 6 (in Chinese).

[66] *Hsin Wen Tsa Chih* (*News Miscellany*), No. 8, Chungking, March 15, 1946 (in Chinese). Under Sheng, the passport fee had been $150,000 (Chinese). By 1946 it had increased to $2,000,000.

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*175 found myself not in accord with the minority over a question, I always settled the difference either by negotiation or by concessions. For this reason, a false impression has been created among outside circles that we were too weak and permitted the group led by Vice-Chairman Akhmedjan to control everything." [79] This reference to unfriendly criticism may well have been intended for the C.C. Clique, with which General Chang had to contend on the one hand while negotiating on the other hand with the non-Chinese nationalists.

Compromise was, in fact, the policy of realism at this time. At the end of 1946 the National Government troops, over which Chang had some degree of authority, though not the authority of actual command, were unable to push beyond the Manass River. Products from west of the Manass, including gold, oil, coal, grain, flour, meat, and hides, were not coming into the Urumchi region. Most of the Uighur leaders, including many in the Tarim Basin, were still demanding that Nanking punish Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[80] They were unaware, presumably, that Sheng had already purchased immunity by his enormous gift of gold to the Kuomintang treasury.

*175 665 Against the realistic moderation of Chang stood the intransigence of the C.C. Clique. Its influence had penetrated into Sinkiang as early as 1942, when Sheng Shih-ts'ai was beginning to shift from reliance on Russia to dependence on the Kuomintang. By January 1943 a provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang and a branch of the Central Political Training Institute, both controlled by the C.C. "machine," had been established at Urumchi. By the end of 1946 there were more than 2000 graduates of the Political Training Institute; and early in 1947, when the first provincial congress of Kuomintang delegates was held, a Sinkiang membership of 50,000 was claimed.[81] As soon as General Chang became Chairman, branches of the Kuomintang (San Min Chu I)

[79] Speech by Chang Chih-chung, published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), August 14, 1947 (in Chinese).

[80] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, November 16, 1946 (in Chinese).

[81] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, March 1, 1947; also *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947 (both in Chinese).

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Youth Corps were set up at Urumchi, Aksu, and Kashgar. The C.C. Clique member controlling all of these activities was Ch'en Hsi-tseng, who was able to count on co-operation not only within the Provincial Government but on the part of the garrison commander and the police. 175* 665

Whereas Chang Chih-chung had no strong staff of his own, the C.C. membership penetrated all political ranks. In spite of the unpopularity of the Chinese, it was able to recruit members among all non-Chinese nationalities through its ability to open the way to public office. The Clique has never hesitated to use graft as an auxiliary to party organization, and accordingly in Sinkiang, as elsewhere in China, its party officers and magistrates and military officers affiliated with it have been accused of organized corruption.[82] Organized association with gangs is also widely attributed to the C.C. Clique, especially for the purpose of breaking up elections and popular meetings. Among "incidents" attributed to the C.C. Clique were the murder of a government delegate at Emin, near Chuguchak, in November 1946; a big riot in Urumchi in February 1947, in which five were shot and many wounded; and riots in Turfan, Toksun, and Shanshan during July 1947. The pattern follows that long established by the C.C. Clique in China, down to the detail of having such incidents reported in controlled newspapers in such a way as to imply that the blame for them lay on the Uighurs and other non-Chinese.[83] 175* 665 661

With a deteriorating situation in China itself, Chang's policy of moderation and compromise in Sinkiang was bound to appear more and more like a policy of temporizing, and to seem, to the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, more like a reluctant retreat 175*

[82] Detailed accusations in *Observer* (weekly), Shanghai, March 22, 1947 (in Chinese).

[83] See editorial in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 1, 1947 (in Chinese); also article by Chang Chi-yun (member of the C.C. Clique), in *Ta Kung Pao*, Tientsin edition, September 21, 1947 (in Chinese). The other side is given in a manifesto of Chinese in the Chuguchak district (under control of the Kulja dissidents), denouncing the Chinese riot of February 1947 in Urumchi, published in the Chinese edition of *Ta Cheng Min Sheng Pao* (*Justice and the People's Livelihood*), Chuguchak, April 30, 1947.

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ences among these "stocks" are limited to habits, customs, religious beliefs, and geographical environment, and do not include race or blood. "In short," he says, "the various stocks in China constitute not only one nation but also one race."[7]

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The generalized statements about race and nation made in *China's Destiny* have been applied to the nationality problems of Sinkiang by a writer belonging to the Kuomintang C.C. Clique, a tightly organized political machine whose political creed was to give extreme authoritarian interpretations of every opinion or theory uttered by Chiang Kai-shek. Following his terminology, the C.C. theorist divides the peoples of Sinkiang into fourteen "stocks." He then concludes that since they are not separate nationalities but merely "stocks" of a single "nation," therefore they are not entitled to separate political recognition, a thesis which other writers have extended into the cultural field as well. He proposes that "self-government" in Sinkiang should be based on small geographical units, the counties, regardless of differences between the peoples inhabiting these administrative units. In order to make impossible any other interpretation of the term for "self-government," he rejects, in so many words, the identification of "self-government" with "freedom" or "independence."[8]

829* 563* 665

In contrast to the rigidly assimilative approach of the C.C. extremists is the policy adopted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai when he was military dictator of Sinkiang. After the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 Sheng took into his administration a National Salvationist who appears to have been instrumental in elaborating for him a policy intended to effect a compromise between the Chinese monopoly of the provincial administration and the stirrings of nationalism among the non-Chinese peoples.

The National Salvationists in China at that time represented a point of view rather than a political organization. In face of the emergency created by the Japanese danger they believed in effecting the widest possible political coalitions and in taking the

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13. The Chinese term for "nation" or "nationality" is *min-tsu*, and for "stock," *tsung-tsu*, also often translated as "clan."

[8] *Cf.* articles by Li Tung-fang in *Altai*, I, No. 2, Chungking, April 25, 1945, pp. 8–9 and pp. 15–18.

1: Lattimore [illegible] (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

829 *563 665 stress off all political cleavages, from the great cleavage between the Kuomintang and the Communists down to all minor factional quarrels. The National Salvationist point of view was thus well suited to the attempt to create a harmonious wartime morale in Sinkiang.

829 114 *563 In line with the National Salvationist influence in his entourage, General Sheng proclaimed a program of "Six Great Policies."[9] Under one of the policies the peoples of Sinkiang were officially classified as belonging to fourteen "nationalities." These, listed in the order of the documents of the period, are as follows:

Chinese	202,239	Taranchi	41,307
Manchu	670	Tatar	4,601
Mongul	63,018	Kirghiz	65,248
Moslem (Dungan)	92,146	Uzbek	7,966
Uighur	2,900,173	Sibo	9,203
Kazakh	318,716	Solon	2,489
Tajik	8,867	Russian	13,408

The criteria for this classification are not clear. The admiring translator of the admiring adviser of Sheng Shih-ts'ai comments that the confusion in criteria is such as "would tend to eliminate this as any 'scientifically' worked out ethnic list."[10] Nor can it be based on geographic criteria, for the groups are not delimited on a territorial basis. It is not based on economic criteria, for some of the groups consist of pastoral herdsmen and others of sedentary cultivators. It is not based on religious criteria, for only the Chinese-speaking Moslems are listed as "Moslems," while followers of other religions are not mentioned as such, and other Moslems, such as the Uighurs, are not identified by religion. It is not based on administrative criteria, for Sinkiang is divided into ten administrative areas which cut across the fourteen groups. It is not based, finally, on any observable combination of these criteria.

[9] See Chapter III.

[10] Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, John Day, 1944, p. 91.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

complete Communist demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang. Nor does there seem to be, in the Chinese Communist literature, any discussion of the administrative units under which a federative nationality policy could operate. However, a general policy for the multinational Republic of China was proposed by the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1930 in the following resolution:[14]

563* 829 186

> ". . . In such regions as Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang, Yunnan and Kweichow, in which a majority of the population belongs to another, non-Chinese nationality, the toiling masses of these nationalities have the right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic.[15]

The Chinese Communists have since abandoned their Soviet regime in favor of what they call "the New Democracy," but their policy toward national minorities does not appear to have undergone basic modification. Speaking before the 1945 Congress of the Communist Party, Mao Tze-tung said that the Chinese "demand better treatment for the national minorities of China, according them the right of self-determination and of forming a union with the Hans [Chinese] on a voluntary basis." Mao's failure to repeat the earlier offer of the right of secession may indicate that he has foremost in mind a union of national states under the formula of a "Union of Democratic Republics."[16]

563* 665

[14] *The Soviets in China,* Moscow, 1933, p. 440 (in Russian).

[15] In this resolution the Chinese Communists declared for the principle of the right of secession. In his speech of August 24, 1945, recognizing the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic, Chiang Kai-shek also recognized the right of secession, not only for the Mongols but also for other non-Chinese minorities — a striking modification of his views expressed in *China's Destiny* and elsewhere. Thus on the right of secession President Chiang and the Chinese Communists were within reach of at least verbal agreement. Other Chinese assimilationists, and the "Pan-Turkic" nationalists, have not conceded the right of secession.

[16] Mao Tze-tung, *The Fight For a New China,* New York, 1945, pp. 35 and 44.

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*563 665 186

The necessity for some sort of federal arrangement is evidenced by the constant armed rebellions resulting from the suppression of local nationalism. The Kulja movement referred to in Chapter III was a rebellion of this kind. It had special significance in the fact that it split the Uighur nationalist movement into two main sections. One section, led by Governor Masud Sabri, and by Burkhan, Mohammed Emin, and Isa Beg, all well-to-do leaders in the Uighur community, took the Chinese side against the Kulja movement. Another group, in which Akhmedjan played a prominent part, supported the Kulja program against the Chinese and their followers. The split between the two groups occurred in August 1947.

That section of the Uighur leadership which most closely identified itself with the Chinese went farthest in the direction of the Turkic nationalism described earlier in this chapter. The Uighur supporters of the Kulja movement found this Turkic nationalism to be an obstacle to their co-operation with other groups. On one occasion Akhmedjan went to some pains to convince the Kazakh supporters of the Kulja coalition that, far from being slighted by the Uighurs, they were receiving more than a proportional share in the coalition.

Although the leaders of the Kulja movement made plain their opposition to the policies of Uighur nationalists like Masud Sabri they did not present an equally clear picture of their own nationalist ideas and objectives. A particularly important point about which full information is lacking is the extent to which their opposition to earlier Chinese rule in Sinkiang led them to accept the federal proposals advanced by the Chinese Communists. It appears that in the early phase of the Kulja revolt the insurrectionists may have had the objective of full independence, as indicated by their use of the term "East Turkistan Republic." After the signing of the Kulja Agreement the word "Republic" was dropped, and as late as October 16, 1947 the representatives of the Kulja group assured the Chinese that they "have never employed direct or indirect, secret or open methods to

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raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that: 563* 665 186

> The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.[17]

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb,"[18] and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.[19] Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student. 563* 186 [666] [692] [197]

These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

[17] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).
[18] *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).
[19] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

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S
631 the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at
668 least three times, and up to nine times... these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the con-
S ference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected
• [666] the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

S. "In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan:
668 "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial
666 People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

N This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang,
*668 Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It
666 was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The
S nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just
668 in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings
666 of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flurried. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

A. Constitutional Rights

C
668 In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Com-
641 munists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:
642 Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

N
*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
• [666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
175

S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

N
*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
• 666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
N China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
*175 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
666 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
*668 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
641 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came
*563 to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
N in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*175 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
*668 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
666 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
635 Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
S Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[175] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[666] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[668]
[635]

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's
[666] Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the
new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members
have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the
erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang
Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned
and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The
vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman,
and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the
intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Commun sts in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs
and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

that Sinkiang was placed under a form of administration comparable to that of other Chinese provinces. In 1884 it ceased to be a possession, and became a Chinese province. 175

Under the Chinese Republic, since 1911, Sinkiang has continued to be nominally a province like any other province; but in actuality the tendency of governors of the province has always been to rule as independent war lords. Sometimes this independence has been carried so far that governors have conducted their own foreign relations with Russia and India and have even treated the National Government of China almost as if it were a foreign power. China's present problem in Sinkiang is how to deal with the relations between the Chinese provincial authorities and the national government, the relations of both the provincial authorities and the national government with Russia and India, especially Russia, and the effort of both provincial and national Chinese authorities to maintain themselves in the face of the nationalist demands of the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. 175 186 668

Nationalism in Sinkiang is a modern outgrowth of traditional Mohammedan and tribal rebellions against Chinese rule. It began to take newer forms in the 1930's, when Sinkiang fell under the rule of a Chinese military adventurer named Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Since Sheng could not call on China for military reinforcements for fear of being supplanted, he followed a new policy of seeking support from each subject nationality separately, while at the same time preventing any coalition of nationalities. He also increased trade with the Soviet Union, obtained Soviet loans, and sent Uighur and other students to the Soviet Union for technical training. In 1943 he broke with the Russians and came to terms with the National Government of China. A policy of "firmness" toward the non-Chinese peoples was then reasserted; but in the meantime political nationalism had taken root. 186 668

There are now two major nationalist movements in Sinkiang. One follows a policy of "Sinkiang for the Uighurs." It seeks to win autonomy from the Chinese and at the same time to assert

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186 Uighur domination over the other peoples of Sinkiang. The sec-
668 ond movement is the "coalition nationalism," whose stronghold is at Kulja. It seeks to unite all nationalities in Sinkiang; it is as friendly to the Soviet Union as was the Azerbaijan nationalist movement in Iran, and some of its leaders were born or educated in Soviet territory.

Forces Converging on the Center of Gravity

000 China's colonial problems in inner Asia are enclosed in a framework of great power politics. The political interests of America and Britain are sensitive to changes in the area in which the territorial frontiers of China and Russia meet in Inner Asia.

Until the Age of Columbus the movement of man within the land mass between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Polar Sea, was more important than his enterprises on salt water. Coastal voyages were made, and early navigators crossed the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, and perhaps even the Pacific; certainly the Pacific Islands were reached from Asia; but the major interaction of cultures and the building of the great civilizations took place within the Eurasian land mass and in North Africa.

With the great voyages of navigation and circumnavigation at the end of the fifteenth century, a new mode of history began. The peopling of North America, the colonizing of Central and South America, and the conquest of India and Southeast Asia were the work of Western European man, moving across the oceans. Inner Asia, once a crossroads of the world, became a stagnant area of secondary commercial and strategic importance.

Then there came a period of fifty years, from 1580 to 1630, in which the histories of different parts of the world began to flow together as components of a true world history. In 1580 Yermak began the Russian drive into Siberia, sponsored by merchants interested in the expansion of the fur trade. After 1595, when Boris Godunov founded a gun-making industry at Tula, the eastward

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read ~~the~~ Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
• 668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 578 669 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they defeated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 701 668 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforcements sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

*563 701 648 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with relatively good training and American equipment, and with the Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

648 macists of the provincial pharmacy, and instructors for the provincial Military Officers Academy and for the provincial Air Force have come from Soviet Russia. But, he inquires, does that mean Sinkiang has gone "Red"? Did not Soviet Russia, at the beginning of her national reconstruction, get assistance "from thousands upon tens of thousands" of "capitalist" experts? Yet wouldn't it be difficult to say Soviet Russia is "White"? According to Tu, there has never been Soviet political control in Sinkiang. If Soviet Russia had "controlled" Sinkiang politically, would she have tolerated the White Russians who still remained there? Have not the Three People's Principles textbooks of Sinkiang been identical with those elsewhere in Nationalist China? Are not the military and administrative authority of Sinkiang still in the hands of China?

"Kinship to Sovietism" and Chinese Nationalism

668 It appears that up to Sheng Shih-ts'ai's accession to power, Sinkiang's concern with the Chinese National Revolution and its *San Min Chu-i* (The "Three People's Principles" of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood) was not too serious. Sinkiang was geographically and economically a great distance from most other Chinese provinces, her leaders were devoted almost exclusively to selfish acquisition of wealth, and the Chinese Republic's then existing national political structure was not mature in Sinkiang. Since 1933, however, the year of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has altered this. As politics have taken on national stature elsewhere in China, Sheng Shih-ts'ai's background and interests have carried Chinese political organization and support of the Three People's Principles in a new way into the far Northwest. Remembering Japan's invasion of his Manchurian homeland in 1931, Sheng Shih-ts'ai has also warmly supported China's resistance to the aggressor; and having seen the needs of his own administrative region, he has particularly devoted himself to its reconstruction. Thus his work has fitted neatly into both the basic revolutionary program of the Three People's Principles and the wartime program of *K'ang-chan Chien-kuo* or "Resistance and Reconstruction." True, Sinkiang's Six Great Policies of Anti-imperialism, Kinship to Sovietism,

Racial Equality, Clean Government, Peace, and Reconstruction are unique. But they are not so strange to the ideals of China that they do not keep within the bounds of Nationalist principles, of Chinese political unity, of successful resistance to Japan, and of freedom from Soviet Russian domination. 668

This view is further supported by a brief glance at the manner in which Sinkiang's interprovincial and international record has evolved since 1934.

Sinkiang and World Affairs, 1934-1943

It was largely Soviet help which enabled Sheng Shih-ts'ai to gain mastery of Sinkiang, but in 1934 Chinese authorities from Nanking still had been able to attempt negotiation of the civil war and formation of a compromise administration. Since Soviet troops had operated with the White Russian forces already in Sinkiang, it is obvious that their restoration of order had been a "coalition measure" and not an attempt at immediate Soviet annexation. Soviet military aid is, in fact, said to have been withdrawn as soon as order began to appear though "Kinship to Sovietism" remained important in Sinkiang affairs. By 1936 Sheng Shih-ts'ai had established a "unified" government in all Sinkiang. 648

Outbreak of open Sino-Japanese hostilities in July, 1937, made Sinkiang an obvious region for Chinese-Soviet compromise. The treaty signed by both Governments in August, 1937, guaranteed there would be no Russian aggression against China; and a through overland truck and air route, between eastern China and Soviet Russia, through Sinkiang, was thereby made practicable. Sinkiang's three-year plan of reconstruction was instituted with Soviet advices in the same year. By the fall of 1938, when China had been forced to retreat from Hankow into the west, Sinkiang's new truck highways provided assurance that China would not be internationally isolated in her Northwest. At that time Tihwa even telegraphed a resolution to that effect, pledging that the province would keep open China's international communication lines, would intensify efforts to help fulfill the national Resistance and Reconstruction program, and would work with the rest of China to-

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 197 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Büks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bük, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bük, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bük, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bük, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Büks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 657 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

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631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S inhabitants in general.
N
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
N had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S
N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.
631
619 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
N of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
175 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 241 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 596 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] [241] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S [622] upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the S K 563 233 361 Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] [668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political S K [622] control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) S N 563 responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] [594] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
188 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
668 the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

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563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 795 799 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

563 SN [795] As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 563 668 1977

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 771 [769]

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
991 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN [668]

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 577

SN 563 153 799 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppre-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

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N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
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Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems amd the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

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642 2. The Uighur Autonomy
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Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

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A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

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"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

642 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same
668 offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members
177 of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was
631 called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a
177 province - divided into ten special districts and these were
162 subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily
131 accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been
668 aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for
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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
• 668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

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II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

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101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
563 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[142] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[141] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language;
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

F. Tables of Transcriptions

104 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern
114 Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kunos	Raquette	API
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
S
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
• [668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N
The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
N
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N
Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N ~~B.~~ The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. General Introduction

563 517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Com- [268] munist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[195] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

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563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 538 177 668 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manuscripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the [538] simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
[177] sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
529 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
[177] Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum,

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [714] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 177 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tan-gyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and Uighurs.

Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Before 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was renamed as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the college depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

N 795 * 668 177 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:

1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conciliatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

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2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists, recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races. The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

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The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

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ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

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In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

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[93] Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic
• 668 ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since
795 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the
668 policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great
177 family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

795 A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, fol-
798 lowing the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist
668 the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Mos-
177 lems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese
[592] Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

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795 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important
798 function administered by the qadi.
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177 Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death
S and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to
[648] have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the
[669] anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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795 B. Lamaism
792 As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also
* 668 tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous
177 Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution
795 differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Gen-
792 erally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the in-
* 563 fluence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mon-
* 668 gols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their
177 princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

000 communities.

795 668 177 The Russian Orthodox Church in Sinkiang had quite a different fate.[1] By 1938 the Vicariate of Urumchi comprised eight parishes and counted fifteen thousand faithful. It was headed by Mgr. Juvenal Kilm, who in the meantime has been promoted to the Archbishopric of Omsk. Archpriest Dimitry Mlodzyanovky is now active in Urumchi, and it is reported that the number of believers is increasing.

1. [In contrast to the Roman Catholic church in Northwest China, see pp. 359-361--Analyst]

N 204 *668 177 12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 *668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 *668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia.

S 204 668 177 Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 *668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 *668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet, guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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204 3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
*668 4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
177 (The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
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204 5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by
• 668 Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang,
177 with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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214 III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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214 After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official
*668 publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under
177 control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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171 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

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177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Bock Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

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(656) Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

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177 V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

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Representative Meeting
20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:
Noon:
12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.
12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:
19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law
19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.
20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.
20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

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These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
• 668 district in Sinkiang.
177 These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
[674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
* [668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
* 668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Chi'lin-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

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According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

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The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, N it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- [871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted *668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [166] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction •668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
466 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

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466 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
177 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
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[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
177 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
499 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
466 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
315 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
697 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
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464 465 315 647 648 668 697 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.

After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 464 697 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo) of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

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S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous • 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S 874 other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 743 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

*563 262 Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

N 744 *668 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N [759] The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N 743 *668 177 The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S 743 744 *668 177 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
• 668 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region
177 as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
N developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
657 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
177 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innocu-
lation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

I. The Turks of Sinkiang

186 795 A. The Concept of the Unity of the Moslem World

The Moslems of Sinkiang (Turkic: Türk-e-stan 'Land of the Turks') identify themselves strongly with the rest of the Moslem World. In spite of the many divergencies in national cultures of the various elements which constitute the Moslem world, there is a supernational religious civilization which unifies them all. The feeling and firm conviction of unity of all believers finds expression in the Koran as well as in the traditions and the extensive Islamic literature, and in propaganda slogans which became current since the turning of the century, such as: ittihad ve terakki 'unity and progress', or Muslimlerin hakki birles "Moslim people unite'. The rest of the world is looked at as being apart from the Moslem World - being the domain of war, whereas the area under Moslem jurisdiction is considered the domain of peace.

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186 208 795 This feeling may have its roots in the history of the propagation of Islam where political institutions and allegiance went hand in hand with religious institutions and allegiance. The acceptance of the religion of Islam, Din-al-Islam, meant also the acceptance of the Moslem political state. The allegiance with a definite political tinge of many Moslems who do not live today under Moslem control remains with the leaders of the Moslem World. They may feel an even stronger attachment to the Moslem leaders than they do to their own non-Moslem political rulers, as has been the case in Sinkiang under Chinese domination. The allegiance and recognition of the Turks of Sinkiang went to the Ottoman Turkish Empire and later to the leaders of Western Turkestan rather than to their Chinese rulers. It is reasonable to assume that the Moslems of Sinkiang today identify themselves much more strongly with the world of Islam than they do with the Communist block. They think of themselves in terms of being Moslems and not in terms of being Communists. No matter how much indoctrination has gone into uprooting this allegiance to the Islamic world, it will take a whole new thoroughly indoctrinated generation to forget the strong sentiments and attachments to the rest of the Moslem world.

• 668 B. Turkic Nationalism

Besides having supernational allegiance and sentiments of attachment to the Moslem world, there is also a strong nationalistic movement among the Turks of Sinkiang (called milli tahrik). They consider themselves as being a part of Turkestan as a whole and not as belonging to China. They view themselves as Turks, and not as Chinese nationals. They do not regard their position as a national minority in China as the answer to their national

/Turks of Sinkiang/

•668 aspirations, but dream of an independent country, some of them visualizing a unified state consisting of Eastern and Western Turkestan, while others think in more local terms. Eastern Turks have strong cultural, linguistic, and religious ties with the other Turkic peoples of Central Asia. The Chinese culture and way of life is totally foreign to them. The history of Chinese and Turkic relations has always been a history of conflicts and rebellions. There has never been an identification with the Chinese nor has there been a feeling for friendship toward the Chinese people. The efforts of the Chinese administrators in Sinkiang to bring the Turkic people close to the Chinese culture and way of life have mostly failed. The Turks have consistently refused to learn the Chinese language and many of them have refused to take advantage of the offered Chinese educational facilities.

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee, established in exile (in Germany) in recent years, represents a strong nationalistic movement for the unity of the Turks in Central Asia. The following statement was made by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee: "Turkestan, a country situated in the center of Asia, is Turki-Muhammedan and must be considered one single nation as regards language, faith, culture, economy, geography, and history. Up to the time of her subjugation by the Russians and Chinese, the country enjoyed freedom and independence for centuries."

"We are firmly convinced that the people of Turkestan, if fair elections (i.e. without any interference from the side of Russia of China) were granted, would unanimously lay claim to a free and independent Turkestan." (Memorandum presented to the United Nations by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee).

Others, while acknowledging the cultural unity of the Turks do not aspire to create a larger Turkic political unity. Togan, a Turkic nationalist and scholar, says the following on the subject: "The movement for Turkish unity, is not a fancy that all the Turks will ever create a political structure. When we talk of a Turkish world we think of a civilization of Turkish complexion and Turkish spirit." (Togan, Turkistan Today, quoted by Sir O. Caroe in "Soviet Empire, The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism").

There is no reason why we should think that the basic sentiments of the Turkic people have changed within the last seven years, since the Communist "liberation" of Sinkiang. Turkic and Pan-Turkic national aspirations, of course, do not find an open expression under a totalitarian regime, nor do we hear about the desire for independence and free election by the Turkic people of Sinkiang. The Chinese Communist propaganda describes the Moslem national minorities as being extremely happy with their new fate under Communism, but it is difficult to believe that strong national emotions could be forgotten in such a short period.

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668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern
[167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration
[648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

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121 779 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be [668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 668 177 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 177 E. Attitude toward Foreigners

The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
• 668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on con-
179 formity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left ~~its~~
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

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181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
[192] tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
181 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
183 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
668 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
177 and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

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177 inflict upon itself.

178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which [668] aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
779 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 One of the most important standards according to which an 183 individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is 556 to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many 668 of the leading property owners have become influential under the 177 present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been [565] truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term 668 is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p 177 prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

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815 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted
668 with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect,
177 they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future
668 as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a
177 word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning
[439] industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on owner-
668 ship of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural
177 that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national
668 minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political
177 consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

S 563 829

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
• [668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, (198) internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this (614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and [701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of [554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- [634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of [242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 829 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, [634] [242] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present S N generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to [361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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Sinkiang AI1
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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177 S 635 * 628 177 S [642]

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

N 635 631 * 175 S 635 631 175

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

N 635 631 *175 N *[668]

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

000 purge took place.

N *668 798 In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

S 668 423 692 The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land reform began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shan-shan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

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668 is our own people who are judging and sentencing people." But...
423 we must give the minority cadres concrete help and guidance."
692 The Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, no. 7, reported: "On March 14, 1955, the People's Court of Hsien-yang County in Shensi called a public accusation rally to punish Chao Chu-shih. It reclassified him as a landlord, and confiscated all his land, drafting animals, farming tools and houses, except the part his family deserves to have."

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668 IV. The Pledges and Practices Regarding Economic Rights
423 In view of this lack of personal security very few people dared to defend their property rights. In the Common Program of 1949, Article 3 stated: "The People's Republic of China must abolish all the prerogatives of imperialist countries in China. It must confiscate bureaucratic capital and put it into the possession of the people's state. It must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership; it must protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives and must protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It must develop the people's economy of New Democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one." A number of terms in this article are vague; they are presumably to be kept this way to allow for a flexible interpretation.

It is hard to draw a definite line between the "bureaucratic capital" and "economic interests and private property of workers, farmers, the petty bourgeoisie class and the national bourgeoisie." Only after the loss of one's property, he would realize that he was a bureaucratic capitalist or feudal, or semi-feudal landowner. Those who kept their property would have to regard it as a favor rather than a right.

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668 The present Communist Constitution is more explicit. It has quite a number of articles relating to economic system and rights.
642 These are articles four to fourteen. Besides, there are several more articles to protect the citizens, namely 91, 92, 93, 94, 95,
421 96, 97, etc.

In these articles the constitution clearly states that the economic system in a socialist nation shall be built on state ownership, supplemented by cooperative ownership, (articles 6 and 7), while they are definitely going to eliminate "rich-peasant economy" (article 8) and "capitalist ownership" (article 10). The protection of the rights of ownership and inheritance (article 12), the property of the individual farmers (article 8) and workers (article 9) is subject to the regulations of law which will be adjusted from time to time to encourage the individual owners to organize cooperatives voluntarily. Protection of private income, savings, housing, and

C 668 642 421 other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of C [651] [461] paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a S 668 423 "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 N *668 423 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'üh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S 668 423 Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S [518] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

S 668 423 474 (1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracism, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 472 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during

N *668 666 the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

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668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
642 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

N C. Political Rights in Practice

631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights
*668 in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

N "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all
631 circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
*668 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Commit-
666 tees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

N "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Gov-
631 ernments in the Northwest region have attached importance to
*668 People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

S "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
631 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All
668 Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

S 631 668 the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at least three times, and up to nine times... these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the conference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected S [666] the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

S 668 666 "In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan: "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

N 668 666 S 668 666 This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang, Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flurried. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

A. Constitutional Rights

C 668 641 642 In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Communists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:

Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

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668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.
Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:
"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.
Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.
Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."
Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

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563 B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers
423 1) "Comrade Editor:
431 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

668 423 but gave a certain degree of good care to the liberal-minded landlords during the procedure of confiscation. To those obedient landlords we only carried out confiscation but not the struggle. Besides land, other properties were left to them for a while before actual confiscation. Thus we isolated the stubborn landlords, reduced the resistance and increased help. Under the threat of the peasants, the majority of the landlords expressed willingness to be obedient.

"But there were still defects and mistakes...(1) We were not able to build up the poor farmers and hired hands to be the nucleus of the movement as we had planned...(On the contrary), it was the middle farmers who led the poor farmers, and the poor farmers who led the hired hands...(2) Some farmers...gave sympathy to the landlords during the confiscation and dared not accept the land in distribution...(3) During the distribution, there was illustrated a serious domination of the party cadres over the farmers...." (Yang Tseng-wen, "Victoriously concluded the work of the second stage of land reform in Shu-le County" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1953, April 3.)

Some basic facts in this statement can be summarized as follows:

(1) Natives were used to fight against the natives.
(2) Native workers were selected and built up through various devices.
(3) Enemy groups were divided and isolated by discriminating treatment.
(4) Only a few of the most stubborn enemies were selected as targets at one time. Thus most of the people were kept hopeful and cooperative.
(5) Religious groups and the local leaders with great influence among the minorities were handled with care.

668 563 The policy of controlling the minority groups through minority cadres is further shown in the following report: "In the whole special district...of Ili, there originally were 3243 cadres at the hsiang, ch'ü, county and special district level. During 1952...the number increased to 4736. It was a 46.3% increase over that of 1951.... During the past one year,...more than 30,000 common workers and farmers became 'positive elements' who executed the policy and orders of the Communist Party and the People's Government....

"During the past year, 90% of the cadres of the special district received education and drill through the struggles of the suppression of the counter-revolutionists movement, the American Aid-Korea movement, the reduce-rent and anti-despot movement, the land reform movement, the 3-anti and 5-anti movement...and joined the Communist Party and Youth Corps. Some of them became leading workers. According to the incomplete statistics, in the whole special district there were 274 persons promoted from 'positive elements' to become new cadres; 88 persons promoted from cadres to leading

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• 668 cadres; (among these 17 were at the level of county head, 2 were
563 at the level of division head in the special district, 46 were at the level of division head in the county, 23 were at the level of ch'ü head); 22 persons promoted from servants to be cadres; with a grand total of 384 promotions. Among these, 93% belonged to the minority groups and 7% were Chinese. 84% of those being promoted from 'positive elements' were selected from the workers and farmers." (A report from Ili in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 18, 1953. Cf. Chao Hua-Sheng: "A report on Party construction in the 1st hsiang of Aya ch'ü in Hami Qumul County" in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 24, 1953.)

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*668 With this control of the minority groups from inside, the Com-
*563 munists claim to be promoting the minority autonomy and inter-
S nationality harmony with unprecedented success. The following
[668] are some of the reports: 1) "A report on the life of the Tibetan
[563] minority in the Northwest, 'Improvement of the political, economic and cultural life of the Tibetans in China during the past year,' given by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, Tibetan Vice-chairman of the Chinghai Provincial Government, appeared recently in the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih pao and was released by NCNA from Peking on November 2, 1950, stating:

'In political life, Tibetans now participate in the work of the people's government on all levels and spheres. They take part in local, and national conferences, where they study the work of the government, discuss and adopt government decisions and enjoy the right to vote and to be elected. They also visit other parts of the country to study conditions and exchange experiences. Like all other fraternal nationalities, they have become masters in name and in reality. Any dispute arising among nationalities is solved by ways of arbitration and discussion on the principle of equality, through which they have realized the importance of unity among various nationalities!'"

2) "In the past three years, the people's governments at all levels in the Northwest region have correctly and definitely implemented the nationalities policy, carried out nationalities work, and made great achievements. More than 3000 cases of internationality conflicts were mediated, of which some had not been solved in the past decades or in hundreds of years. Nationality democratic coalition governments have been established in various places. 11 autonomous areas, equivalent to first grade district and counties have been established. Besides, the Yu-shu autonomous area, equivalent to a first grade special district with a dense population of Tibetans, has been established in Chinghai province. About 30,000 cadres of the national minorities have been trained throughout the region to take part in political work, and some of them have become the backbone of the local political work." (NCNA, Sian, May 12, 1952.)

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*668 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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*668 D. Minority Languages
*563 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of
[642] the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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•668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of
19 the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

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*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

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[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

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*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
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• 668 Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
635 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

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*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
[633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

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[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

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[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

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[668] (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.
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Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
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*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
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668 in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
631 1955, are shown in Table 9.

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*668 After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
631 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
666 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
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175 ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
631 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
563 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

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*668 B. The Communist System
*563 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
631 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
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668 friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
563 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
631 control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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*668 with the local governmental divisions down to the county level, is
*563 shown in Table 10.
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TABLE 8

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province early in 1955:

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NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang province	Urumchi	4 municipalities 1 branch office 10 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the regular special districts, there are altogether 75 counties and 4 autonomous areas at the county level

TABLE 9

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province since October 1, 1955:

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region	Urumchi	4 municipalities 7 special districts 5 autonomous chou (special districts) with a total, under these and the regular special districts, of 74 counties and 6 autonomous hsien[1]

[1] The three special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak), and Altai were combined to make the Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili. On February 5, 1955, all the self-governing special districts were renamed "autonomous chou" and the self-governing counties were renamed "autonomous hsien."

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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TABLE 10

Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'uan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi sha, and Su-fu

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
• 668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
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S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

175 Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
631 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
635 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
648 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
669 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
• 668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

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A. Top Echelon Officials

*175 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
*668 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
554 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There
635 were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
• 668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
668 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
554 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's
635 Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

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Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's Supervisory Commission.

In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan. Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

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B. Parties

Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

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In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

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*175 the Northwest under the leadership of the Chinese Communist
*668 Party.

In May, 1953, the Northwest Work Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee was organized with Chang Chih-chung as chairman. Its avowed aim was to coordinate all its branch offices and members of the KMT Revolutionary Committee in the Northwest under the leadership of the CCP and to implement so-called United Front work. It was significant that the conference of the KMT Revolutionary Committee at Sian was attended by high-ranking Communist Party and Democratic League officials, who were there apparently in a supervisory capacity, a fact which may indicate that the KMT Revolutionary Committee had not then gained the confidence of the Communists. Ma Ming-fang, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, expounded on the role of the "democratic" parties during the stage of New Democracy, which he said was "to educate their members to actively participate in political campaigns." Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the Northwest branch committee of the Democratic League, in a speech similar in content with those of the other speakers, declared that it was imperative "to continue the enlargement of the people's democratic united front (and) to get closely united under the CCP and Chairman Mao." (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, May 26, 1953).

III. United Front Work, 2. The Masses

A. Mobilization of the Masses

The organization of people's governments and the employment of non-Communist political leaders were part of the window-dressing for the organization and mobilization of the masses of the people.
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[175] As early as January, 1950, the Sinkiang People's Government Coun-
• [668] cil, in a statement of its policies, declared that one of the primary tasks was "to activate and organize the workers, farmers, youth, women, and other popular bodies so that they would become strong and reliable support for the government in all fields of construction." (NCNA January 8, 1950).

The agencies for the mobilization of the people were, as in other parts of China, the mass organizations, which supplement and bolster the work of the political parties, and were either directly controlled or indirectly manipulated by Communists or trusted agents of the Communists. The following are a few of the organizations of mass control.

The United Front Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: This agency has overall supervision over the other mass organizations and also serves as liaison between them. The chairman, Wang Feng, was also director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
467 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

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*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47
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[175] of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts,
[668] and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

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*175 Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*668 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
[467] to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.
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[175] An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953,
[668] there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

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*175 Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*668 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
648 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

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N 60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were
*175 from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-
*668 Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-
648 chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-
S presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friend-
175 ship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the
• 668 following figures show: three million in 1950, 17 million in 1951,
648 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953. The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Ashan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

N B. Elevation of Political Consciousness
*175 Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association
*668 in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign
S in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities.
175 This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or over-
668 lapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so-called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

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*175 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual
*668 aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'tin-chung
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175 jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership
668 in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

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175 Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points:
668 (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people s political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

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*175 Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions.
792 In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams,
*668 monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas.
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175 Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation
178 meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to sup-
668 port the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A
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175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[793] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[346] People's Government and the Re sist-America and Aid-Korea
[995] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter-revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

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668 make use of reactionary elements of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-
669 Islamism to establish anti-Communist and anti-Soviet bases of
578 operation." (JMJP October 1, 1950).
175 The extent of opposition to Communist rule may be seen in
N the news dispatches issued by the Communist authorities on the
#175 results of their relentless crack-down of the counter-revolution-
#668 aries:
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578 Item: September, 1950, liquidation of 58,000 bandit troops who
S refused to disarm and continued to resist.
175 Item: November, 1950, arrest of 6,249 Kuomintang agents and
668 seizure of 208 special service cells and 275 radio stations.
669 Item: February, 1951, capture of Osman Batur and Jamin Khan
578 and escape of Yolbars Khan to Formosa. April, 1951, Execution of Osman Batur.
Item: 1951. Revolt of workers in the Yen-ch'ang Oilfield, Shensi.
Item: December, 1950, Suppression of the Taoist secret society, the I-kuan-tao, which claimed to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia. Members of the organization were charged to have infiltrated into farmers' associations and sabotaged the land reform and peasant organization work.

Despite the savagery of the suppression, the Communists were unable to snuff out the opposition. Kan Ssu-ch'i, director of the Department of Public Security of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, pointed out that in the province of Kansu alone, the counter-revolutionaries killed and wounded 2,117 native cadres resulting in a profound demoralization of the people. "The people blame us," he said, "for having only government and no law. We must...by means of accusation meetings, exhibitions, public trials and forums, mobilize the broad masses to partake in the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries." (NCNA, April 7, 1951).

The alibis for the failure to wipe out the opposition in the Northwest was attributed to many causes. T'ao Chih-yüeh, deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military District, charged that "hidden enemies are utilizing old relations, old friendships and all opportunities for winning over and buying over a few backward elements." Ma Hung-pin, vice-chairman of the Kansu provincial people's government, warned the people to renounce their old friendships. "All counter-revolutionaries," he said, "be they your relatives, your friends and your neighbors, or even your family members, must be denounced." (NCNA, April 7, 1951). Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, charged that "the imperialists" were fanning the fires of "narrow nationalism" by spreading rumors and fostering animosity among the minority peoples and they have seized upon pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as their weapons." (JMJP, October 2, 1951).

The admonition and the threats by the officials had no effect

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
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175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
• 668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were established for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
S 175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.
• 668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.
Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).
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[563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

S 175 668 871 [563] graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N *175 *668 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at N *[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by S 175 668 873 [563] provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist S 175 668 874 873 Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

N *175 *668 871 The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activirts			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

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*175 cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
*668 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
*563 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
162 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
S made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
175 total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
• 668 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
563 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
162 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.

Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

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*175 The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
*668 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
*663 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
162 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
631 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
S per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
175 counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
668 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

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A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
[661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that
N followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were
[635] also established in the five provinces then comprising the North-
[632] west: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

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*175 While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*668 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
635 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
632 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
666 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their
S time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference
[175] of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities
• [668] in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily
[631] devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)

Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

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*1 [illegible]shment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 194[illegible], the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in N nghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

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175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
• 668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

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175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only S 175 592 162 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü) level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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*175 C. The General Election of 1953-54
*668 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
666 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
[641] tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
• 668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[635]

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
S tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
• 668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*175 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
*668 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and
166 workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

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Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

000 northwestern provinces during 1955.

S 175 668 166 N *[175] *[668] [166]

Thus, even from incomplete sources, the number of people sent out to the Northwest came close to 30,000. Of this number, the bulk were destined for Sinkiang. The influx of this horde of Chinese into Sinkiang was to safeguard Chinese Communist interest and Chinese ascendancy prior to the granting of autonomy to the native peoples of Sinkiang. As early as the summer of 1953, Burkhan had sought to prepare the ground for the invasion of the Chinese. In a speech, he said, "It has been due to the great help rendered by the Han Chinese cadres from other provinces and the People's Liberation Army during the past three years since the liberation that achievements of the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang in their construction work was possible. Therefore, after the enforcement of regional autonomy, autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres to take part in work." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

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C. Expansion of the Communist Party

Along with the assignment of cadres to the countryside to carry out the work of collectivization and the transfer of workers and cadres from China Proper to the Northwest, there was also an expansion of the membership of the Communist Party in the Northwest. The induction of men into the Chinese Communist Party and into its auxiliary, the New Democratic Youth League (Communist Youth League), had been active from the beginning of Communist rule. In 1950, out of the 3,600 national minority cadres trained in the short-term classes, 560 joined the Chinese Communist Party and 1,000 the New Democratic Youth League; in 1951, out of the 1044 graduates of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party Sub-bureau Cadre School, 88 joined the Communist Party and 726 the New Democratic Youth League.

In May, 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued instructions to strengthen the work of party expansion, and ordered the directors of the Organization Departments of local party committees to convene and to work out methods for party expansion. "In rural areas where land reform has already been carried out, we must recruit more new party members and build up our party organizations so that we may vigorously promote mutual aid and cooperation of labor in production," stated a Central Committee directive (JMJP May 4, 1952). In 1954, the announcement of the General Line for the transition of the state to socialism brought a further acceleration of the work of party expansion.

Shensi: From June, 1952 to the end of 1954, a total of 3,625 basic level (hsiang) party branches were established, increasing the number from 60 per cent to 86 per cent, and 36,833 new members recruited. Up to the end of 1954, the majority of the new

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national
• 668 minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
179 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
• 668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
• 668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and n ationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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177 under the leadership of the local party and government organs."
668 (JMJP, August 28, 1954).
642 Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three
[563] autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four
were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts,
[631] it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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177 Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung
Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist
668 Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional
642 period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the
563 solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
[666] officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of
668 the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.
[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was
668 intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
669 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
578 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow...is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

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175 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

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*175 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*563 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*668 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
669 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

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9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

S 175 668 674 who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and military and government officials of the former Chiang government still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

N *175 *668 829 12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

N *175 *668 669 *563 787 "' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

N *175 669 *668 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there appeared

"An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

S 14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
175 that
669 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases
• 668 of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

S The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturb-
[674] ances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

N The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
105 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
*668 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speak-
625 ing, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jenmin shou-ts'e.)

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In the meantime Governor Sheng attempted to end his dependence on Soviet Russia and to turn instead to the National Government. When the pressure of the German advance forced the Soviet government to withdraw most of its forces from Sinkiang, it attempted to maintain its position by disorganizing the Turkestan administration. Aside from the negotiations with the Kazakh rebels, the Soviets made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Governor Sheng when they feared he would seek cooperation with the Chinese National Government. This Russian move precipitated a switch of Sheng's administration to the Chinese side. Sheng drove out his Russian advisers and arrested large numbers of his staff who had been cooperating with the Russians as well as with Chinese Communists who had been brought in through Russian support.

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The cooperation between the Soviet representatives in Sinkiang and the Chinese Communists during this time seems to have been close. While the Russian representatives conveyed the policy line as determined in Moscow and provided the military and political power behind it, the Chinese Communists infiltrated Sheng's staff and helped to work out many of Sheng's administrative measures. For instance a currency reform instituted in 1938 was claimed to have been the work of the brother of Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-min who had come to Turkestan with the Chinese Communist group under Russian protection. The Communists also established the Fan-ti-hui, or Anti-Imperialist Association which was used for propaganda and intelligence. When Governor Sheng broke with the Soviets and turned to the National Government, he attempted to eradicate this Chinese Communist group. Mao Tse-min and a number of others, including Governor Sheng's secretary, were executed, and many were imprisoned.

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VII. Chinese Nationalist Attempt to Reassert Nationalist Influence

The new active interest which the National Government took in Sinkiang was related to the military situation of the time. The Russian withdrawal was the result of the military defeats brought on Soviet Russia by the Nazi armies which threatened Moscow and forced a concentration of all available Russian troops at the European front. The Chinese National Government could not count on any further Soviet support in its war against Japan, and the further developments in Soviet Russia were uncertain. Even if Soviet Russia could hold out, this seemed an opportune time to eliminate the dangerous Soviet control which was no longer compensated by any military advantage.

The Chinese situation had become still more desperate after Pearl Harbor and the Japanese conquest of the mainland of southeast Asia. Cut off from the supply routes which could bring in

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
(635) in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
[668] ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, "Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

175 the Soviet economic stake in Sinkiang.
648 Over the next years, the strength of the Chinese Communist
668 government increased within the Soviet-Chinese relationship. The treaty of 1950, concluded by Mao Tse-tung in Moscow after lengthy haggling, was replaced in December 1954 by a new treaty concluded at the occasion of a visit of Krushchev and Mikoyan in Peking. Among other concessions, this new treaty provided for the liquidation of the Soviet shares in the former joint stock companies. Nevertheless some element of Soviet control remained since the Soviet shares were to be repaid through deliveries of raw materials and other commodities from Turkestan. The whole industrial and communications development of the province which was to be rapidly expanded under the Chinese Communist Five Year Plans depended also on Soviet economic and technical assistance. Most important, Soviet Russia has reportedly kept possession of the atomic energy center at Mirgrad in the Takla Makan Desert and has through the maintenance of military forces full control over the exploitation of uranium deposts in the Altai region where a large number ofRussians, estimated by one observer to be as large as 80,000, has been reported.

648 On the other hand, a recent British correspondent (New York
668 Times, August 13, 1956, p. 9) has reported that throughout the region "up to the Soviet borders, the direct control of the Central Government on development plans and on political life is everywhere apparent. There are Soviet advisers and experts and plenty of Soviet machinery, but no more than in other parts of China, and the over-riding impression is that China is in complete charge.

"Peking's orders stretch into the remotest villages, where the ever-present cadres and Party members are kept in constant touch with the capital through provincial committees. Nowhere is there any external evidence ofSoviet influence outside the technical sphere."

This observation of a Chinese Communist administration directed from Peking does not necessarily exclude consideration of Russian military and economic decisions for Sinkiang by the Chinese policy-makers in Peking. Nor does it exclude the possibility of conflict in the districtuion of the Turkestan resources between the Soviet and Chinese Communist economies, especially in the case of the uranium exploitation at present obviously in Soviet hands. The railroad from Lanchow to Aktogai in Russian
[496] Turkestan, which in 1956 has been pushed beyond the Yumen oil fields in Kansu, is the most important physical link between the two economies but is also a highway for a vast and growing stream of young Chinese immigrants who are brought in to work on the oil fields, the railroads, and the construction of new towns and factories. This movement, which is aimed at filling up the

648 thinly populated area with a Chinese population, is the most
668 important factor in the reassertion of Chinese control. The Chinese link with Turkestan is also not limited to the railroad under construction which will run along the old caravan route via Qomul, Urumchi, to the Soviet border. In addition the
[491] Chinese Communists follow the policy of the National Government
[496] in the construction of road and railroad connections through the Tsaidam Basin. This area is reportedly also to be developed by Communist China into a new key industrial center in central Asia. Oil and mineral resources are claimed to exist in abundance. The Tsaidam region is farther away from the Soviet or Outer Mongolian border than is the main railroad line and it provides a position in depth in the Chinese Communist connection with Sinkiang. In its advance into central Asia, the Chinese Communist regime seems to follow the main strategic considerations which had been observed by previous Chinese governments

With the shrinking distances and the means of modern industrial development, the importance of Sinkiang with its rich natural resources has vastly increased. There is at the moment no indication of any hitch in the Soviek-Chinese cooperation in the province. But should any conflict evolve between these Communist organizations, Sinkiang must, by the very reason of its geographic location and economic importance, become one of the decisive areas of conflict.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

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175 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas
669 was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865
648 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub
• 668 Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan.
Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

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175 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese
669 government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ung-
648 ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

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175 The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culmin-
669 ated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan
668 Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja
S movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it
[646] attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C. C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

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* 668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
• [668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations
*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
N cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
*668 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
575 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad
*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
• 668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.

[668] 2. Formosa
[669] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Com-
[648] munist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

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4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

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The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

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A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

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*668 the landlord as rent and 60 per cent of what was left to the govern-
651 ment as tax. If these figures were true, then the peasants were receiving only 4 per cent of what they harvested. Furthermore, at the most, the Nationalist Government had taxed the peasants only 6 per cent of their harvest while the minimum tax of the Communists is 7 per cent of the farmers' total annual agricultural income.

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*668 4. Achievements of Communist government

After the Communist government had existed for a while, the propaganda emphasized the achievement of the Communist regime. A good example is the article written by Liu Ke-p'ing, Deputy-Director of Commission of Nationalities Affairs of the Central People's Government, concerning "The achivements of the Nationality works during the past three years." In this article he listed the following achievements:

1) The establishment of the autonomous districts
2) The participation of the minorities in the government
3) The training and education of local cadres
4) The sending of Chinese cadres to work among the minorities
5) The establishment of state trading agencies in the minority areas
6) The gradual promotion of land reform among the minorities
7) The gradual change in the feudal relations between the owner and helpers among minority herdsmen
8) The improvements in public health among the minorities
9) The establishment of schools in Sinkiang and other areas where the minorities live
10) The help given to the minorities to create or improve their written languages
11) The printing and distribution of books and periodicals in minority languages
12) The radio broadcasts in minority languages
13) The study and improvements made on the traditional dances and music of the minority groups
14) The organization of the Chinese Islamic Association to honor the customs, habits and religious faith of the minority groups
15) Visiting groups sent to the national minorities from the Communist government and those organized among the minorities to visit Peking and inland China. (The Great Achievements in the People's Republic of China during the Past Three Years, (Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-he-kuo San-nien-lai-te Wei-ta Ch'eng-chiu, Jen min Ch'u-pan-she, ed. Peking 1952, Dec.) p. 37. The article was written on September 13, 1952.)

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• 668 Propaganda along this same line can be found in Burhan's articles on "The great achievements made in People's Sinkiang during the past three years" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953

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668 and "The achievements in political and judicial work in Sinkiang in the past five years," also in Sinkiang Jih-pao, September 30, 1954, and numerous others.

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668 5. Other campaigns

Besides the above, special propaganda campaigns as well as routine ones have been launched throughout the years. In the Northwest, at least the following campaigns took place:

1) "The march to wipe out illiteracy" in July, 1952
2) The three anti- and five anti- movements in 1952
3) The start of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953
4) The calling of People's Congresses and the establishment of the Constitution, 1953-54
5) Finishing the land reform missions in agricultural areas of Sinkiang, 1953
6) The practice of minority autonomy, 1953
7) The increase of production and the austerity movement, 1953
8) The strengthening education as a whole and training minority cadres in particular movement, 1953
9) The denunciation of the U.S.-Chiang Joint Defense Pact (over Formosa) in 1955
10) The criticism of capitalistic ideas among the peasant Party members in Shensi in 1955
11) The signature movement against the use of the atomic bomb, in 1955
12) The suppression of counter-revolutionary movements at various times
13) The killing sparrows movement in 1955 (Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao, December 24, 1955. Because of the extreme shortage of food, the Communists started to pay attention to all birds, rodents, insects and worms that might consume food. They singled out a few, including sparrows, as targets of campaigns. In this case, the movement started in Kansu and spread to the whole nation.)

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B. The Content

The flavor of the contents can be sampled in the following paragraphs:

1) A praising song used by a Sinkiang group:

You, Giant Mao Tse-tung,
Brought freedom to the people
You, Hero Mao Tse-tung,
Brought brightness to the people
You, Father Mao Tse-tung,
Saved the suffering people.
In the past we were ill-treated
And had no interest to produce;

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:
When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China

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through her children's eyes, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953, pp. 49-50.)

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2) In the 2nd district of P'i-shan County in Sinkiang, there were a large portion of the farmers thinking that since the land they received from the Communists before was taken back by the Communists for redistribution in the land reform, there is no guarantee that the land they received this time will not be taken away from them at a later date. Hence, quite a number of them were not anxious to prepare for the spring ploughing. After the propaganda work of the members of the Party and the Youth Corps, these peasants learned that the lands they had received before were only given on a temporary basis. The lands they got through land reform are really theirs now. This propaganda dissolved the peasants' mistaken thoughts and doubts.... For instance, before the doubts were dispelled, peasant T'u-ta-a-hung slept in his room all the day long instead of going out to cultivate the land. Now he is working hard on his land and even refuses to rest at noon time. (Sinkiang jih-pao, April 8, 1953.)

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B. Factors not Contributing to Success

1. Sporadic nature of campaigns

However, these successes do not indicate that the Communist propaganda program has been carried out without exceptions. As early as 1949, some writers who were responsible for manufacturing propaganda found it difficult to praise the new regime. Then when propaganda became a part of the huge Party machine in the newly-conquered mainland, it developed other problems. At first, the movements were sporadic and geared to deadlines. Whenever the Party leader decided to promote a certain program, the rank and file had to work day and night to promote the theme. Once the interest changed, the whole program would be abruptly dropped and a new program would be rushed to fit the new propaganda purpose. This was criticized by the Communists themselves:

"In September, 1953, Mr. Jen....wrote a short article ridiculing several bureaucratic persons who did not consider seriously letters sent in by the people. He mailed it to a newspaper... After one month, the newspaper editor returned his manuscript with the following comment:

'The central propaganda mission concerning the serious handling of people's letters is over now....Therefore we sent your honorable manuscript back to you...'

To the surprise of the editor, on November 4th, Jen-min jih-pao published an editorial: 'Push one step forward in the work of handling letters sent in by the people'. Then all of a sudden the editorial department of that newspaper wrote to comrade Jen,

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159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
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[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.

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159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
• 668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
631 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

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In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
* [668] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist gen-
[669] eral, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

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159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
S 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autono-
[643] mous Region.

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159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist

159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

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159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

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159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
*668 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest
631 Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

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159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
• 668 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi,
631 member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

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Sinkiang AI1

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159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
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631 Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member
S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
• 668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
*668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

159 669 635 668 [648] At the same time the Pei-t'a-shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 648 669 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist

A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940, opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

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Sinkiang AI1

N
159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
• 668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

159 trative Council, he became vice-chairman of the council. In the
• 668 province of Sinkiang, he was from 1950 to 1955 vice-chairman of
631 the provincial People's Government, director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Provincial People's Government, and commander of the Fifth Army. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the first session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee, which did the ground work in preparing the establishment of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. In October 1955, when the SUAR was formally inaugurated, he was elected the chairman, but after a month, for reasons unknown, he resigned and Burkhan Shahidi again became chairman.

Saifuddin's membership in the Chinese Communist Party was disclosed in 1950, but he may have been an undercover agent before. He served as the fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP (later reorganized as the Sinkiang Committee) from 1950.

In the mass organizations, Saifuddin is chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and he was also a member of the national committee of the China Peace Committee, an organization formed to carry out the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign. Since December 1954 he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

159 Saifuddin's rise to recognition started from the revolt at Ili
668 in 1944 when the so-called People's Committee for the Republic
[669] of Eastern Turkestan was organized in opposition to the provincial government of Sinkiang and also to the Nationalist Government. Saifuddin was appointed Minister of Education at that time and was also in charge of the Youth Corps. By January 1945 the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally established. Saifuddin was one of the lieutenants of Akmedjan Kasimi, a leader in the Ili coalition, who in 1948 organized his supporters into the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and became editor of its organ, The Progressive Daily. When Akhmedjan and two others were killed in a plane crash en route to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September 1949, Saifuddin assumed the leadership of the Sinkiang League which, in 1950, was renamed the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and which furnished seventeen thousand experienced minority cadres to staff the government agencies in Sinkiang. Through their efforts, the Ili region in Sinkiang forged ahead of the rest of the province in land reform, in collectivization, in the recruitment of activists into the ranks of the cadres, and in meeting the requirements for the establishment of regional autonomy.

How trustworthy and loyal are the members of the Sinkiang League to the Communist cause is, however, still a question. The fact that many of them still entertain separatist opinions

159 668 may be seen in the speeches of Saifuddin and Burkhan, exhorting them to abandon their opposition to Chinese rule and forswear their pan-Turkanistic and pan-Islamic views, which were denounced as reactionary. Although Saifuddin has climbed high in the Communist heirarchy and holds concurrent positions in the central government, the regional and provincial government and also the Communist Party, his power rests upon his following, and the fact that he was unsure of them may have been a reason for his resignation as chairman of the SUAR a month after his election.

159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai

One of the most important modern figures in the political arena of Northwest China during the more recent years is Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Sheng was born in 1895 in the district of K'aiyuan in Liaoning Province in Manchuria, of a middle-class farming family. After he was graduated from an agricultural middle school in Mukden he went to Shanghai to attend the Chinese School of Public Affairs, Chung-kuo kung-hsueh, at Wusung (Woosung), majoring in economics and political sciences, and was graduated in 1915. Unwilling to take part in the civil service examinations under the administration of Yüan Shih-k'ai, he went to Japan to pursue further studies. Shortly the question of Shantung came up in the Versailles Conference, and Sheng was sent back to China as a representative of overseas students to take part in the movement against the transfer of territorial rights to Japan. After the movement was over he joined the Military Academy of Kwangtung at Kukong. His military career began when he served as a second lieutenant in the army of General Kuo Sung-ling in Manchuria. Because of his good record in the army he was chosen to be sent to Japan's Military Academy. In the year of 1925 when Kuo Sung-ling resisted Chang Tso-lin for the latter's pro-Japan attitude, Sheng came back to join Kuo's side. When Kuo was defeated by Chang, Sheng went back to Japan to continue his military training. Chang Tso-lin complained to Japanese authorities and Sheng Shih-ts'ai was ousted from the Military Academy. Thanks to the assistance of Sun Ch'uan-fang, Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) and Chiang Kai-shek, Sheng was able to complete his training.

He came back to China in 1927, just in time to take part in the Northern Expedition launched by Chiang Kai-shek. When the expedition was finally successful he served for a short time in the office of the chief of staff as a section chief. Then he began to seek opportunities in the border areas.

159 669 In 1930 he was invited to Sinkiang where he served first as chief of staff in the office of the commander of Frontier Defense. But his real opportunity came when the Moslem rebel,

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S 159 631 701 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer

A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S 159 701 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist S 159 669 668 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army, T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N 159 *668 701 Teng Pao-san: Army officer

A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

N 159 S 669 648 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frustrated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 S 635 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike foresight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned S 159 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945, • 668 organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turki- 648 stanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

S 159 668 648 in Europe, while his National Turkistanian Unity Committee, in which he is president, has, unofficially, the support of such countries as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries, with the exception of Iraq, the committee has a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish tribe of East and West Turkistan. Among his many activities, Vali Kajum-Khan has also the supervision of the political and ideological education of exiled Turkistanian youths. He publishes various Turkistanian newspapers and maintains important contacts with his native country.

N 159 *668 S 159 668 Wang Chen (1908-): Army officer, Communist Party member

Born in 1908 in Hunan in a poor farmer's family. Studied in grade school for three years. Railway worker. member of railway workers' union, 1924; joined Communist Party, 1927; member of the Executive Committee of Communist Youth, 1928; secretary of Communist Party at Liu-yang, Hunan; political commissioner, First Independent Division of Hunan and Kiangsi, 1932; political commissioner, Sixth Division, 1934; chief of staff to General Li Hsien-nien, 1937; since 1952, first secretary in the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Communist Party; in 1950-52, commander, First Field Army, Acting Commander, Sinkiang Military Area. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang Chen's outstanding status in the Party is due partly to his long membership in the Party and partly to his excellent record and achievement both as an army officer and as a worker. He participated in the Long March, 1935-36. He won fame in the army when he led a vanguard unit which marched from the Yellow River down to Kwangtung Province, hailed as another "long March." When he was stationed at Yenan, the capital of the Communists, he was given the task of utilizing the soldiers to do production jobs, and the result was that the army became a self-supported team which not only got no help from the government, but paid taxes to help support the government. When the military campaign of the Communists began, Wang Chen played a rather significant role by taking over the whole of the Northwest territory. First he received the surrender of Kansu on September 23, 1949; then on October 21, 1949, he flew to Sinkiang and took over that province.

In Sinkiang, Wang's first job was to crush the opposition, whom he denounced as counter-revolutionaries. His troops took part in destroying the forces of Osman Batur and in pursuing the fleeing Kazakhs to the border of India. In his capacity as first secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP, a post he held for only a year, he helped further the so-called united front of the workers and farmers.

S
159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
•668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N
159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
*668 partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the
[631] Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the North
*563 west. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
159 Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
*668 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
631 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of
496

N
241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
*668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres them-
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
*668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

S
175 1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
404 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
241 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
• 668 and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with
[476] roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review. December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S
241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[404] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S
242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[197] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

planted in these tracts.

We have cited some of the achievements that have taken place and the general direction of agricultural development. We must be careful about accepting all figures and recognize that many targets are not met but often revised midway through the year until they can be met. When one looks at the entire scheme of development taking place it is important to remember that each group in this scheme has certain commitments to meet as set by the plan for that year. Survey teams are supposed to provide definite information about the amount of land to be reclaimed each year. If their information is not accurate, (and there have been complaints to this effect) then those units which reclaim the land are put off schedule, the proper cultivation and sowing cannot be done, and the intended output is not realized. Such intricate planning can lead to grievous bottlenecks in the attainment of planned goals.

Further defects that have been reported are as follows: there has been inadequate hydrographic and meteorological data for farming and animal husbandry. There has not been the correct coordinated activity between State and commercial enterprises to supply the necessary producer and consumer goods for the agricultural and pastoral co-ops. The People's Bank has been unable to give the needed credit and credit cooperatives and credit groups still have to absorb idle capital and halt usurious practices among the peasants, which still seem to prevail six years after "liberation." The Communists report that rich peasants, and so-called counter-revolutionary elements are still causing trouble by "sabotage" and the spreading of rumors which obstruct Communist policy.

According to observations made by some agricultural stations in Sha-ya County the peasants in many districts placed emphasis only on the summer harvest, and neglected the cotton, mazie and rice crops that are reaped in autumn. This meant that the peasants were devoting more of their attention to harvesting a wheat crop, a food item, and neglecting other farm crops that the state was so urgently emphasizing. In Kuerhlei County there were complaints that the peasants were not picking the cotton at the appropriate time and their delay in doing so had allowed much of the ripe cotton to fall to the ground and rot. This occurred in many of the villages throughout the county. Again the Communists complained of the peasants' lack of care for their farming tools and that damage frequently resulted from mechanical troubles and carelessness.

The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

S
• 668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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* 175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
* 668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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* 668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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* 175
433

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Nonferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

668 After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
175 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
315 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
473 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

175 Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
288 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

471 According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under
471 way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
339 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
381 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
[372] expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[258] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

471 The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
316 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
392 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
339 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
323 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because

S 668 433 [288] [315] Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

N
*668 one of the most important industrial areas in China for three
433 reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown
S great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent
• 668 out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports
433 of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Com-
[135) munist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second,
the geographical location of this area is such that it would be
the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic
N point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it
S
[177) would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting
technical aid from Russia.

S Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Com-
668 munists have paid special attention to the future development of
433 this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists
took over, there was very little industrial production. But in
1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to
New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts,
which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percent-
ages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production
accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts
accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of
1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be in-
creased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of
1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will
account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and
handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned
total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

N
*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N
[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
N
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S
• 668 a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
433 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
327 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
328 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
382 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
39 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
[489] future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied up with communications development.

N
*668 Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
185 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
433 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
[648] centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

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The completion in 1930 of the Turksib Railway, passing close to the Chinese frontier in the Ili region, naturally encouraged Sinkiang-Soviet trade, which in that year passed the level of 32,000,000 rubles. In the following year, 1931, shortly after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Urumchi was threatened by Ma Ch'ung-ying, the leader of a Moslem invasion from Kansu, who had already captured Barkul and Komul and was taking over the leadership of a Moslem rising within the province. Since Ma was accompanied by Japanese "advisers" and believed to be backed by Japanese militarists, he was not only a menace to the province but a danger to Soviet frontier interests. Chin Shu-jen, in order to obtain arms from the Russians, and because the rising cut off trade with China, signed a trade agreement in October 1931 which gave Soviet interests new privileges.

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Chinese Policies in Sinkiang

Under this agreement eight Soviet trade agencies were established, at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan. Customs duties on Soviet goods were reduced, and new Sinkiang-Soviet telegraph and radio communications were opened. Chin signed the agreement without authorization from Nanking and without reporting it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for this he was imprisoned when, later, he fled the province and returned to China.

Chin was forced out of Sinkiang by a combination of insurrection, invasion, and a mutiny of "White" (exile) Russian mercenary troops. The insurrection began in the Komul oasis in 1931 and was joined by Chinese Moslem (Tungan) invaders from Kansu. Urumchi was attacked in the winter of 1932 and again in January 1934. In November 1933 an Eastern Turkistan Republic was proclaimed in Kashgar. In the main, the rebellion was brought under control by June 1934; but as late as the fall of 1935 there were still 20,000 Tungans, who had originally come from Kansu, holding out in Guma Bazar on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin. It is estimated that these dark and bloody years cost about 100,000 lives.

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The original revolt in Komul was certainly precipitated by the weak and avaricious Chin. In the winter of 1930 the last Uighur ruler of the ancient principality of Komul died. His son and suc-

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cessor, who was opposed by the people, went to Urumchi to offer bribes for assistance. In the meantime the Chinese garrison commander at Komul advised the Governor to discontinue indirect rule of the oasis as a "native state," and to divide it instead into three administrative districts under appointed magistrates, thus making it possible to collect revenues directly. The advice was accepted, and the "natives" were alarmed by the fact that a new land survey threatened to double or treble their taxes.

The situation that developed illustrates the complexities of a multinational frontier province. Most of the people of the oasis had no strong loyalty to the old ruling house to which they had paid their customary taxes; but they resented the new direct administration which, though established in 1931, declared that back taxes for 1930 would also be collected. There was general hostility to the Chinese garrison commander. At the same time, a minority faction which supported the prince who was claiming the succession feared that he might be arrested in Urumchi.[38]

Into this situation there entered some eighty Chinese non-Moslem refugees from a drought-stricken district in the province of Kansu. The Governor ordered the magistrate of one of the three new administrative districts to provide for them, which he did by expropriating land cultivated by Uighurs. The Uighurs were transferred to new land, not yet brought under cultivation. It is a general tradition in Chinese frontier provinces that settlers of such land should be exempted from taxes for the first few years; but in this case the Uighurs were assessed for the same taxes that they had paid on their old land, while the refugees to whom this land had been given were exempted from taxes for three years. In addition to this injustice, the salt bureau of Komul embarked on a program of forced sales. Everyone was either to buy a quota of salt every day, or pay cash for a "salt certificate."

Revolt was touched off when an "infidel" (non-Moslem) Chinese tax collector tried to force the parents of a pretty Moslem

[38] Tu Chung-yuan, *Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the New Sinkiang*, Hankow, 1938, p. 65 (in Chinese). Actually the prince was not harmed in Urumchi, because while there he bribed Chin heavily.

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girl to give her to him in marriage. The people rose and killed not only the tax collector but the Chinese refugees from Kansu. Thousands joined the revolt. Delegates were sent to Kansu to solicit help from Ma Ch'ung-ying, a young chieftain belonging to the most famous, powerful, and warlike Chinese Moslem clan in Kansu,[39] who was then in command of the 36th Division, who though nominally troops of the National Government were actually his personal followers. With only 400 Tungan cavalry, Ma Ch'ung-ying successfully attacked Barkul, Ch'ichiaoching ("Seven-cornered Well," on the main truck route from Kansu to Urumchi), and Komul. After suffering a wound he retired to Kansu, but returned to Sinkiang in May, 1932.

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Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Chameleon War Lord

In the winter of 1932 Ma Shih-ming, a subordinate of Ma Ch'ung-ying, marched to the outskirts of Urumchi. Under Chin Shu-jen's orders, the defense of the city was taken over by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a professional soldier of Manchurian origin. Sheng took command of over a thousand troops who had reached Urumchi from Manchuria. These troops, after fighting the Japanese, had retreated into Siberia, where they were interned. The device of repatriating them to Chinese territory in Sinkiang had enabled the Soviet authorities to strengthen the Provincial Government of Sinkiang with a reinforcement of trained Chinese soldiers. As non-Moslems, they could be counted on to resist the insurrection; as men from the Manchurian provinces, they were disposed to be more loyal to Sheng Shih-ts'ai than to any other officer. With the aid of this force, Sheng drove Ma Shih-ming back to the south.

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Then in April 1933 "White" Russian troops in Urumchi mutinied, joined with local Moslems in an attack on the provincial headquarters, and killed Chin Shu-jen's younger brother, who was head of the Military Bureau. These Russian troops had been recruited or conscripted among exiled Russians living in the

[39] He is related both to Ma Pu-fang, war lord of Ch'inghai (Kokonor) Province, and to Ma Hung-k'uei, war lord of Ninghsia Province.

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from 1935 to 1937, and Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission from 1938 to 1944. During this period he headed an important and personally profitable mission to Tibet, and supported a land-grabbing colonization policy which did much to turn Inner Mongolian nationalism against China.

His appointment in Sinkiang was backed by General Chu Shao-liang, who has already been mentioned, who was then active on behalf of the C.C. Clique. The most important members of his staff were also members of the Clique, including Tseng Shao-lu, Secretary-General; Teng Chiang-hai, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Yu Tao-yun, Reconstruction Commissioner; and Hsü Lien-chi, Educational Commissioner. Only his Finance Commissioner, Lo Yo-wen, was an adherent of the Political Science Group.

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By the end of November 1944 Wu had set free most of the Chungking appointees who had been arrested by Sheng Shih-ts'ai;[65] but many prisoners who had no connections with the C.C. Clique or with Chungking remained in jail, and much confiscated property was not returned. Political refugees who had fled to a number of cities in China, and even to Mecca, India, and Afghanistan, were not allowed to return. The passport fee for a merchant leaving the province was first trebled and then multiplied by ten.[66] Inflation and corruption increased to the point where the saying became current in Sinkiang that "one Sheng Shih-ts'ai went out, but two came in."

Opposition to the new trend in Chinese rule was not long in crystallizing. A rebellion broke out in the Ili Valley in November 1944. Fighting lasted for more than forty days, until Chinese forces gave up the city of Kulja and withdrew. This rising, referred to in the Chinese political literature as "the Ining Affair," marked the opening of a new phase of nationalism in Sinkiang.

A regime calling itself the Eastern Turkistan Republic was set up at Kulja, headed by a council of three — an Uighur, a Kazakh,

[65] Yu Han, "Sinkiang Memoir," in *Tu Chih Wen Choi* (*Reader's Digest*), Shanghai, July 16, 1946, Vol. 1, No. 6 (in Chinese).

[66] *Hsin Wen Tsa Chih* (*News Miscellany*), No. 8, Chungking, March 15, 1946 (in Chinese). Under Sheng, the passport fee had been $150,000 (Chinese). By 1946 it had increased to $2,000,000.

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and a "White" or non-Soviet Russian, a resident of the region. The military leaders were Ali Khan Türe, Osman Bator (a Kazakh who later turned against the regime), and Abdugani Bator. Leaders in administration and propaganda were Akhmedjan Kasimi, Rakhimjan Klojaev, and Abulkhair Türe.[67] The Chinese residents of Kulja cautiously declared that they had nothing in common with the oppressive policy of the Provincial Government. The Sibos, holding agricultural land near the city, delivered supplies.[68] Uighurs and Kazakhs joined in the fighting; an important development, in view of the fact that the Ili Valley is the most important region in Sinkiang in which Uighurs do not form the largest part of the population.

An American correspondent who reached the region somewhat later reported that there was "no evidence" to support Chinese charges that the insurgents were armed with "modern Russian equipment."[69] Most of the Uighur troops were in fact without rifles, and were armed only with hand grenades. The most important mobile troops were Kazakh cavalry. After hard fighting through the months of July, August, and September, the Kulja regime extended its control into the Chuguchak region. The insurgent forces then turned eastward and drove to Manass, the important town near which the trade route from Urumchi divides, with one fork leading to Ili and the other to Chuguchak. The fighting at Manass was so severe that the population was reduced from 40,000 to 17,000, and the physical devastation was proportionately great.[70] By this time the Kulja insurgents were reported to have 40,000 men under arms, and were considered a grave threat to Urumchi itself. Crack troops from the command of Hu Tsung-nan, which throughout the war against Japan had been garrisoned in Northwest China to "contain" the Chinese Communists, were sent to Sinkiang, but failed to throw back the insurgents.

[67] *Revolutionary Eastern Turkistan*, Kulja, July 30, 1946, p. 1 (in Russian).
[68] Same publication, Dec. 26, 1946, p. 2.
[69] Frank Robertson.
[70] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, February 22, 1947 (in Chinese).

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At this point it was considered necessary to negotiate, and General Chang Chih-chung was sent from Chungking to Sinkiang in September 1945. Although a military man, General Chang, who has since become of steadily increasing importance both in Sinkiang and in Chinese national politics, has never been a war lord basing himself on a territory with troops of his own. After graduating from the Paoting Military Academy and studying in Germany, he was given command of a division and later of the Fifth Army. He took part in the defense of Shanghai against the Japanese in 1932, and later was made Dean of the Central Military Academy, since when he has not held active command of troops. From 1937 to 1939 he was Chairman of the Hunan Provincial Government; in 1940 he was aide-de-camp to the Generalissimo, and during the war he was head of the political training board of the National Military Council. Concurrently he was Secretary-General of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, a stronghold of the C.C. Clique. He has never been fully identified with either the C.C. Clique or the Political Science Group, but has been one of the few important men able to co-operate with either of them in specific enterprises. Although his known preference for compromise set him aside from the disciplined authoritarianism of the C.C. Clique, the Clique did not oppose his assignment to Sinkiang to attempt to settle by negotiation a situation that could no longer be handled by force.[71]

In the course of his negotiations with the Kulja insurgents, Chang Chih-chung had to make three journeys by air between Urumchi and Chungking, in September and October 1945 and January 1946. His first meeting with the Kulja delegates was promising. They were willing to abandon the "independence" of the "Eastern Turkistan Republic," if Chungking would grant autonomous self-government to the whole province of Sinkiang.

[71] In 1949, after serving as chairman of a six-man Kuomintang delegation to Peiping to attempt to negotiate peace with the Chinese Communists, Chang Chih-chung — with four other members of the delegation — blamed the failure of the negotiations on the unrealistic intransigence of the Kuomintang, and remained in Peiping, reconciling himself to a Communist-controlled future for China.

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Chang was willing to let Kulja retain its armed forces as a local "peace preservation corps" (a common arrangement in China), but insisted that Chungking retain top military command in the province and full authority over diplomatic relations.

The second conference took place in Urumchi in November, 1945. The insurgent movement had by then spread into the Tarim Basin. In the south of the province the government had lost control of Yarkand and Khargalik, and Khotan was surrounded by armed rebels. Chungking was unable to detach large forces for operations in Sinkiang. Although the war against Japan was over, delicate negotiations with the Chinese Communists were in progress. In this period, therefore, interesting parallel negotiations took place. While General Marshall, although America was regarded as primarily the friend and supporter of the Chinese Government, acted as mediator between the Kuomintang and the Communists, the Soviet Consul General in Urumchi, although Russia was regarded as friendly to the insurgents, acted as mediator between them and the Chinese authorities.

Between October 1945 and June 1946 there were eighteen official meetings and more than ten unofficial meetings. To enhance the prestige of General Chang in carrying on the negotiations, he was made Head of the Generalissimo's Headquarters for the Northwest.

The negotiations resulted in three agreements. The basic agreement comprised eleven articles. Attached to Article Nine of this agreement was a supplementary agreement on the reorganization of the Provincial Government. Both of these agreements were signed by General Chang and by three Kulja delegates — Akhmedjan Kasimi, Abulkhair Türe, and Bakhimjan Klojaev. A second supplementary agreement, attached to Article Ten and dealing with the reorganization of armed forces, was not signed until June 6, 1946 — on which day there was a grand celebration in Urumchi, and Wu Chung-hsin, as Chairman of the Provincial Government, telegraphed to all districts to release political prisoners.[72]

The main agreement provided for adult suffrage, with district

[72] *Ta Kung Pao*; Chungking edition, June 7, 1946 (in Chinese).

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officials to be elected locally instead of being appointed by the Provincial Government. The non-Chinese nationalities were granted the use of their own languages in primary schools, with Chinese to be taught as a compulsory language in middle schools. The Provincial Government was to be partly appointed by the Chinese National Government, partly nominated by Sinkiang provincial delegates. Moslem provincial troops were to be allowed Uighur and Kazakh as their languages of command. Their organization was to be brought in line with the national military establishment, but provincial troops and National Government troops were not to be stationed in the same places.

The first supplementary agreement dealt in detail with the fifteen members of the Provincial Government to be nominated by provincial delegates, and with the offices to be held by them. The second supplementary agreement dealt in detail with the organization, command, and expense of maintenance of Provincial Government and National Government troops, and provided for future agreement as to the places or districts where troops were to be stationed.[73]

If these three agreements had been carried out, the non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang would have achieved a large measure of self-determination and autonomous local administration, backed by the preservation of a part of their armed forces. Equality of treatment would have been promoted by this improvement in status. The agreements were, however, never put into full operation. Their implementation was held up principally by the delaying tactics of the C.C. Clique, whose devotion to the "leader principle" required a stubborn resistance to representative government.

Under the first application of the agreements, however, Chang Chih-chung replaced Wu Chung-hsin as provincial Chairman in July 1946. One of his Vice-Chairmen was an Uighur, the other a Tatar. Liu Meng-hsun, a close associate of the C.C. Clique, was appointed Secretary General, with a Kazakh and an Uighur as his

[73] The three documents were first published in full by the official Chinese Government Central News Agency, Nanking, June 29, 1946.

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deputies. Wang Tseng-shan, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Chao Chien-feng, Social Welfare Commissioner, and Ku Chien-chi, Vice-Commissioner of Reconstruction, were all active C.C. Clique members. 175* 669

With this mixed team, General Chang made a real effort to improve government, at least in Urumchi. A basic law for the province, in ten articles, was immediately adopted. Under this law officials were forbidden to engage in trade, and private banks were encouraged to increase production. Requisitions were limited and tax reduction was provided for, at least as a hope. All district councils and magistrates were to be elected within three months.[74] To implement this law, the government ordered the liquidation of the provincial trading corporation which had been set up by Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[75] (General Chang ordered 25,000 Chinese ounces of opium to be burned in front of his headquarters.) To reduce the danger of riots, intermarriage between Moslems and non-Moslems was forbidden. Taxes in arrears were canceled, and a reduction of taxes was promised for 1947.[76] To cover the budget deficit, General Chang went to Nanking to ask for an annual subsidy of $165,000,000 in Chinese dollars.[77] 175* 635

More than a hundred Chinese Communists who had been put in prison by Sheng Shih-ts'ai (many of them being men who had worked for him in his reform period), were released by Chang Chih-chung and sent to Yenan in a special convoy of trucks.[78] In taking this step, he was following consistently the line which for some years had marked him as a moderate man who favored compromise. Certainly General Chang was sincere in his efforts to reach a workable compromise in Sinkiang. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, for instance, he said, "Whenever I 175*

[74] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947, pp. 9–11 (in Chinese).

[75] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, August 13, 1946 (in Chinese).

[76] Details of sixteen tax reductions were published as an official announcement in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, January 12, 1947 (in Chinese).

[77] Same publication, April 11, 1947.

[78] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Shanghai edition, January 1947 (in Chinese).

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*563 186 tural heritage, and make plain their desire to defend it against Chinese encroachment by preserving their own language, literature, and traditions.

Religious freedom is likewise demanded by Uighurs of all political factions. The Islamic flag, depicting a crescent and star on a red background, flies over the schools in Kulja and Chuguchak. After the break between Kulja and Urumchi, the Kulja group was requested by Chang Chih-chung to clarify its intentions by flying the "national colors" over the schools and military establishments.

*563 186 669 It is apparent that the nationalist movement among the Uighurs has never gone as far as the militant revolutionary stage reached by the Viet Minh and other radical groups in the Far East. The Uighurs seek primarily a modicum of liberties such as will permit them to continue to survive as one people under a government of their own choosing. Important sections of the Uighurs have shown that they are willing to join with other peoples, even including some Chinese, in fighting for these demands.

The past history of Sinkiang, considered together with the latest uprising in the province, suggests that the demands of the various peoples are not likely to be fully satisfied without at least some measure of territorial as well as cultural autonomy. Just how this can be arranged is something that has to be worked out — jointly, if it is to be done harmoniously — by the minority border peoples and the majority Chinese in the country as a whole. Hitherto, however, the range of disagreement is such that it appears to be impossible even to obtain accord on the demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang!

*563 197 The problem is not much easier for the scholar concerned solely with describing the peoples of the province. Any classification into nationalities is impeded at the outset by the dearth of information on the national sentiments of any more than a mere handful of nationalist thinkers. Nevertheless, such concrete data as lie at hand do provide some means for objective analysis of the population. In this connection it is particularly striking

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religionists of other nationalities. During the great uprising of the third quarter of the last century the Moslem Chinese sided for a time with their Uighur and Kirghiz coreligionists against the Chinese-Manchu regime, subsequently came to blows with their Uighur comrades in arms, and with the collapse of the revolt were virtually exterminated by the Imperial forces. The revolts of the early 1930's displayed the same feature of initial alliance, followed by final break, between Moslems of Uighur and Chinese origin. 563* 578 186

If these examples indicate the instability of the religious tie between the Chinese Moslems and others of the same religion in Sinkiang, the harmonious relations which developed later in the 1930's between the Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese demonstrates that under certain conditions the two groups are able to relegate the differences between them to a subordinate importance. It appears then that the Chinese population in Sinkiang is confronted by two possible lines of development. One is to focus around the religious issue all other differences of interest until the process of cleavage results in the formation of two definitely separate nationalities. The other is to subordinate their differences, to the point where religion is no more a barrier to common nationality than it is among Americans, English, and other peoples.

In the past, the precipitant of hostility between Chinese Moslems and non-Moslems within Sinkiang has often been the arrival of reinforcements from outside the province. In every period of insurrection, when war bands of Chinese Moslems from Kansu, Ninghsia, or Ch'inghai (Kokonor) have invaded Sinkiang, the Chinese Moslems of Sinkiang have risen to join them. They considered each other not only coreligionists but kinsmen. Together they not only fought non-Moslem Chinese, but massacred whole communities. When, on the other hand, the non-Moslem Chinese received reinforcements, they were equally savage in their repression of the Dungans. The record in bloodiness was set by the armies of Tso Tsung-t'ang. When they took Uighur towns, surrender was usually accepted without massacre because the 563* 578 669

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 578 669 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they defeated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 701 668 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforcements sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

*563 701 648 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with relatively good training and American equipment, and with the Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

175 region, in which it had always been strongest; and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the years in which his policy was most active, most progressive, and most successful, bracketed the British with the Japanese as imperialists menacing Sinkiang. Partly as a device for turning the pressure of the nationalisms of the Uighurs and others away from his administration, he directed it against the British. The shadow of Japan over Sinkiang never hardened into the reality of a Japanese invasion or even raid; but in the years in which British policy appeased Japan the shadow of Britain over Sinkiang wore thinner.[16]

The Chinese Revolution Reaches Sinkiang

175 648 It was only after Russian revolutionary influences had become strong and well established in Inner Asia, and after the decline of British power and prestige in the 1930's had obviously begun that the effects of China's own revolution really began to penetrate into Sinkiang. In the 1911 Revolution, all that really happened in Sinkiang was that the title of the Manchu Empire passed to the Chinese Republic. The governing group remained essentially the same, guided by the strong hand of Yang Tseng-hsin. That same strong hand sealed Sinkiang off from the stormy events and heady ideas of the Second or "Great" Revolution of 1925–1927.

175 648 669 Revolutionary developments began with the Moslem and nationalist risings at the beginning of the 1930's, which were rebellions against Chinese rule that turned into revolutions against the traditional social orders of Sinkiang. By an odd twist, however, it was these rebellions that gave the first opportunity of action for those Chinese in Sinkiang whose minds were also turned toward revolution.

There seems little doubt that Sheng Shih-ts'ai, at the time he came to power, was a mixture of the revolutionary and the mili-

[16] For contemporary expressions of Chinese hostility to Britain on the subject of Sinkiang, see Edgar Snow, *Battle for Asia*, Random House, New York, 1941, p. 307 and note, citing the most important independent Chinese newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao;* also Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, 1944, pp. 48 and 56, also citing Chinese sources.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

tary adventurer. In the Northern Expedition of 1927 he had accompanied the famous First Army column which was commanded by Chiang Kai-shek with Ho Ying-ch'in as Chief of Staff and Pai Chung-hsi as Assistant Chief of Staff, and had himself served in the Planning Section of the Staff. He had, therefore, watched at close hand those military leaders of the Kuomintang who boldly used class conflict to create a situation in which they could control the balance of power. They developed, and for a time seemed to have perfected, a method of riding the revolutionary tiger without losing control of it and becoming unable to dismount. Sheng Shih-ts'ai may well have thought, when he first assumed power in Sinkiang, that he too could use the methods of revolution without losing control of the process of revolution.

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What Sheng Shih-ts'ai faced in Sinkiang was not revolution, but a widespread rebellion which could not be suppressed by force with the military resources at his command. On the other hand, he had no mandate to protect the vested interests of the colonial Chinese families that had long been established in the province. He was a newcomer. There lay before him the opportunity to take command of the situation if he could do so by use of the means available to him.

These means included:

1. Getting material aid from the Russians, in return for preventing Japanese infiltration into Inner Asia.

2. Getting the Russians to repatriate, into Sinkiang, Chinese troops which, after being defeated by the Japanese in Manchuria, had retreated into Siberia and had there been interned. As a Manchurian Chinese himself, he could present himself to these troops as a sympathetic commander, while they in turn had no local political loyalties in Sinkiang, and made him independent of reinforcements sent from China.

3. Concessions to Uighur and other non-Chinese political leaders at the expense of the old Chinese official clique in Sinkiang — a clique to which Sheng was not bound, and whose interests he did not have to defend, if by abandoning them he could create new interests allied to himself and dependent on his new policy.

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As was shown in Chapter III, Sheng's "nationality policy" was worded as if it had been based on concessions to peoples, but was in fact directed primarily to winning over some of the leaders of those peoples, whose ambition was simply to hold offices that had been open previously only to Chinese.

4. The recruiting of a new body of Chinese experts and advisers who, like himself, were not tied by common interests to the old regime, and would support his two bold policies of dealing with the Russians and making greater concessions to the non-Chinese nationalities of Sinkiang than their Chinese rulers had ever made to them before.

The first three points have been dealt with earlier in this book, in Chapter III. They are mentioned again here only because of their connection with the fourth point, which concerns the manner in which the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution became, after so long a delay, transplanted to Sinkiang and began to operate there.

Sheng had no difficulty in collecting Chinese, previously strangers to the province, who were far enough to the left to go along with him enthusiastically in his first years of radical innovation. Between the loss of Manchuria in 1931 and the formation of a united front between Communists and Kuomintang at the beginning of 1937, China was a bitter and disillusioned country. Thousands of ardent patriots, who did not want to follow the Communists, were disappointed in the Kuomintang's refusal to make a stand against the Japanese and its insistence, instead, on continuing the civil war against the Communists. Afraid of the Communists as "too revolutionary," but eager for reform, they were ready to rally to a leader like Sheng Shih-ts'ai who was proclaiming internal unity, democratic reforms, and unlimited hostility to imperialism.

Nor were Chinese who felt this way easily frightened by Sheng's friendly association with the Russians. Many Chinese were in favor of good relations with Russia, in view of the clear menace of Japan. To keep one foreign nation balanced against another was an old Chinese tradition; a great many Chinese

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

feared that this technique was being turned against them when they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 175 648 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of organization and some of the factionalism that had been developing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues. 175 648 563 186

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

643 had met Lu Hsüeh-tsu in Nanking through the offices of a mutual
175 friend, and Lu was persuaded to recommend him to the Sinkiang Military Governor. But when Chin Shu-jen learned of Sheng's background he seemed to fear to take him on; Chin wanted a subordinate, not a possible rival. It was only through third party pressure that Chin agreed to give Sheng his chance. Then, just as the young appointee was about to leave Eastern China, Sino-Russian hostilities over the Chinese Eastern Railway broke out and interrupted normal air transport through Soviet Russia via Vladivostok. Since it was by that route that Sheng had planned to travel, he was forced to spend eight months in Pei-p'ing "reading" again until communications were restored. When the line was at last reopened, he flew through Siberia to his destination; there he was temporarily lodged as a guest of Lu Hsüeh-tsu, who had been his traveling companion. But Sheng did not get to see Chin Shu-jen until over a week had passed; for Lu and the military governor had had a quarrel almost as soon as Lu arrived.

At last Sheng was assigned a position with the General Staff in the Office of the Border Defense Commander of Sinkiang. Not a particularly attractive "boost" for one with Sheng's background, the assignment found him nevertheless immediately setting to his tasks. By 1930 he had worked himself up to the position of Chief of the General Staff in the Office; then, when revolt broke out in Ha-mi, he was made Commander-in-Chief at the Front.

175 Chin Shu-jen, a man weaker than those before him and yet covetously
669 retaining the old exploitation methods, had attempted to monopolize taxes on Sinkiang foreign trade and had given his sons extensive regional authority. This combination had caused such resentment that, apparently with some Japanese instigation filtering in through Mongolia, it surged up in a swelling tide and flung the waves of civil war over the province. The incident which finally precipitated his downfall came with the death of the Mohammedan Prince of Qomul in 1930.

Qomul, the Moslem city known to Chinese as Ha-mi, as late as 1930 had been still under only nominal Chinese suzerainty. But when its prince died his son was "received" into Chinese protective custody; then the ancient principality of Qomul was legally abolished and the region

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broken down into three Chinese counties, Ha-mi, I-ho, and I-wu. From those, according to the existing Chinese law, certain taxes were automatically due to the provincial government and to other Chinese government authority. This alone might have been enough to rouse the Moslems of the old principality, for up to then they had not been accustomed to pay such taxes. But to make matters worse a party of eighty Kansu refugees had been brought by Chin Shu-jen to Sinkiang and allotted some of the Moslem land in the "new" I-ho county. Finally, one of the "infidel" tax collectors tried to marry a pretty Moslem girl. In their fury the Moslems killed the tax collector and the eighty Kansu refugees. The small nucleus of Mohammedan rioters gradually accumulated "thousands" more, and open revolt against the Sinkiang administration began.

The whole affair was an expensive demonstration of Chin Shu-jen's ineptitude for the office of Sinkiang Provincial Chairman. The old Prince of Qomul had been thoroughly hated by his own people, and his demise need not have created such an outbreak. Yet, once the revolt had been started, it assumed devastating proportions.

Two of the rebels went to Kansu and solicited help from Ma Chung-ying. With some four hundred Moslem comrades from Kansu to help him, Ma marched forward into Sinkiang. This was one of the far-famed Ma's of the Tung-kan (Tungan) clan. Born at the town of Hochow in Southern Kansu, he had entered the Ch'inghai army of one of his namesakes, Ma Pu-fang, at the age of seventeen. After a time he had gathered his own Moslem Chinese army about him and swiftly brought his name to notice in Kansu military affairs. So prominent had he become by the spring of 1930 that Chiang Kai-shek had permitted him to enroll in the Nationalist military academy at Nanking for a three months' indoctrination course. When he returned to the Northwest, however, his ambitions brought him rapidly into difficulty with other prominent leaders of the region. He had just suffered a military defeat at the hands of Ma Pu-fang when the call came from Ha-mi.

Ma Chung-ying entered Sinkiang as a liberator, and at first recruits came by the throng to his army, the official 36th Division which

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Nanking had authorized him to command. He attacked Chen-hsi (Barkol) successfully, and then Ha-mi and Ch'i-chio-ching. Though partly victorious in these latter encounters, he was wounded and temporarily retired to refuge in Kansu. He returned to the fray in May, 1932, chiefly assisted by another Moslem, Ma Shih-ming. Chin Shu-jen then directed Sheng Shih-ts'ai, already promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief at the Front, to march against the rebels. Sheng was so successful that two of the Moslem leaders, Yulbaz and Khoja Niaz by name, fled from the province. Ma Shih-ming, however, had marched to Shan-shan and launched a counter-attack in the winter of 1932. His forces soon were approaching the outskirts of Tihwa, the provincial capital.

At this time over a thousand of the refugee troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army from Manchuria—then continuing a journey back into China via Sinkiang—began to march down from T'a Ch'eng (Chuguchak) to defend Tihwa. Ma Shih-ming, noting this, withdrew his Moslem forces to San-tao Pa, which commanded access to the rice-producing areas on which Tihwa was dependent. Chin Shu-jen therefore ordered Sheng Shih-ts'ai to take the new forces with him in an attack on San-tao Pa and later Fou-k'ang, another Moslem stronghold. Sheng had just chased the Tung-kans out of San-tao Pa when there came a new turn of events.

A heavy slaughter of Han Chinese had been going on in many centers elsewhere in the province, and within the provincial capital there was a great rice shortage. Chinese military and civilian leaders alike, therefore, had by this time begun to resent the continued fighting; Tihwa had even come to feel that if Chin Shu-jen were ousted from his post as Provincial Chairman the warfare might subside. White Russian troops, consituting a sizable portion of the soldiers upon whom Chin counted for protection, were at the same time restless about poor treatment they had been receiving. This unhealthy state of affairs came to a climax on April 12, 1933, the occasion of the "Four-Twelve" Affair, when these same White Russians announced that Moslems were attacking the city. A mob, entering the gates of Tihwa, rushed forward in a direct attack on the provincial government headquarters. In the midst

of this pandemonium Chin Shu-jen fled out of the city. Provincial military responsibility thus fell directly on Sheng Shih-ts'ai's shoulders. 175 669

Tu Chung-yüan, whose account in Chinese of the New Sinkiang has been exceptionally revealing, continues with the story in this way:

> After Chin Shu-jen had fled, the White Russian Army captured both Chin Shu-hsin, his son, and Commander Ts'ui Chao-chi. Ultimately Chin Shu-hsin was killed because he tried to flee during his trial.
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> It was evening in the city when the White Russian Army opened the meeting. Liu Wen-lung, Provincial Commissioner of Education, was chosen Provisional Chairman of the Provincial Government. Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian Northeast National Salvation Army, was named Provisional Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, and twenty-four men, including Ch'en Chung, T'ao Ming-yüeh and others, were selected as members of a Sinkiang Provincial Government Maintenance Committee. Liu Wen-lung posited three principles for the meeting: Protection of Chin Shu-jen's life and property; Protection of the Consulate; and Maintenance of order.
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> At the time Cheng Jun-ch'eng was outside the city and did not know what had taken place, so Yang Hsüeh-yüan was sent to get him. Cheng, after declining his appointment three times, finally consented to accept it temporarily. But it was known Chin's appointment of Sheng Shih-ts'ai indicated the latter had considerable power, and some feared that Sheng might help Chin Shu-jen. Pai Yü-hsiu was appointed to see Sheng about taking over Chin's office . . . but was wounded. At the time both Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Yang Hsüeh-yüan were at Cheng Jun-ch'eng's headquarters, and all three of them entered the city together. Cheng continually argued that he and his troops were guests of Sinkiang, and that he could not accept appointment in the province. The people therefore selected Sheng as Provisional Border Defense Commander . . .

Young Sheng Shih-ts'ai, rich in military background, recognized this opportunity for what it was; his military successes had already won him acclaim and the Sinkiang capital was looking for a new military leader. Though Cheng Jun-ch'eng, leader of the Manchurian contingent passing through Sinkiang, might have been first choice, he did not feel free to accept provincial military command. Perhaps Sheng helped persuade him to decline. Sheng was the most eligible leader left and, accordingly, was selected.

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Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been placed in a difficult position, and at first there seemed little that he could do. The Tung-kan armies of Ma Chung-ying had cut him off and were bleeding the countryside of Eastern Sinkiang of its sustenance. Everywhere along the road from Ha-mi to Tihwa there was "misery, debris, devastation!" At Ha-mi the shops were closed, their fronts barred with sinister wood shutters. The village of T'ou-p'u had become merely "heaps of clay." At Ch'i-chio-ching the streets were littered and stinking with the bodies of dead horses shot in battle. Movement on the thoroughfares of Turfan had ceased, its commerce was paralyzed and there, too, the shops were shuttered and bolted. Ma Chung-ying had become the "autocrat of Eastern Sinkiang" from Ha-mi to Korla and west as far as Kashgar; by June, 1933, he had entered even Ch'i-t'ai (Ku Ch'eng-tzu) "unhindered" and had begun to push from there towards Tihwa. Behind him, though, he had left a wake of pillaging and poverty. The ruthlessness with which he and his men plundered the countryside and the people earned him hatred even from countless fellow Moslems as well as from the Han Chinese.

Sheng directed the Northeast Resist Japan Army to continue the march against Ma, who was as a consequence forced temporarily into a retreat; but he recovered enough to reform his men into ranks and to capture Turfan. From there, where the North and South Roads of Sinkiang come closest to juncture, he controlled access to both East and South Sinkiang. This news came as a severe jolt to the capital, for revolt had also broken out further north at I-li (Sui-ting), under General Chang Pei-yüan. Representatives of the Chinese National Government took this opportunity to attempt negotiation of a peace between Sheng and Ma. Nanking sent first General Huang Mu-sung, then the late Lo Wen-kan. But both were unsuccessful. Sheng was amenable, yet requested that Ma make Ha-mi his headquarters and take orders from the provincial government; to this Ma would not consent. Instead, at the turn of 1934, he once more marched his armies toward the capital which had just sent its main force in the direction of T'a Ch'eng to put down the Altai uprising of Chang Pei-yüan.

At this point Sheng Shih-ts'ai arranged with Soviet Russia to import

large amounts of war materials—trucks, armored cars, machine-guns, ammunition, and even airplanes. With these and the help of Russian troops from the Altai area, the government forces captured Hsi-hu, on the Altai road, and compelled General Chang to flee ultimately toward an ignominious suicide. Then Sheng turned once more to press home his attack on Ma Chung-ying. Had the Russian matériel not been obtained, Ma might have won the battle of Tihwa. As it was, the Tung-kans were forced to flee back all the way to Toqsun; and Sheng's armies began to block their enemies off, both outside Turfan and in the vicinity of Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). Ma's position quickly became so desperate that he began a long retreat to the southwest in the direction of Kashgar. Sheng's airplanes harried the retiring forces with bombs at Turfan and again at Korla, and it was only by the narrowest margin that the Tung-kan leader squeezed past those towns to Kucha. From there he fled to the comparative security of Kashgar in April, 1934. Yet he was forced to leave even that refuge, for troops of the Northeast Resist Japan Army marched in within four months. Ma is said to have been escorted over the Chinese frontier into Russia, and his whereabouts have since then seemingly been swallowed up in mystery.

Sinkiang was not, however, sorry to see him depart, after the four years of warfare. The desperate people were instead only too ready to heed proclamations which were dropped from Sheng Shih-ts'ai's airplanes urging the populace to make "genuine submission" in return for "rehabilitation" and "safety." An army of Kirgizes, Turkis, Torguts, Taranchis, and White Russians, according to words ascribed to one of the tribesmen himself, had at last been formed "to drive Ma and the Tungans out of Sinkiang." All who followed Sheng Shih-ts'ai had been promised, too, that "a new era" had begun for the province; that General Sheng was going to reorganize Sinkiang administration and bring "order, peace, and security."

On first coming to power in 1933, Sheng Shih-ts'ai concerned himself principally with the handling of dissident factions; soon, however, he issued declarations of radical administrative policy, and then introduced a first, and in due course a second, three-year plan of provincial reconstruction. His program was not at first so effective in South Sin-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the
622 storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for
702 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro-
622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax-
621 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

648 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an
669 ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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City and that the Titai was reported to have been killed. I galloped as hard as I could to the Consulate, where I found every one in a state of excitement except D., who was baking scones and cakes for the King's Birthday garden party on the following Tuesday. All our eight orderlies were in uniform, wearing their revolvers—their only arms—and knots of Hindu traders and other British subjects were standing about the grounds discussing the situation and spreading the wildest rumours. The only point on which every one agreed was that the Titai was dead (as a matter of fact this was not the case) and that the troops were coming over to the Old City for his son, the massive outer wall of whose citadel was within a couple of hundred yards of the Consulate gates. I took such steps as I could for the safeguarding of the foreign colony and awaited developments.

At about twelve noon a shot rang out from the Hsieh Tai's citadel, followed closely by another and then by a regular fusillade. Some of the shots came over the Consulate, and I had to make everybody take cover in case of spent bullets.[1] I went to see D. in her small private kitchen, and found her still baking cakes and quite unconscious of the fact that there was a war on. From where she was she could not hear the firing, but when she went out into the garden to feed the rabbits, which she insisted on doing, war or no war, she heard the "ping" of several bullets as they came over. A twig from a tree, cut by one of them, fell to the ground at our feet. The heavy firing lasted about a quarter of an hour, and for the rest of the day there were only occasional shots. After lunch I went round with a couple of orderlies to the gate of the fort to find out what had happened; I was told that the Hsieh Tai was lying dead and that the Government troops were chasing his soldiers about the streets and in the surrounding country, taking prisoner those who threw away their rifles and shooting those who did not. In the afternoon I received a call from a burly, round-faced, ruddy-complexioned, rather pleasant-looking Chinese officer, who showed me where a bullet had entered his thigh during the fighting. He proved to be second in command of the Government troops, the leader of which I was interested to hear was no other than the "Ma Darin" who, as Amban of Uch Turfan, had enter-

[1] Probably no one fired on purpose in our direction, but I understand that in Chinese civil warfare a large proportion of the shots are fired into the air by way of frightfulness.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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669.

tained me at that delectable place the previous September. It appeared that some years before Ma had been Amban of Kashgar New City, and that the Titai had then done him some great wrong; now, for the sake of revenge, Ma had asked the Governor, as a special favour, for the command of the flying column that was to surprise and destroy his old enemy. The wounded officer came on behalf of his chief to ask when the latter could come and call on me, also to apologize for having left us undefended during the fighting. In spite of my protests he insisted on leaving eight very tired infantrymen to guard us. We gave the poor lads a good tea, for they were dead beat, as well they might be; they had marched 20 miles by night, had rushed the Titai's citadel at dawn, marched 6 miles over to the Old City and had stormed the Hsieh Tai's yamen, all since sunset the evening before.

Next day I was able to piece together from various accounts the full story of the affair. It appeared that on 24th May the larger part of the Government troops, under Erh Taoyin, marched ostentatiously out of Aqsu and down the Maralbashi road towards Kashgar. At the same time a picked force of six hundred, under Captain Ma (as the ex-Amban of Uch Turfan was now styled) slipped off along the same mountain road, viâ Uch Turfan, Qaragor and Yai Dōbe, which we had followed on our way to Bai the previous autumn. The main body, under Erh, halted at Maralbashi, but Captain Ma's men, in seven forced marches, reached a secluded spot among the Artush hills, to the north of Kashgar, within easy striking distance of the New City. They had no difficulty in capturing the few scouts the Titai had out in this direction.

On the night of our dinner-party (Saturday, 31st May), Captain Ma and his men marched rapidly to the New City and waited outside the gates. The Titai, over-confident as usual, and imagining that his enemies were still several marches from Kashgar, had omitted to take the most elementary precautions. His soldiers, of whom he had several hundred in the citadel, were all asleep or under the influence of opium, and the gates were opened as usual at dawn to admit the villagers crowding into market with their produce. The Titai was asleep in his immense new wooden palace, a four-storied affair, painted red and elaborately decorated with grotesque carvings and frescoes. Captain Ma and a small band of picked men made their way straight to the palace, fired some shots into it, and called upon the Titai to surrender.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 He replied with a volley from the windows, killing an officer and two men. Captain Ma and his party dashed across the courtyard and up three flights of stairs fighting all the way, until at last they forced an entrance into the old man's bedroom. The Titai fought like a tiger at bay, wounding one of the party, but Ma with a lucky pistol-shot in the right arm disabled him and took him prisoner. With the capture of their formidable "King" the soldiers of the Titai, who had meanwhile been fighting with Ma's men in the palace and town, broke and fled. Only four or five of them were killed, the whole affair having taken place in less than a quarter of an hour and having been a complete surprise. The wounded tyrant was bound and taken to an inn outside his citadel, while the invaders looted his palace, which was full of valuables, chiefly in the form of opium, silks and jade. Telegrams were exchanged with Urumchi, and next day the Titai paid the penalty for his crimes. He was put up against the main gateway of the citadel and riddled with bullets, on the very spot where the bodies of his victims, alive or dead, had so often been exposed *pour encourager les autres*. His corpse was left there for a couple of days tied up to a kind of cross for the people to insult and defile, which large numbers of them did with the utmost gusto.

344 On the Tuesday I rode with a friend to the New City and returned the call which Captain Ma had courteously paid me the previous afternoon. The slayer of the Titai, a quiet easy-mannered little man with aquiline features and steady dark eyes, took me all over the fallen tyrant's palace. It was an immense wooden structure with four stories and a pagoda roof, painted dark red and covered with grotesque frescoes and wooden figures of symbolical birds and animals. I had heard much about this palace, which had only just been completed; more than once I had peeped through its outer gates with a slight shudder at the thought of the sinister power which had called it into being. It was a curious sensation to find myself climbing flight after flight of steep stairs and entering a large central bedroom lavishly decorated with crude paintings. The walls, the ceiling and the great bed-alcove were all splintered with rifle- and pistol-shots and littered with arms and accoutrements, piles of ammunition-boxes, great-coats, and so on, for Captain Ma's soldiers had taken possession of the place. From the new palace we were conducted to the Titai's old Yamen along a kind of raised way, carried on

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 AI Sinkiang AII

trestles, over the roofs of the houses and the streets of the bazaar; this was the Titai's "Royal Road," along which he had been wont to walk between his old and new residences without soiling his feet with the dust of the bazaar. Between thirty and forty ladies of the Titai's harem were still living at the old Yamen when the blow fell; I was told that they were being treated kindly by our old friend Mr. Wang, Magistrate of the New City, in whose charge they had been placed. A horrible, toothless old major-domo of the Titai's showed us, with ghoulish gusto, over the warren-like zenana, still odorous of its late fair occupants, but turned completely upside down, looted and violated. Carpets were ripped up, upholstery torn open, tables and cupboards smashed to pieces in the search for treasure; for it was well known that the late owner had invested a large part of his ill-gotten gains in diamonds and other jewellery, mostly Russian revolution loot, which he had bought cheap from across the frontier. And everywhere was jade, great blocks of it, half-polished slabs lying about, broken cups and half-turned bangles littering the ground; for one of the Titai's industrial enterprises had been the establishment of a jade-cutting factory in his yamen, by the simple process of moving half the Khotan artisans bodily to Kashgar and forcing them to work at starvation rates on the jade brought from his mines in the upper Yarkand River basin.

Throughout the whole of that week I was greatly impressed by the orderliness of the proceedings. By the evening of the Sunday on which the Titai was captured all was quiet, and there was no disorder on the part either of the conquerors or of the conquered, who in Chinese civil war are usually more dangerous to the civilian population than their rivals. If it had been the Persia of my Kerman days, every shop in the bazaar would have closed at the first hint of trouble and half the population would have been taking refuge (*bast*) against one side or the other. As it was, the only effect of the general excitement was an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in prices. This satisfactory state of affairs was entirely due to the thoroughness of Governor Yang's preparations and the efficiency of his lieutenants; for there is no doubt that if the dispositions of the Higher Command had been less skilful or the revenge-seeking Captain Ma less bold and swift in his movements, the course of events might have been very different. The Titai and his son, knowing that it was war to the death, were preparing to defend the New and Old Cities

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could
•669 possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

538 The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

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The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
  He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
  The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
  Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
  Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
  The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

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[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

69: Levi S-4 (no date) 1953 AF1 China AF1
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change Sheng's loyalty. Sheng reaffirmed his loyalty to the Chinese government. Russian advisers, trade agencies, and troops were withdrawn from the province. Relations with the Soviet Union were interrupted. In 1944 Sheng was recalled to Chungking, upon Russian demand, it was said, and promoted to a nominally high position. Chinese national troops were reinforced in Sinkiang, Soviet sympathizers were purged, and the central government regained control.[25]

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But the government's success was not to last very long. Also in 1944 the Soviet Union resumed interest in Sinkiang and – perhaps by coincidence, more probably not – at the same time a revolt broke out in the Ili area against the Chinese government. Within one year the rebels conquered the country down to the Manas River and declared the three northwestern districts of Kulja, Chuguchak, and Altai the independent "Eastern Turkestan People's Republic." The remaining two-thirds of the province stayed under central Chinese control. The rebels had justified grievances, but without the moral and perhaps other support of the Soviet Union it is not likely that they would have gone so far.[26]

General Chang Chih-chung was sent to negotiate with the rebels. He did so, the Russian consuls at Kulja and Urumchi serving as intermediaries, a circumstance which lent credibility to Chinese claims that the revolt was Russian-engineered. In 1946 an agreement was reached in which some slight concessions toward autonomy of the Ili group were made This was followed from the central government by a few mild attempts at improvements in the administration and occasional conciliatory gestures. But the after-effects of the corrupt, despotic, and mismanaged administration of Sheng remained too pronounced, and the number of Chinese and pro-Chinese officials too great to please the rebels. The Chinese reforms under the slogan "Peace, Unity, Democracy" carried no conviction. The rebels demanded independence and engaged in strong anti-Chinese propaganda.*

The rebel-controlled and the Chinese-controlled parts of the province remained divided into watertight compartments. There were no direct relations between the rebel territory and China. On the other hand, the rebel area had close relations with the Soviet Union. Sinkiang minerals

* A few years after Sinkiang had become Communist-controlled, this line was changed. The people were then told that their struggle had formed "part of the general movement of the revolution of the Chinese people" and that nationalism was "unjustified" under a Communist regime.

69: Levi S-4 (no date) 1953 AF1 China AF1
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flowed freely to the west. All communications with the outside world went through Russian channels.

By the spring of 1949 a pro-Russian trend developed in the Chinese-controlled area as well. The Ili group used it immediately by pretending to veer toward the Chinese government and suggesting closer cooperation with the provincial government. The approach that took place between the rebels and the Chinese turned out to favor the Communists. For a few months later, in September, Sinkiang went over to them.

This was only one of several developments which permitted the gradual expansion of Russian influence and control over the province. There were also international complications which arose from numerous border incidents between Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia. In every incident the Chinese government considered the Russians involved and sent its protests to them as well as to the government of Outer Mongolia. Naturally the Russians never admitted any part, though they confirmed that the Outer Mongolians had Russian-trained pilots and Russian-made planes with markings "very similar" to those of the Russians.

The Russian explanations of the incidents varied. Sometimes they claimed the territory involved was not Chinese at all; or they claimed that the incidents had been provoked by the American consul; or they maintained that the Chinese had provoked them because they "liked what was going on in Greece" and wanted American aid. No settlement was ever reached, and until Sinkiang became Communist, the incidents continued, all, somehow, tending to favor the Soviet Union.

The Chinese government had been aware of this trend and tried to stop it. Simultaneously with its protests and angry outbursts, it tried to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union by which the Russians might be satisfied in return for withholding their support from the Chinese Communists or other groups friendly to Russia. Taking up a suggestion by the Soviet Union of early 1947, the Chinese early in 1949 began to negotiate treaties for trade, mining rights, and air communications. They hoped to kill two birds with one stone: by increasing but specifying Russian rights, they hoped to limit Russian penetration into Sinkiang and to strengthen their own hand against the Chinese Communists.

The reported Chinese plan was to give Russia a three-way monopoly: a monopoly on trade in Sinkiang's raw materials, in return for the supply of finished goods; a monopoly on mining rights, to be exploited by enterprises run jointly by Russians and Chinese; and a monopoly on civil

69: Levi S-4 (no date) 1953 AF1 China AF1
Sinkiang AI1

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aviation in the province. These proposals were not as radically new as might appear. In many respects they merely confirmed and legalized a situation which already existed in fact.

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Since 1939 the Russians had had a monopoly on air traffic in Sinkiang (with the exception of a direct line, Urumchi-Shanghai), and their planes landed in several places controlled by the Ili rebel group. The Chinese National Assembly, in an attempt to put pressure on the Soviet Union, had called upon the government to cancel the 1939 agreement. The government announced its intention of doing so. But when the negotiations were terminated, an agreement emerged in which Russian privileges were extended for another five years, instead of the twenty-four asked for by the Russians. The government had not even succeeded in making the Hami-Ata line a less Russian and more Chinese affair.

C S 648

In mining and trading the Russians already had a monopoly in the "Eastern Turkestan People's Republic" and wanted to extend it to all of Sinkiang. The Chinese objected on general principles. At the same time they wavered and were considering what concessions ought to be made to reach their political purpose of satisfying the Russians. The indecision reflected the split within the cabinet over the insoluble problem of how far Russia ought to be satisfied in order that it might stop supporting the Chinese Communists. No treaty was ever signed with the National Government. The Communist government later concluded agreements with the Soviet Union through which the Russians obtained in Sinkiang what they wanted.[27]

The Chinese government's position was indeed an unenviable one. Its attempt to stop the double-barreled attack by the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists by appeasing the one in the hope of weakening the other was obviously a choice among evils. The policy had its opponents inside the cabinet and failed to find favor with large sections of the public. Yet with occasional rescues by Chiang K'ai-shek, Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh succeeded in maintaining himself and his policy in power against all attacks until early 1949. It was a policy in which the Chinese government relied on good relations with the United States to counteract bad relations with the Soviet Union. Depending upon the response from Moscow and Washington at any given moment, of course, relations with both had their ups and downs. The basic theme of this policy, as Wang described it, was close cooperation "forever" with the United States and "moderation" and strict enforcement of treaties with the Soviet Union.[28]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

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The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

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II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

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S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S N [167] S N [651] S N 563 669 182

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
635 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
175 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
185 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
631 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 rebellion.
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The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his
[648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again
159 in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul
635 (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides.
669 In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

175 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

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175 5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and
159 misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in com-
635 parison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the
• 669 characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N IV. The Rise of the Communists

*175 While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang,
*668 events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast
669 territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

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175 The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war
159 against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a
648 virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he main-
[635] tained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

175 One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
• 669 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
[563] protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
578 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
563 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders, the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

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N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

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2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

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A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

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"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

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civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

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But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

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Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
S N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
• 669 Sinkiang.
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S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[793] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[346] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Govern-
[795] ment, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
• 669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter--revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

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make use of reactionary elements of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism to establish anti-Communist and anti-Soviet bases of operation." (JMJP October 1, 1950).

The extent of opposition to Communist rule may be seen in the news dispatches issued by the Communist authorities on the results of their relentless crack-down of the counter-revolutionaries:

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Item: September, 1950, liquidation of 58,000 bandit troops who refused to disarm and continued to resist.

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Item: November, 1950, arrest of 6,249 Kuomintang agents and seizure of 208 special service cells and 275 radio stations.
Item: February, 1951, capture of Osman Batur and Jamin Khan and escape of Yolbars Khan to Formosa. April, 1951, Execution of Osman Batur.
Item: 1951. Revolt of workers in the Yen-ch'ang Oilfield, Shensi.
Item: December, 1950, Suppression of the Taoist secret society, the I-kuan-tao, which claimed to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia. Members of the organization were charged to have infiltrated into farmers' associations and sabotaged the land reform and peasant organization work.

Despite the savagery of the suppression, the Communists were unable to snuff out the opposition. Kan Ssu-ch'i, director of the Department of Public Security of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, pointed out that in the province of Kansu alone, the counter-revolutionaries killed and wounded 2,117 native cadres resulting in a profound demoralization of the people. "The people blame us," he said, "for having only government and no law. We must...by means of accusation meetings, exhibitions, public trials and forums, mobilize the broad masses to partake in the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries." (NCNA, April 7, 1951).

The alibis for the failure to wipe out the opposition in the Northwest was attributed to many causes. T'ao Chih-yüeh, deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military District, charged that "hidden enemies are utilizing old relations, old friendships and all opportunities for winning over and buying over a few backward elements." Ma Hung-pin, vice-chairman of the Kansu provincial people's government, warned the people to renounce their old friendships. "All counter-revolutionaries," he said, "be they your relatives, your friends and your neighbors, or even your family members, must be denounced." (NCNA, April 7, 1951). Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, charged that "the imperialists" were fanning the fires of "narrow nationalism" by spreading rumors and fostering animosity among the minority peoples and they have seized upon pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as their weapons." (JMJP, October 2, 1951).

The admonition and the threats by the officials had no effect

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur
S Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
• 669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.

[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
668 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
669 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of
578 popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

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1. Ch'ing Dynasty

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

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In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow...is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
625 were taken on in 1954."

694 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
631 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
S five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
175 carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
668 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
625 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
694 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
631 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

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175 14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
669 that
668 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

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[674] The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturbances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

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105 4. Conclusion
*668 The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
625 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speaking, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

175 648 much greater physical barrier than existed on the Turkestan-Manchurian-Mongolian border with Russia.

II. Russian Advance in Sinkiang

In the middle of the last century when the Western powers, including Russia, opened treaty ports along the coast and in China proper, Russia had combined this coastal penetration with an inland advance. In the Treaty of Kulja of 1851, which was made public in 1861, the Russians secured the right to trade in Northern Turkestan by the establishment of trading centers in the Ili valley at Kulja. In the Treaty of Peking in 1860 Russia also secured the right to establish a consulate at Kashgar in southern Turkestan.

175 648 669 The Russian-British pressure on Turkestan came to a head in the 1870's when Chinese control was temporarily thrown off by the rebellion of Yakub Beg. This was the period when major rebellions were taking place within China, and the revolts against the ruling dynasty spread to the northwestern border. The Moslem rebellion began in the Northwest region of China and extended to Chinese Turkestan where one of the former ruling Moslem families which had been driven out by the Chinese administration into western Turkestan attempted to re-establish its power. Its leading military figure was Yakub Beg who soon took over the rebellious movement and attempted to set up an independent government over the southern and nortnern parts of Chinese Turkestan. During his stay in power, he negotiated treaties with both Britain and Russia. The British recognized Yakub Beg and permitted him to secure arms through India. A British envoy signed a treaty with his government at Kashgar in 1874, a treaty which was formally ratified by the government of India in 1876. In this treaty Sinkiang was opened to trade with India, and a British trading company was formed with the assistance of India. Through India, Yakub Beg established contact with the Sultan of Turkey in a Moslem religious alliance. At that time, the British believed that Yakub Beg would be able to maintain himself and hoped that Chinese Turkestan would become an independent or at least autonomous area, a buffer between India and Russia.

The Russian reaction to Yakub Beg's rebellion was a direct attack on the territory of Chinese Turkestan. When Yakub Beg had occupied Urumchi and moved towards the northwestern border area, the Russians moved troops across the border and occupied Kulja and the territory of the Ili valley in 1871. In 1872 they forced Yakub Beg to conclude a commercial agreement which opened Eastern Turkestan to Russian trade. In 1874-75, Russia concentrated troops on the border of southern Sinkiang. But unrest in Russian Turkestan prevented them from further military action. In 1876, they forced Yakub Beg to surrender the strategic moun-

175 648 669 tain passes west of Kashgar to Russian control. The Russian government had thus used the unrest in Turkestan for military expansion into Chinese territory, although it declared at the time that the occupation was only a temporary move for the protection of Russian commercial interests and that the area would eventually be given back to China.

This Russian attack gave the Turkestan rebellion an even more dangerous character in Chinese eyes. What was at stake now for china was not only the subjection of a rebellious leader but the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asian position. China's realization of this danger became very clear in the discussions that preceded the Chinese military compaigns to reconquer Turkestan. Two views were expressed at that time on the importance of that area to China. One was represented by Li Hung-chang, who had come to power as the leader of the Anhwei army, one of the regional forces that had been established to suppress the Taiping Rebellion. In this campaign Li had had his main base at Shanghai and had come to control the financial resources of the central coastal region. Later his army had been used in the suppression of the Nien Rebellion in Anhwei and Shantung and after this successful campaign he had become governor-general of the capital province of Chihli and was the leading military figure in the north. Li Hung-chang was willing to abandon China's position in Central Asia in favor of strengthening coastal defenses. According to him the expenses of a Sinkiang campaign would seriously endanger the coastal defense, so important for holding the capital.

III. Policy of Tso Tsung-t'ang

175 648 In contrast to Li's regional view on the importance of China's coastal area, Tso Tsung-t'ang, then in charge of the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in the northwestern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, saw the control of Sinkiang as a vital part of the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asiatic frontier. According to Tso Tsung-t'ang, "The reason why great weight should be given to Sinkiang is the protection of Mongolia. In protecting Mongolia, one ensures the defense of the capital. When the fingers and forearms of the West and North work in unison and the topographical position is continuous then there is no break in the country's defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be safe. Not only the border provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi would be constantly open to invasion and it would be difficult to defend them, but also Northern Chihli and Shanhaikuan would not have a day of rest or sleep." (Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi, chüan 50, pp. 76a, b.) Tso argued that the defense of Sinkiang would be less expensive in the

175 648 Sinkiang. In 1930 the completion of the Turksib Railroad in Russian Turkestan along the Chinese border enabled Soviet Russia to intensify the exploitation of the Sinkiang economy. Ever since the Russian development of central Asia, the weight of Russian influence had increased and the Chinese National Government lagged behind in its attempt to answer this threat by a new development of the communications between Sinkiang and China.

175 648 669 The greatest increase in Russian influence came as the result of the revolt of the Chinese Moslems, the Tungans, in 1931, who called in as their leader Ma Chung-ying, a Moslem from Kansu who came close to capturing the provincial government. Governor Chin's administration was saved by Soviet Russia, which gave him arms and military support under the pretext that some Japanese had been on Ma's staff, implying that Japanese schemes were endangering Soviet interests in the province, although no proof has ever been brought forward for such Japanese activities. In order to get Russian support, Chin concluded in November, 1931, an agreement with Soviet Russia which was kept secret from the National Government. By this agreement, eight Soviet trade agencies were set up at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan; the tariff for Soviet products was reduced, and telegraph and radio communications were established with Soviet territory. Chin Shu-jen did not succeed, however, in suppressing the rebellion, and according to one account by a Mr. Tshumabay, then chairman of the GPU mission in Sinkiang, the Soviets, in order to weaken the Chinese military forces, did not at first provide the military support they had promised. When a Moslem force reached the outskirts of the capital of Urumchi, Chin turned over the defense to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, an officer of Manchurian origin. Sheng was placed in command of Chinese troops from Manchuria who had in their fight with the Japanese retreated on to Soviet territory and had been transported by Soviet Russia to Turkestan. Thus from the outset Sheng derived his military power from Russian support. He was substantially supported by another military force recruited from the White Russians living in Urumchi and neighboring cities. Within the ranks of this force could reportedly also be found Red Russian soldiers. When asked about this comradeship-in-arms the White Russians stated to members of the Sven Hedin expedition that there was no difficulty in working together for a common purpose. The equipment of both these forces was provided by the Soviet Union.

With these troops Sheng succeeded in driving off the Moslem attackers. In April, 1935, a coup d'etat by these Russian troops forced the retirement of Governor Chin, who fled to Russian territory and from there returned to China. Sheng Shih-ts'ai became governor and, with the help of Russian war materiel, including

175 military planes, succeeded in destroying the Moslem forces of
648 Ma Chung-ying who was eventually driven to Kashgar from where in
669 June, 1934, he fled to Soviet territory. All the three leading figures in the struggle for power, Chin Shu--jen, Ma Chung-ying, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai were thus in different ways under Soviet control. Chin had been supported and at the same time handicapped by the Russians who finally permitted him to return to China through their territory. Governor Sheng, his successor, depended from the very beginning on Russian support for his power. And Ma Chung-ying, the defeated aspirant for power, who might have established a closer link with the National Government, entrusted his fate to the Soviet regime. He was reportedly seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936, but from that time on his fate has remained unknown.

VI. Policy of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

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648 From the outset Sheng Shih-ts'ai was strongly under Russian dominance. Soviet Russia did not only have influence over the locally recruited Russian forces and over the Manchurian troops of Sheng, both equipped with Russian weapons; it also sent a special tank regiment of 3,000 men, the so-called "Altai Volunteers," to be stationed near Komul on the main caravan route from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. This force was stationed in a strategic position ostensibly to guard against any Japanese advance from Inner Mongolia. In practice it also could interfere with any attempt of the Chinese National Government to re-establish its authority over Urumchi. Soviet military advisors supervised the training of the Chinese as well as the Russian troops, and through their influence communists were reputedly introduced also into the officer and private ranks of the Chinese forces. They also trained political commissars for the indoctrination of the Chinese forces. In addition to this control of the forces the Soviet government had a hold over the administration of the province. Two Russians, a Mr. Yuravlev and a Dr. Lapin, held high positions in the civil administration of the province and Russian advisers under the direction of the Russian consul-general had decisive influence in all important departments of government. Many of the Turks employed in the administration were recruited from West Turkestan or Turkic groups living in the Soviet Union. According to Chinese reports (see article by Yolbars Khan "Sinkiang Under the Control of Chinese and Russian Communists," Chung Hua Nien Pao, vol. 4, 1954, pp. 52-55), Governor Sheng was told by the Soviet consul at Urumchi that he had to follow Party orders. This was the time when, after the Sian kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, a united front had been established in China proper for the war of resistance against Japan. During the time

175 648 when this united front continued in operation, in 1937 and 1938, a number of Chinese Communists were brought in who seemed to have worked in close cooperation with the Soviet advisers.

When he came to power, Governor Sheng was given a Soviet loan of five million rubles for reconstruction. For the plans of reconstruction he was provided with Soviet technical advisers. In 1937 Sheng introduced a three-year plan of reconstruction for which he received a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans; a second plan was introduced in 1940. These funds were used to build motor roads, among other things, and to introduce a large fleet of Soviet trucks. It was reported that 1,350 miles of telephone lines were installed by 1941. By 1939 twenty factories had been set up in the province and over four hundred tons of Soviet machinery had been imported for the exploitation of oil resources and the establishment of an oil refinery northwest of Urumchi. In november, 1940, Governor Sheng concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Union which included permission for Soviet Russia to prospect for and exploit tin and other mineral resources in Sinkiang, and which gave Soviet Russia control over the mineral resources of the province. (The text of this agreement was published in 1950 in Formosa and appeared in 1954 in the American Journal of Foreign Affairs, and in November, 1954, in the German newspaper, Ost-Probleme.")

175 648 669 While extending their military and economic influence over the government of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet government attempted to deal separately with a group of Kazakhs in the Ili and Altai regions who had begun in 1940 to work for an autonomy of their region. When some of their leaders were invited to Urumchi and arrested there at the beginning of 1940, the Kazakhs rose in revolt in February of that year. A truce was concluded on May 15, 1940, in which the insurgents agreed to cease fighting provided that no more Russian troops would be brought into their area. But fighting soon broke out again and the Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, succeeded by the end of 1940 in establishing a provisional government in the Ili and Altai region which was called the National Republic of East Turkestan. A Soviet attempt to deal with the government of Osman Batur failed. Osman Batur turned down the Russian offer of arms which was coupled with a request to withdraw his forces from the Altai region and move them to the Ili area. In September 1941, the insurgent leadership split. Abdulaziz Kasim, a leader who was a Soviet citizen, concluded an agreement with the Soviets, while Osman Batur and his followers continued their fight against Soviet troops as well as the forces of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai. At the beginning of 1942, the Soviets brought 23,000 troops into the Altai area but the critical situation in the war with Germany forced the Soviets to discontinue their campaign and to concentrate on the protection of a few bases in Sinkiang.

175 completed by March 1943. Soviet Russia not only withdrew its
648 military forces but also retreated from its economic expoitation of Sinkiang. The Soviets capped the main oil well north of Urumchi and shipped back to Russia all the movable machinery from the oil refineries and the gold, copper, and iron mines which they had set up in Ili, Chuguchak, and in the Altai area, and from the factories they had built in Urumchi and other cities.

This Russian retreat was, however, far from complete. The Soviets maintained their consulates in all the larger cities of Sinkiang with a staff of several hundred people. At these consulates the Russians left military guards. At Urumchi a company of Soviet infantry with a strength of at least four hundred men was left behind to guard the consulate. Other consulates were guarded by units of ten to fifty men each. Other units were left behind to guard the gold, copper, and iron mines in the Ili and Chuguchak regions as well as the oil wells at Wusu and at Urumchi where the valuable machinery that could not be removed was protected by these troops. Soviet troops also continued to guard the airfields at Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan. In each Soviet
175 consulate the biggest department was the propaganda section.
648 These departments distributed among Turks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz,
208 and Mongols pamphlets printed in Soviet Russia. Agents of the consulates traveled throughout the province giving out these pamphlets and explaining the contents to the illiterate. The pamphlets gave favorable accounts of the Turkic people within the Soviet Union and contained material on methods of agriculture, irrigation, and animal husbandry. Altogether, the Soviet consulates concentrated more than before on the support and protection of the nationality groups who had started to fight the Chinese administration. Although the Soviets did not establish Communist Party cells among these nationality groups, they attempts to infiltrate their leadership. And since Chinese policy aimed at the suppression of this nationality movement, the nationality groups depended on the intervention of the Soviet consulates with the Chinese administration for the protection of the lives of their leaders. In several cases the Soviet representatives prevented execution and in other cases secured the release of imprisoned nationality leaders. As a result the Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs, and Mongols, had to accept the orders of Soviet agents in their dealings with the administration of Governor Sheng.

175 VIII. Soviet Efforts to Regain Power in Sinkiang.
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By 1944 the defeat of Nazi Germany enabled Soviet Russia to return to an active policy in Sinkiang. The Soviets supported a
[669] Kazakh uprising which broke out in the Ili valley on November

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the
[635] reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 648 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in November 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [701] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease theRussian-supported Kulja Nationalists

175 648 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal declaration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in September 1949. [635] [668]

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

175 648 669 668 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists. While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression." 175 668 [648]

175 668 669 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries, [661]

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, "Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
• 669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

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175 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas
• 669 was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865
648 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub
668 Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan. Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

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175 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese
669 government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ung-
648 ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

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175 The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culmin-
669 ated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan
668 Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it
S attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja
[646] government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C.C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

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*668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N
*668 4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
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*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

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C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

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Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
• 669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.
[668]
[669] 2. Formosa
[648] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Communist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

Burkhan Shahidi
Chinese name: Pao-erh-han

159 Burkhan was the last governor of Sinkiang under the Nationalist Government, and the first governor of Sinkiang under the Communist regime. He is a Uighur, born in 1894 at Aqsu, Sinkiang. In 1912 he went to Berlin, Germany, and in 1916 was graduated from the University of Berlin specializing in economics and political science. Following his return from Germany, he took different positions in the local government in Sinkiang. Under the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen (1927-1933) he was in charge of foreign affairs. Later he was sent to Germany again to investigate political and economic conditions. Under the administration of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, for some time, he served as commissioner in the Altai (A-shan) region. In 1937 he was appointed by the Nationalist Government as the consul to Saizan, Soviet Central Asia. When he returned home the next year he was accused by Governor Sheng as a German spy and was imprisoned for seven years until the end of 1944, when Governor Sheng was relieved of his governorship.

159 In the early stages of the Sinkiang disturbances, which lasted
• 669 from 1944 to 1949, Burkhan played a rather insignificant role.
631 Under the administration of Governor Wu Chung-hsin, 1944-1945, he served as deputy commissioner for civil affairs, and later as the political commissioner of the first region. When the Sinkiang disorders developed to such an extent that the Central government had to send a special representative, General Chang Chih-chung, to Sinkiang with the hope of settling the differences between the rebellious tribes in Ining and the so-called Youth Corps of Eastern Turkestan, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as Governor of Sinkiang in 1946, and Burkhan was appointed as one of the lieutenant governors.

The Sinkiang situation continued to develop from bad to worse. Unable to solve the complicated problem, Chang Chih-chung in 1947 recommended Maksud Sabri (Mai-ssu-wu-te) a member of the Kuomintang and a minority leader in Sinkiang, for governor. In May 1947 the Central government appointed Maksud in the hope that he, being a native, could better handle the situation. Rebellious forces, however, aimed their attack at Maksud. At this crucial time, Burkhan suggested to Chang
[648] Chih-chung, who was still political chief for the Nationalist Government in the Northwest, that the only possible way to settle the Sinkiang problem and improve relations between Sinkiang and the Soviet Union was to remove General Sung Hsi-lien,

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159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
• 669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
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[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.

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159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
631 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

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* [668] In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
[669] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist general, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

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159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
S
[643] 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

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159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist

159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

159 At the same time the Pei-t'a-
669 shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian
635 invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began
668 their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopeless-
648 ness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist
648 A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940,
669 opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

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159 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the gov-
648 ernment of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional
669 post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

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159 Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian
N Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-
[701] 1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

N When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he
159 served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council
631 of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

N Pai Ju-ping: Communist
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631 A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as
*668 the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

159 trative Council, he became vice-chairman of the council. In the
668 province of Sinkiang, he was from 1950 to 1955 vice-chairman of
631 the provincial People's Government, director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Provincial People's Government, and commander of the Fifth Army. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the first session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee, which did the ground work in preparing the establishment of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. In October 1955, when the SUAR was formally inaugurated, he was elected the chairman, but after a month, for reasons unknown, he resigned and Burkhan Shahidi again became chairman.

Saifuddin's membership in the Chinese Communist Party was disclosed in 1950, but he may have been an undercover agent before. He served as the fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP (later reorganized as the Sinkiang Committee) from 1950.

In the mass organizations, Saifuddin is chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and he was also a member of the national committee of the China Peace Committee, an organization formed to carry out the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign. Since December 1954 he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

159 Saifuddin's rise to recognition started from the revolt at Ili
668 in 1944 when the so-called People's Committee for the Republic
• [669] of Eastern Turkestan was organized in opposition to the provincial government of Sinkiang and also to the Nationalist Government. Saifuddin was appointed Minister of Education at that time and was also in charge of the Youth Corps. By January 1945 the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally established. Saifuddin was one of the lieutenants of Akmedjan Kasimi, a leader in the Ili coalition, who in 1948 organized his supporters into the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and became editor of its organ, The Progressive Daily. When Akhmedjan and two others were killed in a plane crash en route to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September 1949, Saifuddin assumed the leadership of the Sinkiang League which, in 1950, was renamed the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and which furnished seventeen thousand experienced minority cadres to staff the government agencies in Sinkiang. Through their efforts, the Ili region in Sinkiang forged ahead of the rest of the province in land reform, in collectivization, in the recruitment of activists into the ranks of the cadres, and in meeting the requirements for the establishment of regional autonomy.

How trustworthy and loyal are the members of the Sinkiang League to the Communist cause is, however, still a question. The fact that many of them still entertain separatist opinions

159 may be seen in the speeches of Saifuddin and Burkhan, exhorting
668 them to abandon their opposition to Chinese rule and forswear their pan-Turkanistic and pan-Islamic views, which were denounced as reactionary. Although Saifuddin has climbed high in the Communist heirarchy and holds concurrent positions in the central government, the regional and provincial government and also the Communist Party, his power rests upon his following, and the fact that he was unsure of them may have been a reason for his resignation as chairman of the SUAR a month after his election.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai

159 One of the most important modern figures in the political arena of Northwest China during the more recent years is Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Sheng was born in 1895 in the district of K'aiyuan in Liaoning Province in Manchuria, of a middle-class farming family. After he was graduated from an agricultural middle school in Mukden he went to Shanghai to attend the Chinese School of Public Affairs, Chung-kuo kung-hsueh, at Wusung (Woosung), majoring in economics and political sciences, and was graduated in 1915. Unwilling to take part in the civil service examinations under the administration of Yüan Shih-k'ai, he went to Japan to pursue further studies. Shortly the question of Shantung came up in the Versailles Conference, and Sheng was sent back to China as a representative of overseas students to take part in the movement against the transfer of territorial rights to Japan. After the movement was over he joined the Military Academy of Kwangtung at Kukong. His military career began when he served as a second lieutenant in the army of General Kuo Sung-ling in Manchuria. Because of his good record in the army he was chosen to be sent to Japan's Military Academy. In the year of 1925 when Kuo Sung-ling resisted Chang Tso-lin for the latter's pro-Japan attitude, Sheng came back to join Kuo's side. When Kuo was defeated by Chang, Sheng went back to Japan to continue his military training. Chang Tso-lin complained to Japanese authorities and Sheng Shih-ts'ai was ousted from the Military Academy. Thanks to the assistance of Sun Ch'uan-fang, Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) and Chiang Kai-shek, Sheng was able to complete his training.

He came back to China in 1927, just in time to take part in the Northern Expedition launched by Chiang Kai-shek. When the expedition was finally successful he served for a short time in the office of the chief of staff as a section chief. Then he began to seek opportunities in the border areas.

159 In 1930 he was invited to Sinkiang where he served first as
• 669 chief of staff in the office of the commander of Frontier Defense. But his real opportunity came when the Moslem rebel,

159 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi)
• 669 from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were
669 the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of
648 Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the success-
159 ful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai
648 allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

[643] During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became abso-
lute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union.
159 Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-
64 point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

159 The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
648 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relationship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor
159 was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S 159 631 701 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer

A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S 159 701 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist S 159 • 669 668 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army, T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N 159 * 668 701 Teng Pao-san: Army officer

A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

N 159 669 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso S [669] was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and N [554] southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu N 159 Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S [648] Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-S 669 648 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

N 159 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be
S recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frus-
669 trated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the
648 territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike fore-
159 sight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on
S an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter
635 he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they
159 were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic
159 Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten,"
S and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned
159 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the
668 liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945,
648 organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no 'pull' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. 'It's temper is up!' they said, 'and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its 'face,' and went to work again! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi.

We had been without the guiding telegraph wire ever since we parted from it at Tsikioking, but at Kucheng we met with it once more, and we were glad of its indication over the rolling steppes which we now so frequently crossed. A new feature of the road was the little Ili Valley cart, of a build unfamiliar to us. The fact that it had four wheels gave it a Western look, for all Chinese carts, large or small, are built on two wheels, and this new structure was unknown to most of our party, who were as delighted as children to see this departure from the agelong, traditional vehicle.

Leaving Santai, an hour's drive brought us to the site of the original town of that name, now a mass of crumbling ruins, one more reminder of the havoc and desolation wrought by the Moslem rebellion in 1862–1877. Ruined villages, hamlets and farmsteads, mark

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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361 the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as
669 they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

485 Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it.
[563] The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

000 Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

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563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 586 563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing [582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the 563 592 593 182 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 583 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the [671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and [779] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese secular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges). [671] [692]

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts. [796]

795 796 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S
N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N 681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

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[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[584] their majority.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

S
207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
177 These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
• [674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes
(Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
* [668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.

Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.

(Sian, Chüan-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S
N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
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184 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
674 punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
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N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

N
*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S
175 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N
*175 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*563 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*668 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
669 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
S
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N
9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S
"Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
• 674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

S 175 668 674 who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and military and government officials of the former Chiang government still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

N *175 *668 829 12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

N *175 *668 669 *563 787 "' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

N *175 669 *668 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there appeared

"An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

N
*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

S
175 14. The Sinkiang ji..-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
669 that
668 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

S
[674] The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturbances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

N
105 4. Conclusion
*668 The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
625 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speaking, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

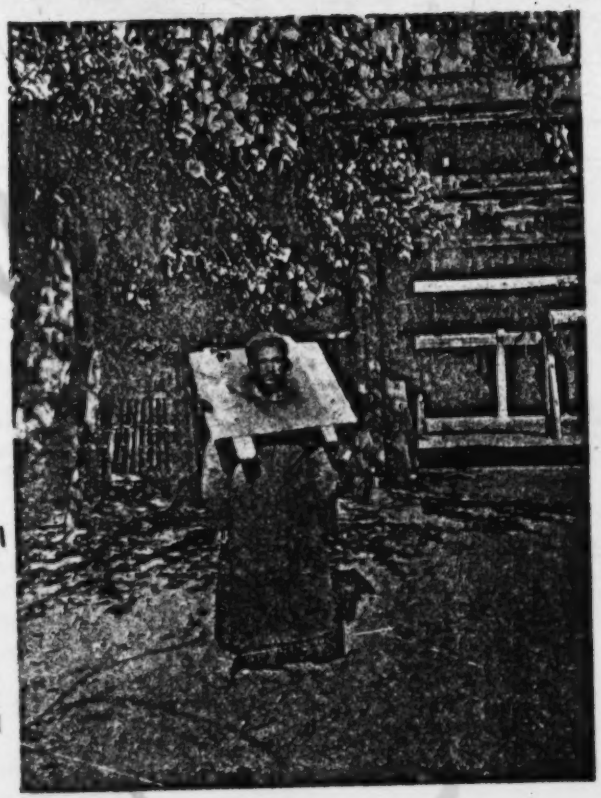
3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

necessitated a double march of 35 miles to Chulak Langar, mostly over desert. To make matters worse the Amban, whose private amiability was as excessive as his official stubbornness, insisted on our *dining* with him at 8.30 a.m. on the day of our departure, a most trying business. What with this and the various farewell tea-drinkings we did not finally escape from the Karghalik neighbourhood till past noon. D. rode with me for eighteen miles, and then we packed her with a mattress and plenty of bedding from our valises in the tarantass. Sunset, and with it an icy wind from the desert, found us still twelve miles from the lonely rest-house for which we were bound. This last lap was the heaviest going of all; the tired horses were unable to drag the tarantass at more than about three miles an hour, and time after time I had to help the two orderlies to push it out of a sand-dune, thankful for the exercise which kept me warm. We were both dead tired when at last, at 9 o'clock of a freezing starlit night, we pulled into the big stone *serai* constructed in the sixties by that public-spirited tyrant, Yakub Beg "Bedaulat." Chulak Langar is situated at one of the coldest points on the whole Khotan road; standing on a slight rise facing the desert, its very name commemorates a tragedy of cold; *chulak* means "lame," and refers to a poor man who stumbled into the *serai* many years ago with his arms and legs frost-bitten and remained there a beggar until he died. To the south, the rolling gravel hills stretch away up to the blue snow-capped Kunlun; after heavy rain, and when the snows melt in the early summer, a trickle of water comes down a little valley and replenishes the big square reservoir from which the inn draws its water. In the valley are also a few poor little fields and some acres of grazing belonging to the innkeeper. To the north in the clear dawn the view is inexpressibly awe-inspiring and sinister; the yellow dunes of the Takla Makan, like the giant waves of a petrified ocean, extend in countless myriads to a far horizon with here and there an extra large sand-hill, a king-dune as it were, towering above his fellows. They seem to clamour silently, those dunes, for travellers to engulf, for whole caravans to swallow up as they have swallowed up so many in the past.

19th November.

Goma is a thriving little town of wooden houses surrounded by orchards and groves of mulberry. A flourishing local industry is the making of coarse paper from pulped mulberry-bark—a link with the past indeed, for the process is much the same as that by which the Chinese made paper towards the beginning of the Christian era. Another link with the past, of a different kind, was a debtor I saw this morning in the Yamen wearing a "cangue" (Turki *shal*) or heavy square yoke of wood padlocked round his neck. This ancient Chinese method of making debtors pay has long been officially abolished both in China Proper and in Sinkiang, but it evidently survives in out-of-the-way places; the cangues, I am told, vary in weight from 20 to 60 lb. or more, and are left on the neck of the debtor until he pays up. He can move about as he likes inside the Yamen precincts, but has to be fed by his relations as he cannot reach his own mouth.

Goma is on the very verge of the Takla Makan, of which we had such an impressive glimpse from Chulak Langar. It is a great place



DEBTOR WEARING CANGUE, MAGISTRATE'S YAMEN, KARGHALIK

DULANI WOMAN WITH SICK LAMB, MERKET [p. 124]

[Face p. 124]

681.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of 6224 the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for 782 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro- 622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax- 621 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an 669 ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

614 563 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by [602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is [621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. [672] The clan also takes collective action in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. [681] Grazing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-[423] aul or clan. [565] Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 565 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 622 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal
[681] is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
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N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had 485
given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.'

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court was again crowded, [525]
and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted [681]
our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and 486
we signified to him our desire to move on that day. He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it.

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G.
[inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 702 am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

[681] A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

485 On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured 627 Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to •682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Valley and over the Achiq Davan to Khanterek on the Qaratash. Brian O'Flynn and his camels were not available this time, but Zakir Haji, the carrier whom we had employed on our spring tour, had served us very well in the mountains, and we were glad to be able to secure him and his ten ponies once more. Our retinue included the same well-tried orderlies and servants who had accompanied us the previous autumn, except that the ex-Lancer Rahim Khan, who was really past his work, was replaced by our sturdy, wise old Ladakhi Jemadar, Ghulam Muhammad. Another notable addition to our caravan was the fine grey donkey we had acquired in the spring for the sweeper Yakub to ride, in order to save the hire of a special pony for him. Tooty (short for Tutankhamen) cost us the equivalent of 25*s.* 6*d.* at the Thursday live-stock market outside Kashgar, which we visited in person to buy him, and he carried Yakub right staunchly over hill and dale throughout all our subsequent wanderings. D. regarded him as one of her pets, and if on the march he led laborious days, at the Consulate between tours he lived on the fat of the land. He had one drawback, and that was a frequent and most stentorian bray. Echoing among the precipices of the mountains, Tooty's bray would have awakened the Seven Sleepers, and every night we had to see that he was tied up with plenty of lucerne at least a quarter of a mile from our tents.

On the afternoon of the 19th June we rode to Yapchan, and next day we lunched at Yangi Hissar. My presence at this town, which is some miles to the east of the mouth of the Qaratash, was required for the joint trial with the Amban of an interesting murder case in which a Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh was accused of killing a Chitrali traveller. The murdered man being a British and the accused a Chinese subject, the case was a "mixed" one triable by the Chinese authorities, with myself as British Consul-General "watching" it on behalf of the Government of India and the murdered man's relations.[1] The details of the case are not without dramatic interest and are worthy of record.

In February 1923 I received a letter from the Assistant Political Agent in Chitral, in the North-West Frontier Province of India, enclosing a petition from the relations of one Muham-

[1] If the nationalities had been reversed, with the accused a British and the deceased a Chinese subject, I would have tried the case at Kashgar in my Consular court with the Taoyin watching it on behalf of the Governor.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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mad Shah. This was to the effect that the said Muhammad Shah, a trader of Chitral, had left Yangi Hissar in the province of Sinkiang in the previous December but had never reached his home. I requested the Taoyin to make inquiries, at the same time calling for a report from the British Aqsaqal at Yangi Hissar. The latter replied that Muhammad Shah had indeed left Yangi Hissar two months before, travelling alone, and had been traced as far as Ighiz Yar on the Tashqurghan road, but had not been seen or heard of since. Nothing happened and I had almost given up hope of the mystery being cleared up, when towards the end of May the Taoyin informed me that a man had been arrested on the charge of murdering Muhammad Shah at a wild spot called Sasik Tika in the Qizil Tagh two marches from Yangi Hissar along the Tashqurghan road, and that in due course he would be tried by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar, Mr. Chiang.

According to Chinese judicial procedure, the Magistrate of a district in which a murder has been committed is held responsible for this breach of law and order, and incurs a degree of disgrace inversely proportionate to the distance from his headquarters of the place where the crime was committed. He must proceed at once to the spot and view the corpse, no matter where it is or how long it has been buried, and hold an inquest in person. The result is that corpulent Mandarins, who never stir from their Yamens if they can possibly help it, take the greatest care that no murder be committed within their borders, not only because of the black marks they receive, but also on account of the irksome journey that may be involved. As has happened more than once of recent years in Kashgaria, when a murder takes place near the boundary between two districts, the Beg and local headmen know what is expected of them and take good care that the body is not found within *their* master's jurisdiction. The people in the next district feel the same about it, and thus the unfortunate corpse is bandied surreptitiously backwards and forwards until its relatives succeed in inducing one set of authorities or the other to take up the case. The system has at any rate the advantage of keeping down violent crime, which is liable to cause so much trouble to everybody concerned, from the District Magistrate downwards; and certainly during the two and a quarter years I was at Kashgar, out of all the hundreds of British Indian traders and other nationals travelling about the country with goods or money or living on

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

their estates, only one was murdered. That was Muhammad Shah, the victim in the present case. 692

Poor Mr. Chiang did not at all like having to drive and ride forty miles up into the mountains to hold an inquest upon the four-month-old corpse of the Chitrali, but he did it, and one of my Assistant Aqsaqals accompanied him. As a result of the inquest a Kirghiz of Sasik Tika was charged with the murder and the case referred to the Taoyin of Kashgar for orders. I was informed, as already stated, and it was arranged between myself and the Taoyin, in order to save the delay and expense involved in bringing the case to Kashgar for trial, that I should visit Yangi Hissar on my way to the mountains and assist at the hearing of the case by the Magistrate. The trial, which took place on the morning after our arrival (21st June), was short, as the accused had confessed and it was only necessary to examine, besides the man himself, the Beg of the circle and the *yuzbashi* (headman) of the valley. The prisoner, a man of about 30, was of an unmistakably criminal type with low, receding forehead, eyes set close together, and a violent squint. The story he and the witnesses told Mr. Chiang and myself, as we sat at a huge table in the open inner courtyard of the Yamen, was as follows:

Muhammad Shah was an opium-smuggler and had sold a consignment of Afghan opium profitably in Yarkand the previous autumn. Early in December, that is to say about as late in the season as he could reasonably expect to cross the high passes safely, he started alone from Yangi Hissar for his home in far Chitral across the Roof of the World. He rode a wiry little Yarkand pony, and in his sadlle-bags he carried the balance of his profits in the shape of a few taels' worth of silver and a couple of bales of gaily-dyed Khotan silks; for the greater part of the proceeds of his opium-running had doubtless been spent in the oiling of necessary palms and in obtaining from the Yamen a permit to leave the country.

On the evening of his second day on the road Muhammad Shah found himself at Sasik Tika and asked for shelter at the solitary hut occupied by the prisoner, Yakub. The Kirghiz came out and looked at the traveller and his bulging saddle-bags. "We are the poorest of the poor," he said, "and have no food, but we will put you up for the night. Only, you must sleep outside the tent as my wife and three children are all ill inside." Accordingly Muhammad Shah, having hobbled his pony and muttered Mecca-wards his evening prayer, ate two

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of the little round shiny loaves he had brought with him and threw himself down on the felt mat which his host spread in front of the tent for him. For pillow he had his saddlebags and for bedclothes his sheepskin cloak, and he was soon fast asleep in spite of the icy breath of night which now and again passed down the gloomy valley like a sigh.

Two hours later, when the moon had set, Yakub crept out of the hut and peered stealthily at his guest in the faint starlight. Then he went to a heap of stones close by and selected a big slab which he could just carry shoulder-high. Staggering with it to where Muhammad Shah lay, he heaved it on the unfortunate sleeper's head. As Yakub himself put it: "He just gave a little kick and moved no more." Dragging the body on the felt mat as it lay, he hid it behind a boulder and went back to bed. Early in the morning he rose and went out, telling his wife (who knew nothing of what he had done) that he was going to work at the coal-mine.[1] Going to where the body lay he wrapped it up in the felt and heaved it first on to a boulder and thence on to the back of the dead man's pony, which he proceeded to drive in front of him up a steep and narrow side-glen into the snowy fastnesses of the Qizil Tagh. Up and up he went, to the verge of the winter snows, and there he threw the corpse down into the dry bed of the torrent and buried it by tumbling rocks on it from above. He would have liked to keep the pony, but it would have been too dangerous; so he tied the poor beast's legs together and pushed it over a precipice. The dead man's money he hid in a secret place and the silks he stored in the hut, telling his wife that he had received them from a trader in exchange for the skins of some stone-martens he had trapped.

Weeks passed and nothing happened, so that gradually Yakub plucked up courage to go to Yangi Hissar on market day and spend some of his new fortune. A wedding took place in a neighbouring valley to which he and his wife, with all the other Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, were invited; every one noticed the beautiful new silk clothes of Mrs. Yakub, and word went round that her husband had somehow become rich. Then one day the inhabitants of the Kinkol valley received an unexpected and unwelcome visit from their Beg, who brought grave news from Yangi Hissar. The British Consul-General, it appeared,

[1] A shallow surface-working on a seam recently discovered in the neighbourhood and exploited by the Chinese military authorities, who claim a monopoly of all minerals.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

had formally requested the Taoyin, and through him their Magistrate, to make inquiries into the whereabouts of a British subject last heard of in Yangi Hissar district. This meant that unless they, the Beg, headmen and people of the Kinkol valley, could either find the fellow or prove that he had crossed the passes into Tashkurghan district, unpleasant things would happen to them.

It was not long before the suspicions of the headmen fell upon our friend Yakub. The latter at first strenuously denied all knowledge of the missing man; but he failed to explain how he had become so wealthy all of a sudden, and eventually he confessed. Let us not inquire too closely into the methods by which the Beg and his minions persuaded Yakub to be frank with them. Suffice it to say that according to the old Chinese law still in force in Sinkiang no one can be convicted of any crime, no matter how strong the evidence against him may be, unless he confesses it; so that those responsible for the suppression of crime become experts in the fine art of eliciting confessions from recalcitrant prisoners. From the point of view of the British Consulate-General, all that mattered was that Yakub gave Mr. Chang and myself a detailed and even graphic account of how he did the deed, so that Chinese justice could take its course, the claims of Muhammad Shah's relatives in far Chitral be duly honoured and the bonds of amity between two great nations further strengthened through their local representatives. True, the said relatives of the deceased not only received no blood-money, as they would have done if he had waited till he reached his own country before getting himself murdered, but had to be content with a mere fraction of his estate—for the local people who had had so much trouble and anxiety over the matter, from the Beg down to the prisoner's (more or less) innocent wife, could not be expected to disgorge more than a reasonable percentage of the spoils. But then, Muhammad Shah had no business to indulge in opium-running in Chinese territory. With my concurrence, the Magistrate found Yakub guilty of murder and condemned him to death; six weeks later, when the necessary confirmation had been received from the Governor at Urumchi, the murderer was duly hanged in the presence of the British Aqsaqal of Yangi Hissar.

To return to our own journey. Soon after midday, when the trial was over, a cloth was laid on the Court table and the Magistrate and I seized our chop-sticks and set to work on a regular Yamen dinner of about twenty-five courses which

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [66U] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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and priced, and the face towels selected, with a good deal of advice from the crowd, well-mannered bargaining began. Our basic offer was about half of the price written on the tag attached to the goods. The courteous merchant then smiled and indicated a notice hanging outside his shop: 'No prices discussed here,' to which the Greek chorus again echoed: 'He does not discuss the prices!' We affably acquiesced, but assured him that our money was insufficient for such an expensive outlay. With a wave of the hand, he met us half-way, saying: 'You are guests from a far country. Have a little more tea!' thus subtly indicating that the bargain was concluded. A chit was produced by one of the apprentices, and another began to rub down the ink on his slab, being careful in our presence to observe the Confucian dictum that when the 'Princely Man' rubs down his ink, no sound is ever heard. While he was thus occupied in preparing the materials necessary to write out the account, we rapidly noted the amount in pencil on paper, and waited to see if his tallied. 'Did you see that?' said a man at our elbow. 'You'll find that they are right, too Reading, writing and arithmetic are all quite easy to them!' We rose to leave, but as we did so we handed a packet of Christian books to the merchant, which he accepted with evident pleasure, then with sharp orders he dispersed the assistants and escorted us to our carriage.

Early one morning the landlord appeared at our door in a state of great agitation. A young woman, married to a relative of his, had poisoned herself with strychnine, and they urged us to go and make an attempt to save her life. 'Our own remedy,' he said, 'is mare's milk, and her husband is scouring the city to get some.' We were taken to the house where a young woman lay on

586 If the husband and wife do not prove to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the prop-
587 erty of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

584 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from bazaar to bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

291 The Wei-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a kerchief. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] [586] [587] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

pretty kind of woodpecker I have not seen elsewhere; it is larger than the English bird and has a scarlet crest, black and white bands on its wings and scarlet again under its body and tail.

Keriya, 13th April.

We had a welcome diversion on the long and rather dreary march between Achma and this place yesterday. In the middle of a belt of sandy steppe 20 miles wide we were suddenly accosted by a weeping peasant woman and her son, a sturdy shepherd boy, who informed us that their hut close by had just been robbed. The father, it appeared, had gone to market, and two thieves had seized the opportunity to come and loot the few pots and pans the poor folk possessed. The lad, who seemed plucky and intelligent, had run after the thieves and thought they had dumped the booty somewhere among the reeds and would come back for it. He pointed out the direction in which they had gone. Without a moment's delay I, my three orderlies, the Beg who accompanied us and his servant charged off helter-skelter across the steppe, spreading fan-wise as we went, while D. and Murad Qari remained on the road comforting the lady. It was bad going and the horses floundered about among dunes and patches of long grass, but before we had gone a mile there was a hurroosh on my right and a view-holloa from Hafiz; two running figures could be seen dodging among the dunes, and off we went after them in full cry. My horse went head over heels in a bad bunker, so that I was not in at the death, but when I came up there were two hulking scoundrels in custody of the Beg. After some prevarication they confessed that they had robbed the poor woman, so we tied their hands and dragged them back to the road where they were duly identified by the delighted boy. At first they refused to say where the booty was, but threats of the Amban's wrath soon prevailed upon them to show us where they had hidden it in the long grass. It was pathetic—a couple of battered copper tea-pots and a small basin, all black with the soot of years, and a dilapidated old blue quilted coat with brass buttons, evidently the absent bread-winner's only change of clothes. We visited the poor woman's home near by, a couple of tiny huts more than half underground and roughly roofed with reeds and turf. Here I photographed the scene and the entire caste, together with the properties, and then the woman fetched us a jug of water from a neighbouring spring by way of hospitality. Poor thing, she could do nothing but weep and quaver "Ashkalla! Ashkall-la!" (thank you) and try to embrace D., whom she evidently looked upon as her deliverer and sole refuge among all the rough men who surrounded her. We took the robbers off with us, trotting at the stirrups of Hafiz and the Beg, and made a present of them to the Amban of Keriya. They turned out to be real bad characters who had been convicted of robbery a year previously and had been punished with a thousand stripes and banishment to Cherchen; it had not been known that they had already found their way back from that remote spot. The Amban, I am sorry to say, did not seem quite as grateful as he might have been. Perhaps it was tactless of us to catch his robbers for him—the preservation of a Chinaman's "face" is a difficult and delicate matter, not to be lightly meddled with by the Western barbarian.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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households of *chakars,* from whom he claimed both labor services 312
and rent in kind. 423

When the water finally gets to the field, its allocation to the cultivator is calculated in terms of the flow for a certain number 312
of hours, according to the width and depth of the canal. Millers 624
have the right only to run water over the wheel, and must then 578
return it to the canal. Such matters, together with the maintenance of registers and the supervision of upkeep, are under the 691
authority of an official called the *mirab,* who is locally elected, 661
which means that in his election the locally influential families 423
usually determine the choice. In addition, Moslem religious officials have certain traditional rights, especially of adjudication. Within localities, disputes are most frequent in the spring, when each cultivator is eager to be the first to get water on his land. Between localities, the most important disputes are between upstream and downstream communities. Disputes have been going on for twenty-five years between Yarkand, which is big and powerful, and Merket, which is smaller but rich in the cultivation of cotton. Quarrels can be carried from lower to higher authority. A dispute between the villages of Punak and Malihalihan, in the subdistrict of Chira, was carried up to the district administrator of Khotan, who decreed that for two days each month in February, April, and June Punak should turn over its flow of water to Malihalihan. The intervention of higher authority is a traditional opportunity for the collection of bribes by Chinese officials.

Oases vary greatly in size but closely resemble each other in 361
structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled 443
city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. 463
These centers are called "bazaars" and serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger bazaars there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheelwrights. Smaller bazaars, which cannot support many permanent shops, have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around the bazaars are the farms, each with its own home- 361
stead. An important function of an oasis bazaar is the distribution 241
244

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 wedding, incurred almost entirely by the bride's people (the bridegroom's contribution is nominal), amount to anything from 30–50 taels (£4–£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), in the case of poor people to 2,000 taels (£233) or more, in that of the very rich. The only liability (and that merely a nominal one) incurred by the bridegroom is the *haqq-i-mihr* or settlement on his wife.[1] This varies between fifty and a thousand taels and is usually fixed verbally before the *uttuz-oghle*. It is regarded as a debt which may theoretically be claimed by the wife at any time up to her death; but it never is claimed except at divorce. In many cases the *mihr* is waived; in more than one "divorce case" which came before me the husband claimed that his wife had let him off the *mihr* at the wedding, whereupon she challenged him to produce members of the *uttuz-oghle* to prove it.[2]

From the house of the bride's parents to that of the bridegroom a small party, accompanied by musicians, marches in procession through the streets, with the lady in front either riding a pony or donkey or walking, as the case may be. Arrived at her new home, the bride is not supposed to touch the threshold with her feet; she is lifted over it by her husband and his relations. However thankful she may be to get her daughter "off," the mother of the bride is obliged by custom to weep and wail loudly during the marriage ceremonies; the girl, too, laments (probably with more sincerity) at leaving the home of her childhood. I took down the words of their traditional laments, which are rather pretty:[3]

[1] The *haqq-i-mihr* must not be confused with the maintenance payable for a hundred days by a husband to a wife whom he divorces against her will. Grenard (Vol. II, p. 119) says that the "*mehr*" found in other Mussulman countries is an *institution presque hors d'usage dans le Turkestan chinois;* this is correct so far as it goes, but it should be added that its existence is universally recognized, if only as a legal fiction.

[691] [2] Such disputes, like most civil and many criminal cases, are settled by the parties being sent to the Qazi or Mussulman judge, who hears the evidence and either passes judgment at once or orders one party or the other to take the oath; as a rule, the party on whom the oath comes refuses to take it and loses the case, for it is regarded as a disgrace to swear on the Qur'an. *Qasam-khor* ("oath-eater") is a term of abuse, meaning a greedy or litigious person who sticks at nothing to win his case.

[3] Grenard (Vol. II, p. 250) has the mother's lament, not the daughter's, for which I am indebted to Murad Qari.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that:

563 * 665 186

> The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.[17]

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb," [18] and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.[19] Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student.

563 * 186 [666] [692] [197]

These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

[17] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).
[18] *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).
[19] *Şin Çan Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [641] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bük (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bük and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec- [892] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, [796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 796 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[768] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[777] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 793 them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law
[692] suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has
S [794] no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are
S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

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The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, following the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Moslems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

000 purge took place.

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*668 In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a
798 movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

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668 The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities
423 of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land re-
692 form began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shanshan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

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668 is our own people who are judging and sentencing people." But...
423 we must give the minority cadres concrete help and guidance."
692 The Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, no. 7, reported: "On March 14, 1955, the People's Court of Hsien-yang County in Shensi called a public accusation rally to punish Chao Chu-shih. It reclassified him as a landlord, and confiscated all his land, drafting animals, farming tools and houses, except the part his family deserves to have."

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668 IV. The Pledges and Practices Regarding Economic Rights
423 In view of this lack of personal security very few people dared to defend their property rights. In the Common Program of 1949, Article 3 stated: "The People's Republic of China must abolish all the prerogatives of imperialist countries in China. It must confiscate bureaucratic capital and put it into the possession of the people's state. It must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership; it must protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives and must protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It must develop the people's economy of New Democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one." A number of terms in this article are vague; they are presumably to be kept this way to allow for a flexible interpretation.

It is hard to draw a definite line between the "bureaucratic capital" and "economic interests and private property of workers, farmers, the petty bourgeoisie class and the national bourgeoisie." Only after the loss of one's property, he would realize that he was a bureaucratic capitalist or feudal, or semi-feudal landowner. Those who kept their property would have to regard it as a favor rather than a right.

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668 The present Communist Constitution is more explicit. It has quite a number of articles relating to economic system and rights.
642 These are articles four to fourteen. Besides, there are several more articles to protect the citizens, namely 91, 92, 93, 94, 95,
421 96, 97, etc.

In these articles the constitution clearly states that the economic system in a socialist nation shall be built on state ownership, supplemented by cooperative ownership, (articles 6 and 7), while they are definitely going to eliminate "rich-peasant economy" (article 8) and "capitalist ownership" (article 10). The protection of the rights of ownership and inheritance (article 12), the property of the individual farmers (article 8) and workers (article 9) is subject to the regulations of law which will be adjusted from time to time to encourage the individual owners to organize cooperatives voluntarily. Protection of private income, savings, housing, and

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

439 Hissar, Karghalik and elsewhere. Besides these there are colonies of Muhammadan British subjects in nearly all the districts, some of them purely agricultural immigrants from Northern Kashmir and Chitral, others (and these among the wealthiest in the land) merchants engaged in the Indian trade. Many of the latter have married Turki wives, own land and houses, and have a considerable stake in the country. 648 All these people[1] cling tenaciously to their British nationality and their right to the protection of the Consular court, which 692 under the existing arrangement exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction over them. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the extra-territorial system in general or the details of its application to Kashgaria. Suffice it to say that the Consul-General is kept very busy maintaining order among the British subjects of the various districts, settling their civil disputes, trying cases brought against them by Chinese subjects, helping them to obtain redress in the Chinese courts and generally watching over their interests. Although theoretically the Consul-General deals only with the Taoyin, the representative of the Governor of the province, in practice very few cases, and those only the most important ones of an "international" nature, are heard at Kashgar. The Consul-General works informally with the District Magistrates, either directly or through the British agents ("Aqsaqals") in the various towns. As the majority of the British subjects live from five to twenty marches from Kashgar, it can readily be understood that the most effective and expeditious method of dealing with their cases is regularly to visit the districts in which they reside and settle matters on the spot, either with the District Magistrates or among the British subjects themselves as the case may be. In fact, it was only by travelling once a year down each of the two main roads, Yarkand-Khotan-Keriya and Maralbashi-Aksu-Kucha, with halts varying from one to fifteen days at each district headquarters and with an occasional extra visit to the chief centre of the Indian trade, Yarkand, that I found it possible to keep in touch with the Indian colonies and (what is no less important) on friendly personal terms with the 484 Chinese magistrates. Nearly half of the two and a quarter years we were in Kashgaria was thus spent on tour, and D. and I covered, apart from holiday jaunts to the hills, some 3,400 miles, almost entirely on horseback with our baggage in Peking carts or on the back of pack-ponies. There was

1 [Indian Merchants -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Valley and over the Achiq Davan to Khanterek on the Qaratash. Brian O'Flynn and his camels were not available this time, but Zakir Haji, the carrier whom we had employed on our spring tour, had served us very well in the mountains, and we were glad to be able to secure him and his ten ponies once more. Our retinue included the same well-tried orderlies and servants who had accompanied us the previous autumn, except that the ex-Lancer Rahim Khan, who was really past his work, was replaced by our sturdy, wise old Ladakhi Jemadar, Ghulam Muhammad. Another notable addition to our caravan was the fine grey donkey we had acquired in the spring for the sweeper Yakub to ride, in order to save the hire of a special pony for him. Tooty (short for Tutankhamen) cost us the equivalent of 25*s.* 6*d.* at the Thursday live-stock market outside Kashgar, which we visited in person to buy him, and he carried Yakub right staunchly over hill and dale throughout all our subsequent wanderings. D. regarded him as one of her pets, and if on the march he led laborious days, at the Consulate between tours he lived on the fat of the land. He had one drawback, and that was a frequent and most stentorian bray. Echoing among the precipices of the mountains, Tooty's bray would have awakened the Seven Sleepers, and every night we had to see that he was tied up with plenty of lucerne at least a quarter of a mile from our tents.

On the afternoon of the 19th June we rode to Yapchan, and next day we lunched at Yangi Hissar. My presence at this town, which is some miles to the east of the mouth of the Qaratash, was required for the joint trial with the Amban of an interesting murder case in which a Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh was accused of killing a Chitrali traveller. The murdered man being a British and the accused a Chinese subject, the case was a "mixed" one triable by the Chinese authorities, with myself as British Consul-General "watching" it on behalf of the Government of India and the murdered man's relations.[1] The details of the case are not without dramatic interest and are worthy of record.

In February 1923 I received a letter from the Assistant Political Agent in Chitral, in the North-West Frontier Province of India, enclosing a petition from the relations of one Muham-

[1] If the nationalities had been reversed, with the accused a British and the deceased a Chinese subject, I would have tried the case at Kashgar in my Consular court with the Taoyin watching it on behalf of the Governor.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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mad Shah. This was to the effect that the said Muhammad Shah, a trader of Chitral, had left Yangi Hissar in the province of Sinkiang in the previous December but had never reached his home. I requested the Taoyin to make inquiries, at the same time calling for a report from the British Aqsaqal at Yangi Hissar. The latter replied that Muhammad Shah had indeed left Yangi Hissar two months before, travelling alone, and had been traced as far as Ighiz Yar on the Tashqurghan road, but had not been seen or heard of since. Nothing happened and I had almost given up hope of the mystery being cleared up, when towards the end of May the Taoyin informed me that a man had been arrested on the charge of murdering Muhammad Shah at a wild spot called Sasik Tika in the Qizil Tagh two marches from Yangi Hissar along the Tashqurghan road, and that in due course he would be tried by the Magistrate of Yangi Hissar, Mr. Chiang.

According to Chinese judicial procedure, the Magistrate of a district in which a murder has been committed is held responsible for this breach of law and order, and incurs a degree of disgrace inversely proportionate to the distance from his headquarters of the place where the crime was committed. He must proceed at once to the spot and view the corpse, no matter where it is or how long it has been buried, and hold an inquest in person. The result is that corpulent Mandarins, who never stir from their Yamens if they can possibly help it, take the greatest care that no murder be committed within their borders, not only because of the black marks they receive, but also on account of the irksome journey that may be involved. As has happened more than once of recent years in Kashgaria, when a murder takes place near the boundary between two districts, the Beg and local headmen know what is expected of them and take good care that the body is not found within *their* master's jurisdiction. The people in the next district feel the same about it, and thus the unfortunate corpse is bandied surreptitiously backwards and forwards until its relatives succeed in inducing one set of authorities or the other to take up the case. The system has at any rate the advantage of keeping down violent crime, which is liable to cause so much trouble to everybody concerned, from the District Magistrate downwards; and certainly during the two and a quarter years I was at Kashgar, out of all the hundreds of British Indian traders and other nationals travelling about the country with goods or money or living on

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their estates, only one was murdered. That was Muhammad Shah, the victim in the present case.

Poor Mr. Chiang did not at all like having to drive and ride forty miles up into the mountains to hold an inquest upon the four-month-old corpse of the Chitrali, but he did it, and one of my Assistant Aqsaqals accompanied him. As a result of the inquest a Kirghiz of Sasik Tika was charged with the murder and the case referred to the Taoyin of Kashgar for orders. I was informed, as already stated, and it was arranged between myself and the Taoyin, in order to save the delay and expense involved in bringing the case to Kashgar for trial, that I should visit Yangi Hissar on my way to the mountains and assist at the hearing of the case by the Magistrate. The trial, which took place on the morning after our arrival (21st June), was short, as the accused had confessed and it was only necessary to examine, besides the man himself, the Beg of the circle and the *yuzbashi* (headman) of the valley. The prisoner, a man of about 30, was of an unmistakably criminal type with low, receding forehead, eyes set close together, and a violent squint. The story he and the witnesses told Mr. Chiang and myself, as we sat at a huge table in the open inner courtyard of the Yamen, was as follows:

Muhammad Shah was an opium-smuggler and had sold a consignment of Afghan opium profitably in Yarkand the previous autumn. Early in December, that is to say about as late in the season as he could reasonably expect to cross the high passes safely, he started alone from Yangi Hissar for his home in far Chitral across the Roof of the World. He rode a wiry little Yarkand pony, and in his sadlle-bags he carried the balance of his profits in the shape of a few taels' worth of silver and a couple of bales of gaily-dyed Khotan silks; for the greater part of the proceeds of his opium-running had doubtless been spent in the oiling of necessary palms and in obtaining from the Yamen a permit to leave the country.

On the evening of his second day on the road Muhammad Shah found himself at Sasik Tika and asked for shelter at the solitary hut occupied by the prisoner, Yakub. The Kirghiz came out and looked at the traveller and his bulging saddle-bags. "We are the poorest of the poor," he said, "and have no food, but we will put you up for the night. Only, you must sleep outside the tent as my wife and three children are all ill inside." Accordingly Muhammad Shah, having hobbled his pony and muttered Mecca-wards his evening prayer, ate two

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of the little round shiny loaves he had brought with him and threw himself down on the felt mat which his host spread in front of the tent for him. For pillow he had his saddlebags and for bedclothes his sheepskin cloak, and he was soon fast asleep in spite of the icy breath of night which now and again passed down the gloomy valley like a sigh.

Two hours later, when the moon had set, Yakub crept out of the hut and peered stealthily at his guest in the faint starlight. Then he went to a heap of stones close by and selected a big slab which he could just carry shoulder-high. Staggering with it to where Muhammad Shah lay, he heaved it on the unfortunate sleeper's head. As Yakub himself put it: "He just gave a little kick and moved no more." Dragging the body on the felt mat as it lay, he hid it behind a boulder and went back to bed. Early in the morning he rose and went out, telling his wife (who knew nothing of what he had done) that he was going to work at the coal-mine.[1] Going to where the body lay he wrapped it up in the felt and heaved it first on to a boulder and thence on to the back of the dead man's pony, which he proceeded to drive in front of him up a steep and narrow side-glen into the snowy fastnesses of the Qizil Tagh. Up and up he went, to the verge of the winter snows, and there he threw the corpse down into the dry bed of the torrent and buried it by tumbling rocks on it from above. He would have liked to keep the pony, but it would have been too dangerous; so he tied the poor beast's legs together and pushed it over a precipice. The dead man's money he hid in a secret place and the silks he stored in the hut, telling his wife that he had received them from a trader in exchange for the skins of some stone-martens he had trapped.

Weeks passed and nothing happened, so that gradually Yakub plucked up courage to go to Yangi Hissar on market day and spend some of his new fortune. A wedding took place in a neighbouring valley to which he and his wife, with all the other Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, were invited; every one noticed the beautiful new silk clothes of Mrs. Yakub, and word went round that her husband had somehow become rich. Then one day the inhabitants of the Kinkol valley received an unexpected and unwelcome visit from their Beg, who brought grave news from Yangi Hissar. The British Consul-General, it appeared,

[1] A shallow surface-working on a seam recently discovered in the neighbourhood and exploited by the Chinese military authorities, who claim a monopoly of all minerals.

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had formally requested the Taoyin, and through him their Magistrate, to make inquiries into the whereabouts of a British subject last heard of in Yangi Hissar district. This meant that unless they, the Beg, headmen and people of the Kinkol valley, could either find the fellow or prove that he had crossed the passes into Tashkurghan district, unpleasant things would happen to them.

It was not long before the suspicions of the headmen fell upon our friend Yakub. The latter at first strenuously denied all knowledge of the missing man; but he failed to explain how he had become so wealthy all of a sudden, and eventually he confessed. Let us not inquire too closely into the methods by which the Beg and his minions persuaded Yakub to be frank with them. Suffice it to say that according to the old Chinese law still in force in Sinkiang no one can be convicted of any crime, no matter how strong the evidence against him may be, unless he confesses it; so that those responsible for the suppression of crime become experts in the fine art of eliciting confessions from recalcitrant prisoners. From the point of view of the British Consulate-General, all that mattered was that Yakub gave Mr. Chang and myself a detailed and even graphic account of how he did the deed, so that Chinese justice could take its course, the claims of Muhammad Shah's relatives in far Chitral be duly honoured and the bonds of amity between two great nations further strengthened through their local representatives. True, the said relatives of the deceased not only received no blood-money, as they would have done if he had waited till he reached his own country before getting himself murdered, but had to be content with a mere fraction of his estate—for the local people who had had so much trouble and anxiety over the matter, from the Beg down to the prisoner's (more or less) innocent wife, could not be expected to disgorge more than a reasonable percentage of the spoils. But then, Muhammad Shah had no business to indulge in opium-running in Chinese territory. With my concurrence, the Magistrate found Yakub guilty of murder and condemned him to death; six weeks later, when the necessary confirmation had been received from the Governor at Urumchi, the murderer was duly hanged in the presence of the British Aqsaqal of Yangi Hissar.

To return to our own journey. Soon after midday, when the trial was over, a cloth was laid on the Court table and the Magistrate and I seized our chop-sticks and set to work on a regular Yamen dinner of about twenty-five courses which

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
625 were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
173 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can spot small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor.* Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the 681
unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals 696
rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of
their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment.
Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a
compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through
his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot
on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down
upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying
is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on 651
the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish 661
gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came 669
finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

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had formally requested the Taoyin, and through him their Magistrate, to make inquiries into the whereabouts of a British subject last heard of in Yangi Hissar district. This meant that unless they, the Beg, headmen and people of the Kinkol valley, could either find the fellow or prove that he had crossed the passes into Tashkurghan district, unpleasant things would happen to them.

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464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
177 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
S [316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
177 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
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464 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town
465 Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the
315 Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.
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[648] After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo)
424 of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who
787 are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

*175 province — who, though considered formidable fighters, had been badly treated and irregularly paid. Their mutiny broke Chin Shu-jen's nerve, and he fled to Russian territory, whence he returned to China. The remaining officials in Urumchi then elected the head of the Education Bureau, Lin Wen-lung, as acting provincial Chairman, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai as acting commander of the military forces.

[701] Ever since the regime of China's first modern war lord, Yuan Shih-k'ai, a provincial governor who does not control his own troops has usually been overshadowed by the commander of the provincial military forces. It was not surprising, therefore, that Sheng Shih-ts'ai soon dominated his nominal civil superior. Sheng was born in Liaoning Province, in the south of Manchuria, and educated partly in Shanghai and Nanking. He went to Japan in 1915 and again in 1925 to study political economy and military science. During his second stay in Japan he was already under the patronage of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1926–1927 he served on the staff of Ho Ying-ch'in, Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek on the "Northern Expedition" which resulted in the capture of Nanking and Shanghai and Chiang's rise to power. At this time it was not sure whether or how the Kuomintang would be able to take over the Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria), and it was advisable to have in reserve a promising young Northeastern officer. Eventually, however, the Northeastern Provinces came over to the Kuomintang under their own war lord, the "Young Marshal" Chang Hsüeh-liang, which left no room for Northeasterners who did not belong to his personal following. The hopes of Sheng Shih-ts'ai went into eclipse, and for lack of other prospects he went to Sinkiang in 1929 on the personal staff of a bureaucrat who had been appointed General Secretary of the Provincial Government. By 1930 he had worked up to the position of Chief of the General Staff Office of the Frontier Army.

*175 As soon as he took over the real power in 1933, Sheng an-
185 nounced an "Eight-point Policy" for Sinkiang, which was to become famous: equality between nationalities; religious freedom; immediate rural relief; financial reform; administrative reform;

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determination often stems not from separatism but from resistance to the assertion of a central dictatorship over outlying provinces.

Thus the *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin, in a Mukden dispatch of February 3, 1948, noted that "Perhaps the main cause of bitterness against the government among the Manchurians has been the policy of officials appointed by Nanking of treating the Manchurians as a people to be dominated militarily and exploited economically." The "Manchurians" are, of course, Chinese, closely related to the main stock of North China. The situation in Sinkiang, where most of the people are not Chinese, is similar but more marked. Thus even Masud Sabri, an Uighur who was regarded by other Uighurs as subservient to the C.C. Clique, felt constrained to say in 1945 that while the war against Japan was still going on the main characteristics of Chungking policy in Sinkiang were military domination by a large number of troops who were regarded as "human-faced locusts," and promotion of the kind of Chinese colonization that had contributed so much to such uprisings as that in Komul.[60]

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When Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang in September 1944 he left behind six divisions of his own troops. In addition, four divisions of Chungking troops had already entered the province. Two divisions of Chinese Moslem cavalry from Ch'inghai were added a year later, bringing the total up to twelve divisions. Strong fortifications facing west were then built, and though there have been a number of reorganizations, the total military force has remained at about 100,000.[61] The economic strain and social friction associated with the maintenance of such a force in a distant and thinly inhabited province have been described by a Chinese

[60] *New York Times*, January 30, 1948. The comment on troops by Masud Sabri is contained in his article "Regarding Politics in the Northwest," in *Altai*, Chungking, April 25, 1945 (in Chinese).

[61] This figure was reported by Frank Robertson, who in 1947 spent about eight months in Sinkiang. See his dispatch of January 28, 1948, published in *New York Times*, February 1, 1948. For military establishment at the time Sheng Shih-ts'ai left Sinkiang, see press interview with Chang Chih-chung published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 4, 1947 (in Chinese).

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writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese, accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

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Chinese of Sinkiang. "In this province," he declared, "it is impossible to maintain peace by means of persecution, corruption, trickery, and fraud"; but on the other hand "the enemies of our people are not the Chinese nation, but those individuals who advocate oppressive government, who want imperialist policies, who are against rights for the people." [86] 175* 186

In April 1947 Chang Chih-chung made a tour of the most important oases of the Tarim Basin. In May, fortified presumably by the firsthand knowledge he had acquired, he made an important speech at Urumchi in which he put forward a Chinese policy countering the policy of Akhmedjan. There should, he pleaded, be no resort to revolution. Theoretically, Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic system of rule; but autonomy and democracy should be based on a choice between the Sun Yat-sen pattern and the Soviet pattern. The Kulja group, he asserted, because of its opposition to the Chinese Government, must be regarded as opposing the San Min Chu I or Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, and must therefore be pro-Communist. 175*

General Chang also dealt with a number of the substantive issues standing between the Chinese Government and the Kulja group. Akhmedjan, as the spokesman of the Kulja group, was willing to recognize the right of the Chinese Government to control the national defense of Sinkiang. General Chang, however, contended that reorganization of the six regiments in the three frontier regions of Kulja, Chuguchak, and the Altai district should be preceded by the complete surrender of those regiments to the Chinese forces. His demand in this respect was parallel to that of the Chinese Government in its 1945–1946 negotiations with the Chinese Communists, through the Marshall Mission: the Communists offered to reduce their forces and to place them under a united high command, but demanded that their identity as units be preserved and that the units continue to be stationed in Communist districts; the National Government insisted on its right not only to take over such forces but to disperse or reassign them. 175* 701

[86] Akhmedjan, in the speech cited above.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
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*563 578 669 Uighurs were regarded as only political rebels. When they defeated Chinese Moslems, however, they massacred women and children as well as men, because these communities were regarded as not only political rebels but traitors to the Chinese blood.

*563 701 668 Since the end of the war against Japan the Chinese reinforcements sent to Sinkiang have been principally non-Moslem troops of the National Government, though crack Moslem cavalry have been stationed on the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic in the disputed Baitik Bogda area. The great Moslem war lords of Northwest China have been fully engaged in the militarily difficult and politically delicate dual operation of preventing the Chinese Communists from expanding into their satrapies, while at the same time consolidating in those satrapies an autonomous power sufficiently strong to refuse to allow the National Government either to send in garrisons or to collect taxes. They have had no forces to spare for independent adventures in Sinkiang. In compensation the National Government, while losing authority over the Moslems of Northwest China, gained the upper hand over them in Sinkiang. Playing on the social conservatism of the Chinese Moslems, they were for a time at least able to align them against Turkic nationalism and still more against the more revolutionary "coalition nationalism" of the Kulja movement.

x563 701 648 Backed by over 100,000 National Government troops with relatively good training and American equipment, and with the Moslem Chinese unable to dispute the ascendancy of the non-Moslems, the position of the Chinese as a whole in Sinkiang, in the last years of Kuomintang rule, was curious. Their troops gave them formidable striking power against an insurrection at almost any one point, but not the decisive power to crush, as a whole, the nationalism which increasingly pervaded the entire province. Political and military decisions lay in the hands of high Chinese officials almost none of whom were natives of the province. As individuals, they were not engaged in the defense of old vested interests but, all too often, in the acquisition of new personal interests.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

10th March.

The new Commandant of the Yarkand garrison is of a type that is new to me, for unlike all the officials I have met hitherto he is a native of Sinkiang, though pure Chinese. His forebears, he tells me, have been in the military service of the Urumchi Government for six generations, i.e. ever since the last reconquest but one, in 1758. Incidentally, he is about as un-martial-looking a person as can be imagined; but he has had quite a varied and interesting career none the less. He has been to Manchuria and Moscow; he has been on expeditions against brigands in wild Kansu; he was once staff officer to a general who was banished to Sinkiang for implication in the Boxer rising. But perhaps his most unusual job was when he and two other "wei-yuans" (officers on special duty) were detailed to take 500 Kalmuck horses from Urumchi to Peking as a present to the great Yuan Shih-kai. I asked him whether the whole number arrived safely after the 2,000-mile journey, mostly across the desert? "Oh, we lost a lot," he replied, "but we had a big margin and delivered the 500 all right." I thought of the Hami melons they used to send to the Emperors, and reflected how the methods of the Chinese resemble natural processes in their disregard of waste.

11th March.

Last night the missionaries and ourselves were the guests of ex-Taoyin Chu at a Chinese dinner-and-theatre party at the Tientsin merchants' club. In China you do not go to the theatre after dinner, as we do; the theatre comes to you during it. A large courtyard had been roofed over with cloth for the occasion; on one side was a temporary stage, on the other a dinner-table set for about twenty persons. The place was filled to overflowing with hordes of Chinese attendants, clerks, interpreters, soldiers, policemen and bottlewashers of all kinds, behind whom crowded Turki hangers-on, street-urchins and other sight-seers. Several delicious children of Chinese guests were present; the prettiest was an exquisitely made-up little girl dressed in embroidered red silk with a wonderful ornament in her hair consisting of a butterfly in jewelled enamel and bright green Yunnan jade, with a quivering aigrette of fine gold wire spraying downwards from it. There was also a tiny boy dressed like a miniature mandarin in a fur-lined black satin jacket and black silk skirt, surmounted by an absurd green Homburg hat, who planted himself solidly in the middle of the narrow open space between our table and the stage and stared solemnly at the players for a long time. His back view was that of an exceptionally fat Amban about two feet high, one of the funniest sights I have seen for a long time.

For nearly six hours we sat at the big table while course after course of a full-length Chinese dinner came and went, and a travelling company of Chihli actors performed play after play opposite us. Except for its inordinate length, the entertainment was quite an enjoyable one, and most interesting. On the Chinese stage all the parts are taken by males; the characters speak in a curious and very ugly kind of falsetto sing-song, the voices of the "actresses" differing from those of the actors only in being shriller and more strident. In the classical plays, which form the majority of the repertoire, the chief

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [801] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted *668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This • 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 701 708 668 177 241 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 653 312 668 177 503 464 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 241 668 177 464 [248] A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 708 464 466 668 177 000 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).

III. Conscript Labor

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

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1. Ch'ing Dynasty

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

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175 648 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in November 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [701] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease the Russian-supported Kulja Nationalists

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S 159 631 701 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer

A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S 159 701 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army, S 159 669 668 T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N 159 *668 701 Teng Pao-san: Army officer

A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

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159 **Yang Tzu-lien:** Democratic League member, government
631 official

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950 - 1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

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159 **Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan:** Anti-Communist army officer and gov-
ernment official
Chinese name: Ching-fu
• 701
631 A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of 622 the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for 702 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro- 622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax- 621 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an 669 ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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486 am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what
702 has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

[681] A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

485 On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

000 use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

133 A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

631 Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

704 We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of
533 them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

704 533 lowest note, like the dying moo of ten thousand stricken kine, the one in front would be finishing with its highest, which resembled a similar number of nails being drawn across a gigantic pane of glass. Each note went on for about two minutes, in an irregular diminuendo and crescendo as the various trumpeters lost their breaths and found them again. We have christened this performance "Ma noises" after the gallant Commandant, Captain Ma, a son-in-law of the Titai.

704 Apart from the dust they raise and the excruciating sounds they emit, the Karghalik Cavalry and their band are a pure joy. Yesterday as we rode past the guard of honour the *beau sabreur* in command gave us the "officer's salute" with the utmost smartness. I was much impressed and rode past wreathed in smiles, my hat raised with due civilian humility. The effect, however, was somewhat spoilt when, the officer's charger becoming restive, he whacked it soundly on the quarters with the flat of his sword several times before returning to the correct position! On another occasion, coming suddenly round a corner upon the cavalry, we caught the "Ma noise" merchant who led the band napping without his trumpet. Frantic shouting and hurrying to and fro, and all seemed lost, until the small street-boy who had been practising with the trumpet across the road dashed over and handed it to its rightful owner, who blew his first ear-splitting C just in time to make our horses shy as we passed. The situation was saved!

The presence of so many mounted troops here must have something to do with the fact that the grazing in the mountains above Karghalik is very good and it is a great horse-producing country, witness the thousands of ponies working on the Leh route which are owned by Karghalik carriers. The Amban here is a Manchu, the only Magistrate of that redoubtable race we have in Kashgaria; one notices at once the difference in type, the upper part of his face being almost like a European's, not flat like that of a Chinese.

Karghalik, 15th November.

The dinner with which we were entertained to-day at the Yamen was unique in that three Chinese ladies were present, including our Manchu host's wife, next whom I sat just as if she had been a "foreign devil" like myself. It was most interesting. The ladies were shy at first, but when D. and our Chinese secretary had succeeded in putting them at their ease they thoroughly entered into the joke and the party went very well. There were also some children present, one of whom, a girl of ten, was as pretty as a picture, and knew it; sad to say, she was painted up to the eyes. An amusing interlude was when an old and battered tin of asparagus was produced and our host asked me to read him the instructions. He explained that it had been given him by a former English traveller who had dined with him, but he had not been able to have it for dinner as no one in his household could read the instructions. We are now wondering how long it will be before symptoms of botulism appear.

Goma, 18th November.

Owing to the extreme knottiness of the points raised by the Amban, I had to extend our stay at Karghalik from three days to six; this

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

622 601 [313] [382]

methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kashgar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

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Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

After spending a cold and uncomfortable night at Khafa Gumbaz (the name means "Domes of Wrath") we emerged on to the Pamirs by the windy gate of Bulunkul and camped at a little mud fort south of the lake amid typical Pamir scenery. The garrison of this lonely post consisted of an out-at-elbows lieutenant and three men, all married to Kirghiz women. One of the soldiers interested me very much. A hawk-nosed, black-avised, alert little man in an enormous astrakhan hat appeared at the door of our *aq-oi* with an accordion in his hands, stood to attention smartly and entered without further ado. He told me he was a Russian Kirghiz from Tokmak in Semirechia, whence he had come three years before; he looked to me more like a Noghai or "Tartar," but might have been a Tartar-Kirghiz half-breed. He was very friendly and insisted on treating us to a concert on his "garmonie" (the Russian form of the word "harmonium" which they use for accordion). On that wheezy old instrument he played various long and unmelodious tunes in our tiny *aq-oi*. It was a painful performance, but we hated to hurt his feelings and were most appreciative; he was so very obviously a spy from across the frontier, and in so lonely and desolate a spot we could well understand his joy at finding at last a job of work to do.

During the next four days we wandered unhurriedly across the Lake District of the Chinese Pamirs, halting a day close to the north shore of the Little Qara Kul and another at Subashi. Here the Qungur and Muz Tagh Ata massifs stood round us in a vast amphitheatre, their dazzling domes and ridges of ice reflected exquisitely in the sapphire waters of the lakes. It was a pleasant time; the weather was perfect and the Kirghiz charming; sport was good, the lakes and marshes teeming with geese, ducks, teal and snipe. Near the Qara Kul we were met by our old friend Nadir Beg, the tall and jovial "British Watchman in Sarikol," with a regular cortège of Kirghiz and the inevitable wayside tea-drinking. Earlier in the same day we had an interesting *rencontre*. A party of about twenty travel-stained and weather-beaten old men clad in ragged sheepskin cloaks and hats came riding northwards over the pamir. They proved to be Turki pilgrims returning from Mecca, the remnants of a party of fifty or more who had left Kashgar in April for the Holy Cities. They had had a terrible time, they said, on the high passes of the Hindu Kush between Tashqurghan and Chitral, and several of the

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195 a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the
121 phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."
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132 The most important of the multiple influences is believed to
114 be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the
182 climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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(233) A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of
(262) the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of
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S the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like
195 the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of
121 mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.
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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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censor had not yet called! These incidents, naturally, 486 greatly added to our sense of discomfort, and we now seriously began to wonder when we should be allowed to leave this place of detention.

A party of Tibetan lamas, with their attendants, were also, like ourselves, unable to proceed, and having pitched a group of tents on the sand, had already been waiting a week for their permission to move on. They were greatly inconvenienced by the delay as they were travelling with fifteen little donkeys, including their pack animals. On the fourth morning, there being still no word of the permission we were desiring, we wandered out to this Tibetan camp to enquire if the lamas were more fortunate than ourselves. 'Any news?' we asked. 'News? What news can you hope for with such a gang as this? Our donkeys will soon be dead for lack of fodder, and if we all die they don't care!'

As we sat and talked, a string of carts appeared, laden 705 with sacks of wheat, bundles of fodder, vats of oil, and a few baskets of vegetables. This was the food supply for the camp,[1] as both men and beasts were fed from the Hami oasis, six days distant. We then followed the waggons back to the camp, and, glad of any diversion from the monotony of the day, we watched the unloading. We next paid the usual midday call to the tele- 486 graph office, and there, to our unspeakable relief, learnt that a message had at last come permitting both ourselves and the lamas to proceed. Fearful, however, lest the authorities might suddenly change their mind and insist on our taking a longer 'rest-cure,' we hurried back and issued orders that the animals should at once be fed and watered, and the carts prepared for an afternoon start. Therefore, when an hour later the officer called with news that the permit had come, we were almost ready to leave.

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia-- Analyst]

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N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted * 668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [166] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the • 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
466 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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177

III. Conscript Labor

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S 668 708 208 545

4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

S 668 648 545

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

N *668 208

IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

S [668] [208]

N *668 796 *[563] [791] [651]

A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", and the place is probably identical with the λίθινος πύργος of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.[1] Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabitated this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes.

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which,

[1] Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71–2.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

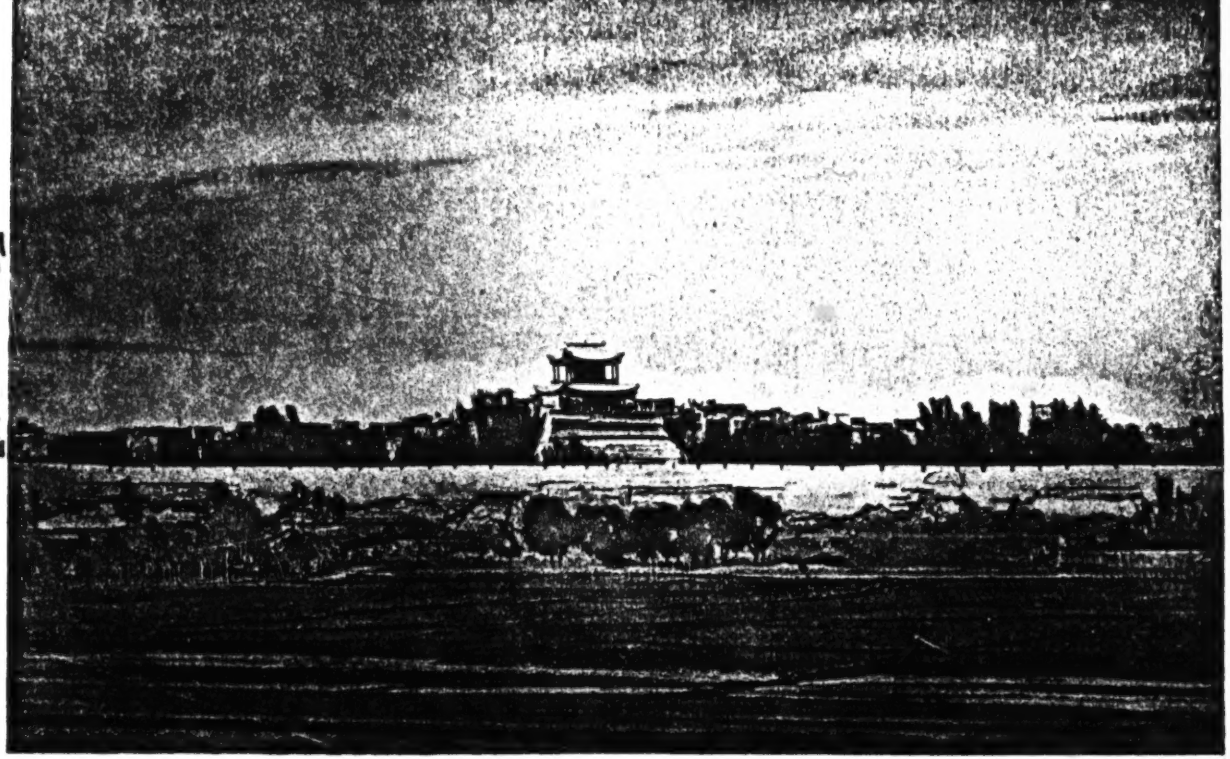
peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows. 487

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were ; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia. [712]

Ighiz Yar (" The High Bluff ") proved to be a pleasant stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession ; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters ; they also opened on a cow-byre. 342 [134]

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have 487

: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All



THE WALLS OF OLD KASHGAR

[Face p. 54]

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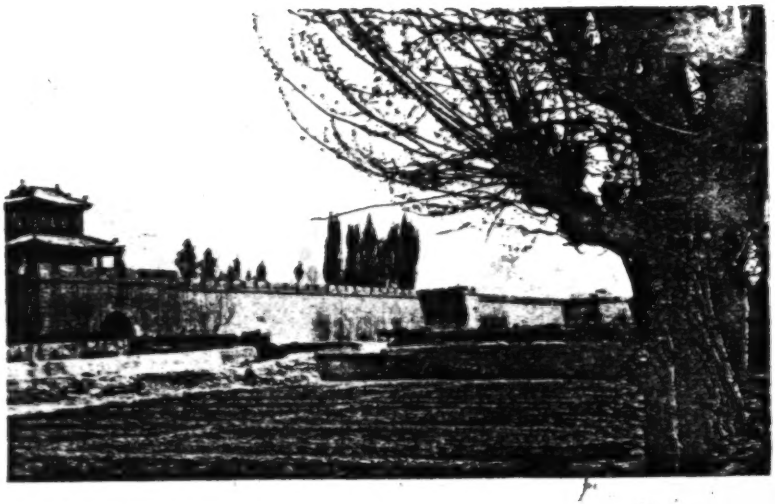
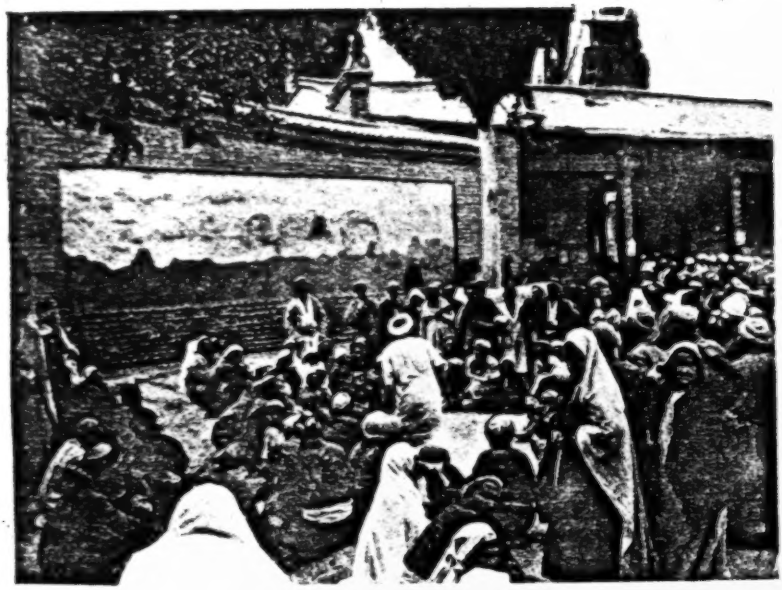


THE WALLS OF KHOTAN



A STORY-TELLER AND HIS AUDIENCE, KARGHALIK

[Face p. 204]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

485 mud floor was transformed into a series of mud pits so treacherously slippery that we had to move about with the greatest care. During a fine spell between two storms the Commanding Officer appeared at our door to return our call. We were not sorry that he should see our plight, but his only comment was: 'This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose that in England your hotels are all better than this?'

486 Though we suffered so much discomfort from the rain, we were secretly rejoicing, because news was brought to • 712 us that a number of young men had escaped that night, and thanks to the rain had not yet been recaptured. [312] Hsinghsinghsia has the only spring of water in an immense area, and the patrols found it sufficient to watch the next springs on either side in order to take deserters. As the hunted man crept stealthily to the water's edge to slake his thirst under cover of darkness, the mounted soldiers seized him, bound him and drove him back to the camp, where many had died from the severity of the flogging received. After the rains, however, little pools of water collected in the hollows of the granite rocks, and thus enabled the fugitives to leave the main road and so reach freedom. Many deaths had occurred through pedestrians, or mounted travellers, trying to cross the frontier without passing the camp. One day six riderless mules were captured, the men having, doubtless, died of thirst in the sands.

000 It was very touching to see the delight with which groups of these poor men would gather around us and talk for long hours. We had travelled so much in North China that we knew the localities from which several of them had come. Some from Shansi found that we actually knew the very villages where their parents lived, and in some cases we had even visited the homes of relatives. One youth was the son of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

3; Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called Behya—' The Town of Seagulls '—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There are postal and telegraph offices and a military station. The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that ' the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. ' Certainly,' we said, ' show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, ' Here they come again! ' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To ' save face ' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

/Turks of Sinkiang/

177 inflict upon itself.
178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
• 72 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
779 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 777 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 [565] One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

S
668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

N
*175 2. Chinghai
*668 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

312 133 A unique irrigation device was introduced into the oasis of Komul by the Chinese administrator Chang Yao in the nineteenth century. Because of the exceptionally porous sandy soil in this oasis, he had water carried for miles across the desert in wooden troughs lined with felt. This device is too expensive for present costs.

Although agriculture in northern Sinkiang is also irrigated, cultivation is not so sharply isolated in oases as it is in the south. The main water supply for irrigation comes from the Ili, Manass, and Black Irtish rivers.

Of these the Ili is formed by the confluence of three rivers, the Kash, the Kunges, and the Tekes. The volume discharged by these three rivers at high water is 100 cubic meters per second for the Kash and Tekes and 30 cubic meters per second for the Kunges.

133 731 The Manass is a slow river, but when in flood it is troublesome. It cuts extra flood channels which discharge into marshes just below the Manass oasis, and consequently its terminal lake, Telli Nor, farther out in the plain, is steadily drying up.

The headwaters of the Irtish are in the Altai, where the snow level is much lower than in the Tien Shan. The spring flood therefore comes down six weeks earlier on the Irtish than it does on the Manass, which is beneficial for spring planting.

312 631 423 Wherever irrigation is practiced, water rights are even more fundamental than land ownership. In Sinkiang, there are two bodies of custom and practice with regard to water. One is associated with the *kariz*. The other prevails much more widely, has a complicated history, and a number of variants.

The rights, obligations, and customs associated with the simple practice of leading water in ditches from rivers undoubtedly go back to the ancient form of communal enterprise in which all the members of the community contributed their labor, and the water was shared out not to individuals with proprietary rights in particular fields, but to kinship groups cultivating fields to which they had a collective title.

In a community which is still lacking in large-scale private

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Pashraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

"This is how they work. As every one who is acquainted with Muhammadan countries knows, it is a *sawāb* or merit-acquiring action to give alms to any beggar, whether he deserves it or not. Consequently the fraternity flourish even as the green bay tree; also, they hear all that is going on. They therefore make admirable spies and allies for the police. Suppose, then, that an opium-running convoy from Afghanistan is reported by the beggars to be approaching Yarkand. The smugglers always break up into parties of two or three among the foothills above the city and endeavour to enter with their loads by night. The Chief of Police then calls the Chief of the Beggars to his garden outside the city and the two of them concoct a plan of campaign something like this: on the nights when the smugglers are expected the Chief of the Beggars will post parties of his men near the most likely of the many holes in the city walls, with orders to intercept any smugglers they can get hold of and drag them off to the garden of the Chief of Police; the *pashraps* or watchmen are to patrol the streets and environs of the town and do likewise. When the time comes the two Chiefs await the result at the appointed place and divide the spoil, which usually consists of heavy blackmail in kind taken from the captured smugglers. 548

"Think of the dramas that must be enacted at a place like Yarkand! There must be enough in one year to make plots for a score of 'Hassans.' Everything is there, from the comic rivalry between the Chief of Police and the Captain of the Military, who is represented by the Tungling or (Chinese) commandant of the garrison with his locally-recruited soldiers, to the tyrant Harun-ar-Rashid and his torture-chamber. General Ma, Titai of Kashgaria, with the big hay-chopper with which he slices men's limbs off joint by joint, would play the latter to the life."

The oases of the Tarim Basin are a land flowing with milk and, if not honey, almost everything else. D. has a vivid and by no means overdrawn picture of the Kashgar bazaars in one of her letters home.

"In the autumn the bazaars, always well supplied, positively overflow with things to eat. Millers sit in their shops behind mountains of flour, next door to them grain-merchants squat surrounded by huge sacks of golden corn-cobs, rice, wheat and millet. The vegetable stalls are weighed down with enormous onions, lettuces, cabbages, bundles of spinach and strange local vegetables which are new to us. Even the tinsmiths, the cloth-merchants, the cap-sellers have fruit and vegetables to sell, and at every corner sits some one with baskets of peaches, melons, pomegranates and grapes. Luscious nectarines fall off the stalls and the street-boys do not even trouble to pick them up. Horses and donkeys snatch at bundles of hay or dried lucerne 443 511

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but the extreme difficulty of the frontier, and the countless secret paths by which determined men riding ponies like mountain goats can inport the drug, make the prevention of smuggling an impossible task. Also there is the co-operation between the two "Hassan" characters described above. 276 733

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Urghur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

● 735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

185 of soldiers and workers have been working day and night on part of the public works scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. This includes the building of four asphalt roads of over 1000 meters, several macadamized roads of 1500 meters and the modernization of buildings. . . . Over 1,000 old and dilapidated houses are to be torn down and rebuilt, and some 1,800 new houses put up in the new civic center."

735 The Sinkiang representative on China's National Political Council, Sheng Shih-chi, pointed out during the fall of 1942 that there are no beggars in Sinkiang; I heard the same thing from Chinese Moslems when I was in Kansu Province in 1940. At that time one Moslem, a Lan-chou vendor of Sinkiang raisins and Soviet lump sugar, made pointed examples of one of the city's numerous ragged and grimy child indigents and of a nearby beggar cripple, both whining with hands outstretched. "*Tsai Hsin-chiang mei-yu-liao*" ("That doesn't happen in Sinkiang"), he commented with a shake of the head. Tales that filtered through to Lan-chou in 1939 and 1940 painted Sinkiang in a favorable [464] light indeed. The shortage of labor, the abundance of land and resources, the crying reconstruction needs, and the progressive point of view of the administration in Sinkiang all tend to corroborate Sheng Shih-chi's assertion.

175 Sinkiang's transformation in the past decade may not appear miraculous in terms of superficial material measurements. The task of domestic reconstruction is not nearly complete; and at least partial credit for what has been accomplished is due to outside aid. Yet, with all this, unswerving and successful application of her Six Great Policies has put the New Sinkiang and the interfusion of frontier races inhabiting the region among the major phenomena of this age. In the years between 1937 and 1943 the province cast aside five centuries of decadence and began to play a unique and vigorous part in modern living. Now, in the midst of a magnificently intermingled old and new—the Sinkiang newspaper hawked in a native bazaar, the phone call to Chungking from a picturesque yamen, an airplane flight over the old Silk Road —the Sinkiang people have shown their eagerness to join in the fashioning of a better world life.

In some ways the Tarim Basin is more than old-fashioned—it is mediæval. I remember reading the late Elroy Flecker's play "Hassan" and being charmed with its poetry, but a little superior about the romantic glamour which it evidently had for London audiences—the Golden Road to Samarkand, and so on.

"Samarkand's nothing," I wrote in a letter home. "Here at Kashgar we are twice as far beyond Samarkand as Samarkand is far from London. After all, the city of Tamerlane is directly connected with Charing Cross by steamship and railway, whereas if you want to come to Kashgar you must undertake a real caravan-journey, and a long one too. Even before the days of railways and steamships the caravan journey from Baghdad to Samarkand was not half as long as that from China Proper to this place by Shensi, Tunhwang and Keriya, which is still used occasionally by camel caravans bringing Chinese tea and silks. Then there is the still longer, though cooler, north road across the Mongolian steppes, along which an old Chinese carrier came the other day. He left railhead with his camels last September and turned up smiling in June, talking of his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip. He told me that he had marched for fifty days once without seeing a human being. . . .

"About Baghdad, too, it is a little difficult to enthuse if you have been there. Constantinople, yes; but not Baghdad. Anyway, in twentieth-century Yarkand we can match the characters in 'Hassan' and the things they did in eighth-century Baghdad. Take the Chief of the Beggars, for example. The Beggars, or *Qalandars*, are a guild recognized by the authorities with their *Shangia* or Chief, just as in old Baghdad, and the Chief of the Beggars is one of the wealthiest men in Yarkand. This is because he and his men are in close alliance with the *Shangia* of the *Paskraps* or Chief of Police (a Turki subordinate official) and *his* men. The two Chiefs co-operate in the organization of burglaries and thefts, sharing the spoil. Practically everything that is stolen in Yarkand comes eventually into the hands of one or other of these two men. Since the Chinese made opium contraband a few years ago, too, they have reaped a rich harvest out of the illicit trade in that drug between Afghanistan and Yarkand.

735 [575] 548

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[1] The result of the Governor of Sinkiang's prohibition of opium cultivation and importation has been instructive. Until it became contraband, the consumption of opium in southern Sinkiang was comparatively small and prices were low; but once the import from Afghanistan and Semirechia was prohibited, the price went up and it became "the thing" not only to smoke but to smuggle it. There came to be big money in the business, and this, together with the excitements of opium-running among the wild mountains of the Sino-Afghan frontier, attracted the most adventurous spirits in the country. The Urumchi Government and the more efficient of the District Magistrates do their best to stop the smuggling, which is only as profitable as it is because there is absolutely no cultivation of the poppy in Sinkiang, a fact to which the Goverment point with justifiable pride;

733 276

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N [798]

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
519 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
519 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 785 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 795 796 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 788 778 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 One of the most important standards according to which an 183 individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is 668 to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the 177 present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been [565] truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term 668 is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p 177 prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

very nearly caused a stampede of the entire cavalcade. A little further on we rounded a corner and came upon the real Sinkiang Army, cavalry and infantry, whose buglers set up a wild fanfare; uniformed aides-de-camp and black-coated Chinese secretaries met us bowing with their masters' red-paper visiting cards and next moment, dismounted, we found ourselves shaking the limp unaccustomed hands of the local hierarchy. These included the Magistrate of Yarkand, an alert and intelligent Cantonese; the Commandant of the Garrison, an ancient Yunnanese General in a cream-coloured silk shirt, with a head, as D. puts it, positively waggley with age; a speechless Captain in a tightly-buttoned greatcoat, and one or two Assistant Magistrates in skull-caps and Chinese civil dress.

(From a letter of D.'s dated 29th October, 1922.)

This morning (Sunday) I went to the Mission Church and came back through the bazaars. Some of the types I saw were extraordinary—strange wild-looking men in square fur caps and ragged clothes, with Mongol faces and the eyes of people without minds! Shrivelled old men and women, mere heaps of rags, crawling about the streets. Fat Begs, picturesquely dressed in black tunics and trousers and long boots, with wonderful striped coats over all. Veiled visions with little fur-edged velvet caps, old Chinese men with brown walnut faces, and terrific Chinese babies like small lumps of dough. What it will be like on market day I can't imagine, for I am told most extraordinary types come in from the deserts and marshes round Yarkand.

Yarkand, 5th November, 1922.

Yarkand is a much larger but less effectively-situated city than Kashgar. It is all on the flat, and there is no river across which, as at Kashgar, you can obtain a *coup d'œil* of the town and its walls. All you can see from outside at any one point is a section of the massive ramparts, in good repair round the New City but somewhat dilapidated round the adjacent old town; suburbs with long straggling bazaars further confuse the view. Once inside the walls, however, you are struck by the size and spaciousness of the long roofed bazaars, far better-built than those of Kashgar, and by the quaint "bits" and picturesque corners at every turn, of which glimpses are caught through every second doorway; courtyards of humble dwellings, inns, corners by ponds with tumbledown wooden houses and weeping willows drooping over them, eating-shops and groceries, smithies and old-clothes shops and carpenter's shops, and everywhere masses of picturesquely-garbed people. The most remarkable sights in the streets are the beggars, positive miracles of grotesque raggedness and boniness. But Yarkand, though delightful at this season, must be hot and unhealthy from June to October; there are many flies and mosquitoes about still, and malaria (not a bad kind, however) is rife. The universal cretinism is distressing; every fourth person one meets has goitre. This is undoubtedly due to the bad water drunk by the people; although two large rivers come out of the mountains quite close to the city, the Yarkand and the Tiznaf, no attempt has ever been made to bring their waters regularly to the

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
• 736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69. 7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing cooperatives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese, accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 in Tientsin,' he said, 'and know Westerners well; they are always in a hurry. Now you stay here and thoroughly rest for a few days.' Our hearts sank at the prospect of official procrastination and excuses, but we would not give ourselves away as impatient foreigners, so thanked him and smiled, thus avoiding the fate of one concerning whom it is written:

> 'All that was left was a tombstone white,
> Because he tried to hustle the East.'

• 742 We found on enquiry that the garrison[1] held a thousand men, and that two of the Commanding Officers had each a wife with him. Changing into clean dresses we 000 therefore started out forthwith to pay our respects to these ladies. One of them was little more than a pitiful child, cowed to the point of scarcely daring to open her mouth, and whose husband was a heavy opium-smoker. The other lady was a strong-minded, intelligent Moslem, of a fine physique. She talked with us on a variety of subjects and made us give her a lesson in the Government Phonetic Script, of which she already knew something from a young Shansi boy who was not allowed to proceed on his journey and was acting as her servant.

Returning to the inn, we unpacked the travelling harmonium and some parcels of books, and accompanied by the Christian men proceeded to hold an open-air service. In a moment the gambling rings were broken up and we were surrounded by an eager crowd of listeners. Then the two officers appeared, and took control of the men. Hymn-sheets were handed round, and soon the choruses were taken up and sung vigorously. The sight of the gaily-bound gospels and other books proved so attractive that we were overwhelmed with customers, and from the time of our first service we had

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

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III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

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"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

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"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the S N [415] [312] passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants S 563 164 [165] [844] and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S N • 744 E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

know what to do or say!" On Easter Sunday she attended the children's service at the Mission Orphanage three miles out along the Kashgar road. I rode out to fetch her in the afternoon and we were both shown over the establishment. We were immensely struck by the Orphanage, the acquaintance of whose small inmates we had already made at the Bar Gah the previous November. The children numbered thirty-five and ranged in age from ten months to fourteen or fifteen years, and all were happy as sand-boys, apple-cheeked little people, many of them, who might have been, so far as appearances were concerned, English or Scottish children of the same class. The institution, which is situated on an estate appropriately named "Bihisht Bagh" or "Garden of Paradise," included in addition to the usual playgrounds a fair-sized plot of land which the orphans helped to cultivate. Less than half the children were orphans in the ordinary sense, without either father or mother living; the rest were victims of the unfortunate temporary marriage system prevalent throughout Kashgaria—honorary orphans, as it were. Trouble was occasionally experienced from relations who, having kept in the background in the earlier stages, claimed children when the Orphanage had turned them into well-fed, well-behaved potential wage-earners. On the whole, however, the Orphanage was the most respected of all the works of the Swedish Mission, both among the Chinese and among the Turkis, whose religion taught them to regard kindness to an orphan as a *sawab* or merit-acquiring action of the highest order.

While at Yarkand I seized the opportunity of having my teeth seen to by Dr. Nyström of the Mission, who is an experienced dentist. His services are very much in request throughout Kashgaria, for he has an absolute monopoly of Western dental skill. High Chinese officials at Kashgar were always asking me when he would next come to the capital. He did visit Kashgar in January 1923 on Mission duty, when in response to the universal request he took his dental chair and appliances with him and spent a busy fortnight fitting toothless mandarins with dentures. From what Dr. Nyström told me and I heard from other sources I can confidently assert that any enterprising dentist who found his way to Sinkiang with a few instruments and a couple of camel-loads of false teeth would make a small fortune; moreover, he would have experiences with his clients seldom vouchsafed to practitioners in more sophisticated lands. Dr. Nyström once told me of a

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128

I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164

Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563

A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S [272] [263]

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539]

The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272]

The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [787] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] S 563 262 [272]

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

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B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

/The Chinese/

N *563 751 [772] knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The S 563 751 [772] yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N *563 753 772 826 In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A S 563 753 772 826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two S N [278] principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N *563 751 753 772 S 563 751 753 772 Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. S N [184] [212] Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S N 114 163 165 Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sanitation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

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753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body
754 after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-massi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 S disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 S elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
563 turbed, disease follows.
751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
164 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
364

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

but what house would be making merry in the small hours that had been silent at midnight? After a time, sleep being impossible, I went round to the quarter-guard and sent the orderly on duty to try and stop it. While he was yet on his way the music ceased suddenly of its own accord, in the middle of a phrase, and all was silence. At breakfast the orderly came and reported that the *du'a-khwans* had been making magic music to drive away the evil spirits from our neighbour, an old Haji, who was very sick. He had died that morning, I was told, at a quarter to four.[1] 755

Witch-doctoring is by no means the only form of magic practised. There is *jarrakashi* or the casting of the evil eye; there are the spells which induce love, and those which sow enmity between people—these are bought by third parties, who expect to profit thereby; there are the *chumkashchis* or private detectives with magical powers. The belief in the evil eye is very strong, especially among the fair sex. If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the *du'a-khwan*. Even D.'s excellent maid, Aisha Khan, who had been much with Europeans and was distinctly intelligent, was by no means free from this weakness. Once when she had been feeling seedy for some days she came to D. and informed her rather sheepishly—ashamed to admit belief, but evidently believing—that her friends all said it was her husband's other wife who was casting the evil eye upon her. The trouble, she explained, was that the other lady's brother was a professional *du'a-khwan*, which 754

[1] Grenard, "La Haute Asie," pp. 254–7, describes the procedure on such occasions. The patient is taken out of bed and seated on the ground with his back up against a rope stretched tightly from the middle of the ceiling to the floor. While his assistants play on their tambourines and sing continuously, the sorcerer dances round the patient and brushes the latter's face with the body of a cock. Sometimes he takes out the cock's lungs and whips the sufferer on the back with them, or with a willow wand, crying the while "Qach! Qach!" (Avaunt!) Invocations begin with the Prophet, but go on with Chingiz Khan and other ancient heroes. A fire is lighted, and a tambourine is placed in the smoke and then brought close to the patient's ear. All this, says Grenard, appertains to ancestor-worship and Shamanism. The wand, the tambourine, the lungs of sacrificed animals, are all part of the stock-in-trade of the "shamans" or sorcerers of pagan tribes in Siberia. Most curious of all, the rope tied from ceiling to floor represents the tree-trunk, marked with the signs of the Zodiac and other mystical characters, which is placed upright in the middle of the tent after the completion of a "purification."

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754 gave her an unfair advantage. There are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil eye are believed in, portions of the body such as hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wishes to cast a spell upon their late owner; in Chinese Turkistan, by a curious extension of the idea. this property attaches also to a person's shoes, or rather to the *kafsh-massi* or slippers which are worn out of doors over the long boots and taken off on entering a house. If you find your enemy's shoes lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, you turn them upside down or place them one on top of the other; if you want to kill him, you take them up and throw them down haphazard. At Yarkand the shoe superstitions differ somewhat from those current at Kashgar; the effects of meddling with one's *kafsh-massi* seem to be less serious. I was told there that when a caller outstays his welcome, he is apt to find on his departure that his shoes are lying upside down; this is a gentle hint not to stay so long next time. Omens also attach to shoes at Yarkand; if one is found lying on top of the other—whether by accident or otherwise—it means that the owner, if a man, is going to get a new wife, if a woman, a new husband.

A curious idea widely prevalent is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives. A boy was once brought to D. with the statement that he "had been ailing ever since his father died two years ago." This might have been a ruse to obtain alms, for orphanhood is a valuable asset in Muhammadan countries and is apt to be exploited by the orphan's relations; but we found instances of widows in a similar manner suffering in health from the death of their husbands.

775 Ghosts are firmly believed in and much feared, the worst kind being those of dead Chinese. Referring to the city of Qarashahr, a month's journey from Kashgar along the Urumchi road, a woman who had been there said it was "an awful place for Chinese ghosts." The only thing to do if you are haunted by them is to propitiate them by leaving money on your doorstep overnight. In the morning if the money is gone, you know that the Chinese ghosts have taken it.

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796 before the owner of the house they bow with a sweeping movement of the arms and a stroking of the beard intoning a sonorous "*Amīn*" the while, after which each person is entitled to a sup of sacrificial mutton. On the first of the two days of Qurban only men perform the salaam; the second is the women's day, when separate tables are spread in the *andarūn* for the fair visitors. The skin of each sheep sacrificed goes to the Imam, the head and feet to the Mu'azzin, the neck and offal to the butcher and a portion of the meat to the beggars.

755 Turning to superstitions, the field for research is so wide that it was scarcely possible for me to do more than reconnoitre it in the time at my disposal. Witchcraft in particular flourishes exceedingly. I had it on good authority that at Yarkand in 1924 there were between 25 and 30 witch-doctors, who made large profits, chiefly out of the women. These gentry are called *bakhshis* at Yarkand, *du'a-khwans* or *jadugars* at Kashgar. At a meeting of the "real" doctors of Yarkand in 1923—the local General Medical Council, as it were—it was estimated that the *bakhshis* made between them 175,000 local taels or about £2,300 in the year, as against a beggarly £400 made by the poor doctors. The latter have only themselves to thank for this state of affairs, for they are hopelessly inefficient and their methods date back to the days of Hippocrates and Galen.[1] Skilful advertisement, however, contributes to the magicians' popularity; in every tea-house, every meeting-place of the people there are agents paid by them to tell stories of wonderful cures effected by such and such a *bakhshi*. The fees paid to the witch-doctors vary from one *tenga* (2*d*.) to 20 taels (£2 13*s*. 4*d*.) or more. In return for these they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient. I heard them doing it once, and I shall never forget it. One night, as I was sleeping in my verandah as usual, I was awakened at 3 a.m. by loud music and drum-beating from a neighbouring house. The playing was loud and rhythmic and the melody haunting; but there was something sinister about the music, as if it had no soul. One phrase would be repeated again and again, then another would be substituted for it. I was puzzled by the performance; it sounded like some strange Bacchanal,

[1] For a description of the methods of Kashgar doctors, see Grenard, "La Haute Asie," Vol. II, pp. 110–12; Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 317–20.

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/The New Uighurs/

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563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

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563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hăyt, Kurban-hăyt and

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563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

[197] [177] In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[756] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

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779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were
164 recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice
756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

know what to do or say!" On Easter Sunday she attended the children's service at the Mission Orphanage three miles out along the Kashgar road. I rode out to fetch her in the afternoon and we were both shown over the establishment. We were immensely struck by the Orphanage, the acquaintance of whose small inmates we had already made at the Bar Gah the previous November. The children numbered thirty-five and ranged in age from ten months to fourteen or fifteen years, and all were happy as sand-boys, apple-cheeked little people, many of them, who might have been, so far as appearances were concerned, English or Scottish children of the same class. The institution, which is situated on an estate appropriately named "Bihisht Bagh" or "Garden of Paradise," included in addition to the usual playgrounds a fair-sized plot of land which the orphans helped to cultivate. Less than half the children were orphans in the ordinary sense, without either father or mother living; the rest were victims of the unfortunate temporary marriage system prevalent throughout Kashgaria—honorary orphans, as it were. Trouble was occasionally experienced from relations who, having kept in the background in the earlier stages, claimed children when the Orphanage had turned them into well-fed, well-behaved potential wage-earners. On the whole, however, the Orphanage was the most respected of all the works of the Swedish Mission, both among the Chinese and among the Turkis, whose religion taught them to regard kindness to an orphan as a *sawab* or merit-acquiring action of the highest order.

While at Yarkand I seized the opportunity of having my teeth seen to by Dr. Nyström of the Mission, who is an experienced dentist. His services are very much in request throughout Kashgaria, for he has an absolute monopoly of Western dental skill. High Chinese officials at Kashgar were always asking me when he would next come to the capital. He did visit Kashgar in January 1923 on Mission duty, when in response to the universal request he took his dental chair and appliances with him and spent a busy fortnight fitting toothless mandarins with dentures. From what Dr. Nyström told me and I heard from other sources I can confidently assert that any enterprising dentist who found his way to Sinkiang with a few instruments and a couple of camel-loads of false teeth would make a small fortune; moreover, he would have experiences with his clients seldom vouchsafed to practitioners in more sophisticated lands. Dr. Nyström once told me of a

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wealthy old landowner of Yangi Hissar district who wrote to him asking for a set of teeth, to be sent by post. The exact wording of the following extracts from correspondence is not vouched for, but the facts are as related to me.

Letter from Ibrahim Beg Haji of Yangi Hissar to Dr. Nyström, Yarkand.

(After usual compliments). . . . May it be known to Your Excellency that from many years of chewing the stale bread of adversity and gnawing the hard bone of poverty the teeth which Allah bestowed on this slave have been worn away, until but one remains. Being well aware of Your Excellency's Galen-surpassing erudition and surgical skill, I pray you to send me by the hand of my messenger a set of teeth such as the Franks use, only they must be teeth that have come from no infidel jaw nor bitten the flesh of any unclean animal. . . .

Dr. N. to Ibrahim Beg Haji.

I have received your letter. Be it known to you that it is not possible for me to fit you with a set of artificial teeth without first seeing and measuring your mouth. Please therefore come to Yarkand and I will be at your service.

Ibrahim Beg Haji to Dr. N.

(After compliments and thanks). . . . I bitterly regret that the multifarious duties and family ties of this slave render a visit to Yarkand impossible. However, I know well that it is only the friendship with which you deign to favour me and the desire you feel for my unworthy company that impel you to invite me to Yarkand in person. I therefore send this by the hand of an aged retainer, Ishak Bai. My mouth resembles his, except that he has no teeth at all whereas my upper dog-tooth on the left side remains. Please make the teeth to fit his mouth, but leaving space for the above-mentioned dog-tooth, and send them to me without delay so that I may once more eat the flesh of sheep and goats to the glory of Allah and in thankfulness for your more-than-Hippocratic learning.

Dr. N. to Ibrahim Beg Haji.

. . . I regret that I cannot comply with your wishes. It would be useless to make the teeth fit Ishak Bai and not you. . . .

The correspondence ceased, but when shortly afterwards Dr. N. went to Kashgar, with his dental chair and instruments, he arranged to stay for a few days at Yangi Hissar on the way, chiefly for the benefit of old Ibrahim Beg Haji. When the Haji appeared and was duly seated on the torture-chair, the following dialogue (or something like it) took place :—

Dr. N. (finding a single very decayed and loose tooth remaining in his client's mouth) : This tooth must come out.

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757 I. B. H.: Impossible. My last tooth! I cannot part with it.

Dr. N.: But you must. I cannot fit the set with one of your own teeth, and that a loose and decayed one, still in position.

I. B. H.: Surely you can make them with a gap into which my one can fit?

Dr. N.: I fear I cannot. You must let me take it out.

I. B. H.: It is the will of Allah. Allow me to take my leave. Farewell.

And that was the last that the Doctor saw of Ibrahim Beg Haji!

My work at Yarkand done, it was too late to turn our steps northwards again and continue the tour we had originally planned. April proved a much hotter month than we had expected, and we feared the notorious gadflies and mosquitoes of the Maralbashi jungles, which before the end of the month would be ravening for our blood and that of our animals. Moreover, about this time it became known to me that I would have further opportunities for the Aqsu tour, the Government of India having decided, for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter, to keep me two years at Kashgar instead of the one for which I had originally been appointed.

It seemed a pity, however, to return to headquarters so soon by the comparatively dull main road which we had traversed only three months before, and in view of the heat I decided to make the experiment of a fortnight's détour among the high mountains. The opportunity appeared a favourable one for attempting the passage of the Qaratash Gorges which had baffled us the previous October; the summer floods were not to be expected until about the twentieth of April, while there was a reasonable prospect of the snow on the high passes which give access to the upper Qaratash having melted sufficiently to allow us to cross. Once in the upper Qaratash I hoped to find the weather clear enough and the water sufficiently low to permit a reconnaissance of the Chimghan Jilgha, which joins the main valley from the west just above the great gorges. This route would also take us across a region known as the Qizil Tagh (Red Mountains) to the west of the Yarkand oasis, which I was anxious to explore. Though the Red Mountains contain alpine pastures and some small patches of fir-forest, and are easily accessible both from Yarkand and from Yangi Hissar, they have only, so far as I know, been visited by Sir Aurel Stein, Col. Shuttleworth and some missionaries from Yarkand who established a summer camp among

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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and priced, and the face towels selected, with a good 437
deal of advice from the crowd, well-mannered bargaining began. Our basic offer was about half of the price written on the tag attached to the goods. The courteous merchant then smiled and indicated a notice hanging outside his shop: 'No prices discussed here,' to which the Greek chorus again echoed: 'He does not discuss the prices!' We affably acquiesced, but assured him that our money was insufficient for such an expensive outlay. With a wave of the hand, he met us half-way, saying: 'You are guests from a far country. Have a little more tea!' thus subtly indicating that the bargain was concluded. A chit was produced by one of the apprentices, and another began to rub down the ink on his slab, being careful in our presence to observe the Confucian dictum that when the 'Princely Man' rubs down his ink, no sound is ever heard. While he was thus occupied in preparing the materials necessary to write out the account, we rapidly noted the amount in pencil on paper, and waited to see if his tallied. 'Did you see that?' said a man at our elbow. 'You'll find that they are right, too Reading, writing and arithmetic are all quite easy to them!' We rose to leave, but as we did so we handed a packet of Christian books to the merchant, which he accepted with evident pleasure, then with sharp orders he dispersed the assistants and escorted us to our carriage.

Early one morning the landlord appeared at our door 682
in a state of great agitation. A young woman, married 757.
to a relative of his, had poisoned herself with strychnine, and they urged us to go and make an attempt to save her life. 'Our own remedy,' he said, 'is mare's milk, 000
and her husband is scouring the city to get some.' We were taken to the house where a young woman lay on

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487 milking the sheep and goats by the water's edge while the men and children looked on.

[231] Next morning we awoke to find a brilliant sun shining on a cheerful scene composed of yaks, yak-calves, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, curly-headed children, rainbow-clothed white-turbaned women and one to two shaggy men (the rest were still in bed), against a background of fat mushroom-like *aq-ois*, foaming river and steep green hill-side. I had decided to halt a day at this pleasant spot, partly to give the caravan a rest, partly in order to reconnoitre on foot a pass called the Merki Davan by which I hoped to cross into the upper Qara-tash valley and thus gain access to one of the blank patches on the map which Sir Aurel Stein had advised me to explore. To cut a long story short,[1] Gerard Price and I, assisted by Juma Beg with his men and yaks, reached a height of 16,500 feet on a snowy spur, from which point we could see that the "pass" was quite out of the question for our caravan. It was nothing but a lofty ridge of rock at least 17,000 feet high, deep in snow even on the south side and defended also by steep ice-slopes.

• [758] Meanwhile D. passed a strenuous but amusing day with the Kirghiz ladies, all of whom clamoured (mostly quite unnecessarily) for medical treatment and seemed to appreciate presents of quinine tabloids and castor oil even more than the beads and other small gifts which D. had brought for them. At any rate, she made herself very popular, for next morning when we marched down the valley their farewells were most affectionate and they walked at her stirrup quite a long way down the valley. One of the younger ones was perfectly lovely; the coloured sketch of her which was done by D. on this occasion and is reproduced as a frontispiece to this book does not flatter her unduly. As a rule, however, the faces of the Kirghiz women, though broad-browed and pleasing, are too flat for beauty.

[37] As we filed down the Yambulak valley it became ever narrower and its sides higher and steeper. The profusion of wild flowers was a revelation; anemones, primulas, king-cups, columbines, antirrhinums, campanulas, asphodel and many others of which we did not know the names grew in masses, especially in places where the sheep and goats could not get at them. Cascades of wild roses grew out of every

[1] For an account of this climb, see "Geographical Journal," November, 1925, p. 388.

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779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc... "and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith." (5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

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S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 874 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this 743 provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N * 563 A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

262 Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S 563 164 364

S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S 563 164 [165] [844]

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S • 759 563

E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

nalized with a loud sounding of the table and a solemnly sworn oath. 695
The vow resounds fiercely through the *ak-ui,* and then justice has been done.

Kirgiz scoff at the thought of grubbing at the soil, but they are 151
hardy, courageous men who mount patrol on the lofty Pamirs. They 223
have a keen sense of sight and can [illegible] small objects from miles away. 224
Falconry is the great sport for those who are the wealthiest, and the 526
usual quarry is a type of hill partridge, the *chikor*. Sometimes the young women as well as the men become adept at this. Big game is limited, but at times the Kirgiz do hunt the now rapidly vanishing *ovis poli,* or long-horned mountain sheep, when it can be found. A sport they especially like is *baiga,* a contest like the *ulagh* of the Wei-wu-erh. In *baiga* some forty or fifty mounted sportsmen strive with each other to retrieve a dead carcass of a sheep or goat. One of the contestants dashes forward and hurls the carcass to the ground while the others wait. Then, in a thundering onrush of dust and shouts, the remainder of the players lunge toward the game. They resort to all manner of tactics to get to the recumbent prize—they beat an opponent's mount if it is in the way, they unhorse each other, and they ride their steeds like champions. Such confusion and bedlam; but it is rare, beautiful excitement.

A long coat stuffed with wool and cotton is worn by the Kirgiz over 291
trousers tucked into high boots, while a fur piece with ear coverings 581
(or an embroidered round cap) keeps his head warm. His woman is attired alike, but she wears a turban precariously high on her head. The gala Kirgiz occasion is a wedding, and divorce is not common. According to his religion a Moslem is permitted four wives, but a Kirgiz is usually not rich enough to afford more than one. Hilarity and celebra- 764
tion, not sadness, characterize the funeral ceremony of the Kirgiz. The basis for this, they point out, is that the dead are giving away to their heirs the wealth that has been amassed during a lifetime of labor; festivity, consequently, is in order. At the funeral the dead person is placed on a hill-top, interred with food, clothing, and a certain amount of money in a high, walled tomb. The sustenance is supposed to feed him on the way to the hereafter. This, like certain other rites of the

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 cranny in the perpendicular rocks. Among the very few people we saw was an interesting figure; this was the Qazi or native judge of Koserab on his way with three or four men on horses to Tashqurghan, whither he had been summoned by the Amban to try cases according to the Shar'iat or law of the Qur'an. The party forded the river just before meeting us, a picturesque sight; the white-bearded old village judge, with his book of *dala'il* (precedents) and his Qur'an wrapped in a cloth under his arm, rode straight-backed and vigorous at the head of his following.

[221] That night (14th July) we camped in wild and grand, but less green and flowery, country at Toilebulung, the winter •[64] headquarters of the Yambulak Kirghiz who grow their crops there and bury their dead in curious little domed mausolea. The elevation was only 9,650 feet, the first time we had been down to four figures since Gircha in the Hunza valley, sixteen days before. We mopped our brows and complained of the stuffiness of these low-lying valleys, until some one pointed out that we were still far higher up than the most elevated Indian hill-station.

432 Next day we bid adieu to the Yambulak Kirghiz with many [431] invitations and promises to visit them again one day. I had already given old Ibrahim Beg with much ceremony an official present in the shape of a watch. Just before leaving I discovered that he had already disposed of it to Hafiz for five taels (about 15s.). As it was only worth about four taels, and as I wanted to impress upon the Kirghiz the enormity of the insult to the British Empire, I publicly reproved Ibrahim, took back the watch, made him repay the 5 taels to Hafiz, and then gave him a cash present of 4 taels instead of the watch. I then, supposing that Hafiz really wanted a watch to tell the time by, sold him the Government watch for 4 taels. The following day one of the other orderlies told me that Ibrahim had bought back the watch from Hafiz for 4½ taels, evidently thinking that as there was such a to-do about the article, it must be a good investment. It was not till after we reached Kashgar, however, that I heard the sequel from Harding, who passed Yambulak two days after us. This was that Ibrahim Beg changed his mind once more about the watch and sold it to Harding's orderly for 3½ taels! Turkis and Kirghiz alike are born traders and would sell the noses off their faces if they could get good money for them.

487 On each of the next two days we crossed passes, the Ter

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

582 returns to India or dies, he or his next-of-kin, as the case may be, invariably demands his male children, if any; his right to them, as to his own property, is recognized by the mullas. If the boys are less than five years old, the father leaves money according to law for their maintenance until that age, but arranges through the *panchayat* (association of Hindu traders in the town) for their despatch to India as soon as possible afterwards. This is naturally a grievance with the Turki mothers.

764 The observances connected with death and burial are elaborate and expensive. On the day of the death alms in cash and a piece of soap each are given to the beggars. This is according to the Qur'anic injunction, but the "wakes" which follow are not *shar'i* (according to Muhammadan law), but *rasmi* or "customary," i.e. pagan or Chinese. They are not approved by the Church. On the third day (in well-to-do households) the whole quarter, rich and poor, is invited to a feast at which not only are large quantities of food consumed, but presents of clothes are given to all and sundry; this, I understand, is a Chinese custom. On the seventh day another feast is given, at which only relations and friends are present. The actual funeral takes place on the day following death. Those present wear a mourning costume consisting of black clothes with a white waistband; this latter is another concession to Chinese ideas, according to which the mourning colour is white, not black. Expenditure in connection with a funeral varies from 30 to 500 taels, according to the capacity of the household; only a small proportion of this is set off by the presents, called *ta'ziyāt*, given to the next-of-kin by his friends and relations. Great importance is attached to the lamentations (*qushāq*) of the deceased's relatives at a funeral, which are regarded as helping him in some way—an obvious relic of paganism. According to an old popular rhyme:

Sahr waqtida chirlaghalé	For crowing at the dawn
Chā khuraz yakhshi;	Spotted chanticleer is best;
Qushāq qushup yighlaghalé	For keening at a wake
Qarindāsh yakhshi.	A loved one is the best.

Some of the elegiacs sung by widows are really beautiful; for example:

Qupselār Allah dep qupghān Khojam
Yatselār Allah dep yatghan Khojam.
Yāz uzūqum, Khojam,
Qish yapinjim, Khojam.
Sui-yoq hulda qāldem,
Sayasi-yoq bostānda qāldem.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

(Translation)

764 When you arose, oh my Lord, it was with God's name on your lips;
When you lay down, it was in God's name.
In summer you fed me, oh my Lord;
In winter you were my cloak.
I am left in a lake with no water in it,
I am left in a garden in which there is no shade.

105 563 In considering the manners, customs, folklore, etc., of the Tarim Basin, it must be remembered that considerable differences exist between the four or five chief oases, corresponding roughly to their geographical positions. To differentiate between them and make a comparative study of material from the different towns would be impossible in the space at my disposal, even if I possessed the necessary knowledge. Speaking generally, however, it may be remarked that Kashgar is the least mediæval and at the same time the most Mussulman of the Six Cities. Culturally it belongs to the Transcaspian Khanates, Khoqand, Bokhara, Samarqand and Khiva, strongholds of Islam. Owing to its proximity to the Russian frontier and the strong interest taken in it by the Muscovite Government since the seventies, it has a thin—a very thin—veneer of Russian culture. Aqsu, 300 miles nearer Urumchi and separated from Russian territory by the tremendous barrier of the Central Tien Shan, is a predominantly Uigur city with strong Mongol and Chinese strains. Kucha, 200 miles further east, is also an ancient Uigur city, and has a history and an art of its own. Further east still, Qarashahr is the chief centre of that formidable and unpleasant race, Chinese by culture and Mussulman by religion, the Tungans. Yarkand is the meeting-place of the nations; in its culture neither China nor Russia are of much account, and such foreign influence as there is comes through Afghanistan from Persia and through Kashmir from India. The great oasis of Khotan or Ilchi is in many ways the most interesting of all, for it is the part of the Tarim Basin which has been least affected by outside influences, including Islam. It was probably a flourishing pagan State long before Buddhism reached it from India. For a thousand years it was the seat of an Indo-Scythian civilization under Chinese influence, with a rich and ornate Buddhism as its official religion; was it not to Khotan that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent in A.D. 65 the famous Mission which brought back Buddhism to Cathay? The Kingdom fought hard against Islam, holding out for

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

133 But the most curious feature of Old Aqsu appeared next day, when I found my way up one of the winding gullies of the loess bluffs. It is the extraordinary contrast between the two levels, between the land rendered fertile by irrigation from the Qum-Ariq below and the *sai* or gravel desert above. Below, as far as the eye can reach, stretches a rich, heavily-timbered champaign dotted with farms and seamed with irrigation-channels; five minutes' climb up one of the many clefts in the bluff, and you come out on to an absolutely empty desert. Except on those few days when the strangely-corrugated foot-hills and possibly the soaring ice-fields and glaciers of the Tien Shan appear like a vision in the north, half the circle of the horizon is a complete blank, without a bush or a mound to break its perfect smoothness. It is hard to believe that a few minutes ago you were in the midst of a landscape worthy of the brush of Constable or Corot. Some years ago an ambitious Amban sought to gain promotion by bringing a large area of this *sai* under cultivation to the south-east of the Old City. He spent 60,000 taels and much forced labour on deep canals and reservoirs and the construction of a small town of buildings connected with the new water-works. Everything was done with the utmost thoroughness and the scheme was most successful, except that the water would not flow along the canals, which had therefore to be abandoned. To this day the remains of the buildings and waterworks line the road to New Aqsu, clogged with drifts of fine loess dust and dwarfed to insignificance by the immense sweep of the desert behind them.

•764 In Mussulman countries the dead are not as a rule buried in earth that might support the living, and here[1] too the uncultivable (because unirrigable) cliff-tops above the town are covered with domed tombs in seemingly countless myriads. A City of the Dead, in fact, with streets, squares and boulevards complete, overlooks the City of the Living as a perpetual *memento mori*. Looking up from the streets of the town, the domes of the cemeteries crown the bluffs at every point save one; only at the north-west end of the town the ruins of "Amir" Yakub Beg Bedaulat's fortress on one cliff and of his hospital on another, break the serried ranks of the
600 tombs. Bedaulat, knowing no doubt that his day would not last for ever, built his citadel of unbaked brick, and little is left of it though it was abandoned but fifty years ago. The place used to be easily accessible to sight-seers, but the only

1 [in old Aqsu -- Analyst]

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764

THE CITY OF THE DEAD, OLD AQSU

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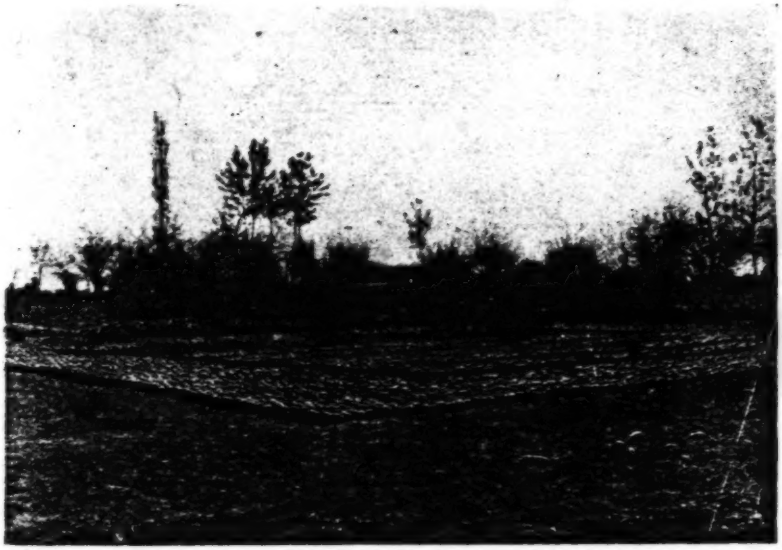

AN AQSU SMALL-HOLDER'S MELON-CROP; 15,000 MELONS READY FOR MARKET

[Face p. 236]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

S N 563 764 d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 177 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The New Uighurs/

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[854] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

778 I was puzzled in the Khotan region by the multitudes of poles with yaks' or horses' tails tied to the ends which were to be seen at every shrine stuck upright in the burial mound of the saint. Grenard explains that these *tughs*, as they are called, are no other than relics of human sacrifice. According to the Chinese chroniclers, the ancient Turks sacrificed human victims on the graves of the great and stuck their heads up on poles as a record of the fact. The Turks of the Altai, at the present day, according to Radloff, sacrifice horses in the same manner at the funeral of a chief, hanging up the skins over the grave with the head facing east. Among the Kazaks, the horse is not actually sacrificed, but its tail is cut off and it is regarded as dead; no further use is made of the animal. The practice of hanging horses' tails on poles at the Khotan shrines is obviously a further stage in the same process, all tradition of the original sacrifice having been lost.

Like the Italian peasant, the Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "Imams" but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries almost always have some superstitious observance attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines where the belief is of the latter type the majority of the pilgrims are, of course, women, and the mullas have therefore been obliged in each case, for the sake of propriety, to invent a female saint, complete with legend, 769 in order to bring the cult into line with Islam. That most of these cults are nothing more or less than ancestor-worship of great antiquity is shown by the popular names of the shrines; the common people seldom refer to them by the name of any particular Mussulman saint, but pray to "Sultan Buwam" (Our Royal Ancestor or Ancestress), "Bu Anam" (Our Ancestress Mother), "Hazrat Pir" (The Holy Sage), and even "Qāra-Sakāl Atam" (My Father Blackbeard). The title "Padshah" or king is very often used *tout court*.[1]

[1] Miss Sykes and Sir P. Sykes give accounts of several interesting shrines and the superstitions attaching thereto. See "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 68–72, 92–5, 205–7, 314, 320. The custom mentioned by Sir Percy on p. 314, of a woman desirous of a child putting her hand into one of the holes in the wall of the tomb, appertains to the shrine of Bu Anam on the left bank of the Tumen 4 miles above Kashgar. The rule, we were told, is that whatever her hand touches in the hole—lump of dirt, beetle, or whatever it may be—she must eat forthwith.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say 668 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic 177 group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN IV. Dominant Social Motives.

181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious 771 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced [769] it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 177 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also [769] strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a 563 771 775 [782] [825] haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [779] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

161 ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

463 The population is divided, economically, between those who
771 live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry. Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

144 Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems. 563* 101 175

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east. 563* 174

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions. 563* 174 771

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

*563 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this re-
197 spect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939,
212 76.3 per cent were literate.

The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Moham-
*563 medanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they re-
771 mained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither
562 veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of
101 the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from 563*
this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 174
they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was 563*
based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active 241
traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic 441
speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern [197]
group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to 563*
Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the 771
Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to con- 797
vert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small 563*
body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the 779
nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly 538
nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian 186
culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian 212
literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—
175 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military
815 standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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The author of "La Haute Asie," who collected all the *tazkiras* of the various shrines (a fact of which I was unaware when I acquired and translated a copy of the Imamlär one), shows that in their present form they all date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are Sunni editions of the original Shi'a legends of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Even the Shi'a legends, however, were not original. They were adaptations by the early mullas of pre-Muhammadan traditions connected with ancestor-worship at local shrines. None of the Twelve Imams came to Kashgar at all; the heroes of the legends were almost certainly eighth to tenth century Shi'a adventurers escaping from the persecution of the Ommiad Caliphs and other Sunni authorities. With small bands of followers, these bold Saracens raided Chinese territory in much the same way as their Western brethren raided Europe, and their exploits became legendary, like the eighth-century Saracen raid into the south of France which ended in the Battle of Poitiers. These "Imams" accomplished little, and they were all either killed or taken prisoner by the natives. None of their raids, Grenard thinks, preceded the authentic attempt of Qutaibah to impose Islam upon Kashgaria in the tenth century; it was Qutaibah who led the way, and yet he is not mentioned at all in the *tazkiras* and is entirely forgotten. This is because he was a Sunni.

771

The complete conversion of the Tarim Basin to Islam was a slow process. In the tenth century the official religion of the country was Buddhism, with its chief stronghold at Khotan, but it was a debased Buddhism, and a pagan Manichæism was the real religion of the people. Paganism died hard in the Basin; indeed, as we shall see later, it is not by any means dead yet. The destruction of the old Buddhist theocracy at Khotan and the conversion of the whole country to Islam were begun by Qutaibah and the so-called Imams, and continued by Sadiq Boghra Khan, the Uigur Prince who first embraced Islam. Then came the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, and the Faith received a set-back. It was not till the fourteenth century that Islam could be definitely called the religion of the country. In the meantime the Muhammadan element had been evolving its tradition and consolidating its position *vis-à-vis* the pagans.

of numbering the army of the Faithful; the Psalm; the derivations of Pialma, Goma, etc., and the punishment meted out to the men of Ujat (see next paragraph). Prof. Huntington, who visited Imamlär in 1905, mentions this same *tazkira* ("Pulse of Asia," p. 164).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

771 Its method was simply to appropriate the pagan heroes with their local cults and identify them with its own pioneers. The cult of the Imams and other Mussulman saints, as Grenard points out,[1] goes back to religions older than Islam. The Mussulman priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship at certain shrines, adopted those shrines and christened them with the names of Islamic personages.

538 I came across several such survivals of pre-Muhammadan traditions during our travels, though I did not always recognize their true significance. At Chira, half-way between Khotan and Keriya, is the shrine of one of the foremost "Imams," Ja'far Tairan. The local legend is that this Imam came flying through the air from Mecca to convert the Kingdom of Khotan. Now Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century tells of a sacred image at Keriya, 20 feet high and luminous, which at the death of the Buddha flew by itself from Kochambi in India, where it was made, to a place in the north of the Kingdom of Khotan.[2] A still more striking instance is that of the story in the Imamlär *tazkira* about the men of Ujat who entered the camp of the Imams by night disguised as dogs and rendered the arms and armour of the Mussulmans useless, thus helping the King of Khotan to defeat them. This is evidently an adaptation of the legend of the sacred rats recorded by Hsuan Tsang and quoted by Sir Aurel Stein.[3] Khotan was being invaded by a great force of Hiong-nu or Huns, and its king was in despair. One night he was visited in a dream by the King of the Rats, who offered him his help. The King of Khotan accepted the offer, and next night a great army of rats "as big as hedgehogs, their hair the colour of gold and silver," invaded the camp of the Huns and ate all their bow-strings and the leather fastenings of their harness. This altogether incapacitated the Huns, who were easily defeated next day. Thenceforward the rats which lived near the scene of the battle were regarded as sacred and fed regularly by pilgrims. The curious thing is that, according to Stein, the scene of this battle is the same as that of the defeat and death of Imam Shakir where now stands the "Pigeon Shrine" of Qumrabat Padshahim; and Stein thinks that the pigeons are the lineal descendants, as it were, of the golden-haired rats. It will be remembered that the Ujat men assumed

[1] Vol. II, p. 240.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 195.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The fact is that not only ancestor-worship but paganism is still strong in this land flowing with milk and honey, despite a thousand years of Islam, just as it survives all the thunderings of the priests in the backwoods of Persia. At Kerman the "Nauruz" or Zoroastrian New Year is still the most popular annual festival, and you may see the revellers picnicking in their thousands on a March afternoon under the "Ya 'Ali" cliff-shrine or on the sun-warmed rocks of the Kala-i-Ardashir. But the Sunni of the Tarim Basin is even more easy-going and joy-loving than the Shi'a of East Persia. He displays little fanaticism and none of the passionate self-immolation which marks a Persian Muharram, when the naked backs of the flagellants resound and frenzied swordsmen redden the streets with blood from their own scalps. He, too, celebrates the Zoroastrian *Nauraz*, at any rate at Yarkand, where the Jahan Bagh Fair in March is undoubtedly a survival of New Year celebrations. We were unfortunate to miss this fair both years we were in Chinese Turkistan, but I heard a certain amount about it. It is held on the big common to the north-east of the Old City, and goes on for three or four weeks. There are no religious observances and the people give themselves up to feasting and jollity; as might be expected, there is a good deal of immorality. For this reason the priests strongly disapprove of it, and do all they can to induce the Chinese authorities to forbid the holding of the fair. Against them are arrayed all the bakers, sweetmeat-sellers, acrobats, pimps, story-tellers and others who stand to reap a rich harvest; these organize monster petitions to the Amban in favour of the fair being held, and even, it is said, subscribe many hundred taels among themselves for the oiling of the necessary palms at the Yamen. The *pashraps* or police support the Jahan Bagh festival, for they, too, make heavy profits out of it, chiefly by blackmailing unmarried women. Many of the religious festivals, for that matter, are more pagan than Mussulman, especially those which are seasonal and therefore unconnected with the Muhammadan (lunar) calendar; they are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and probably date back thousands of years. At the end of August, for example, greedy pilgrims from all over the province congregate at the fane of "Hazrat Sultanim," Sadiq Boghra Khan, to feast on the luscious figs of Astin Artush. The same applies to summer Saturdays at the beautiful shrine of Hidayatulla Khoja, known

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796 as "Hazrat Apak," most famous of the priest-kings, or "Khojas" from Samarqand, who misruled Kashgar from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. Hazrat Apak is really a kind of country club for Kashgar; the *tawwuf* or "circling" of the shrines is supposed to be performed by every visitor, but the famous apricots and melons of Besh Karim are the attraction rather than the exhortations of the mullas. Even the Ashura (10th Muharram) festival at Ordam Padshah, in the desert east of Yangi Hissar, where is the shrine of Ali Arslan, is little more than a fair like Jahan Bagh with the immorality kept in bounds under the watchful eyes of the Church.[1]

771 It must be confessed, then, that the secular struggle waged by Islam against superstition, paganism and the cult of joy in the land of the Six Cities is an up-hill one. Perhaps the mullas are less zealous than the *mujtahidin* of Kerbela, less eloquent than the *mutakallimin* of Shiraz; for a nation has the priests it deserves. However this may be, their best friends could not call the Kashgaris good Mussulmans. Few perform more than one or two of the five daily prayers, and the Ramazan fast is often broken in private. Observance of the Qur'anic precepts is apt to vary directly with the number of persons present, a fact noted with dry humour by the Chinese in their saying "One Moslem, no Moslem; two Moslems, half a Moslem; three Moslems, one Moslem."

796 Of all their religious duties, the Ramazan fast bears most hardly upon the gluttonous Turki, and all the powers of Hell are invoked by their pastors to frighten them out of eating and drinking during the daylight hours. The following epigram was repeated to me *à propos* of the Dulanis of the Yarkand River valley, but its application is much wider:

Roza tut'um jān uchun;	I fast in Ramazan to save my soul;
Kecha qopdum gāl uchun;	I wake at night to keep my belly full;
Tu ma'e desām qurqaman,	I fear to say "I am not going to fast,"
Qorda tukhmāq bār uchun.	For there's a rod that waits in Hell for me.

[1] Ali Arslan, the "Lion of Kashgar," was an Uigur prince, nephew of Sadiq Boghra Khan, who went down fighting the armies of Khotan. Why, in a Sunni country and in commemoration of a Sunni saint, the exclusively Shi'a festival of the Ashura should be celebrated, nobody was able to tell me.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

were most friendly and hospitable, so that we felt quite at home in the so-called New City, which looked as if it dated at least from T'ang times. The bazaars were not as picturesque and interesting as those of the Turki town and were too full of Tungans to be pleasant, but the environs of the New City and the shady banks of the winding Qum Ariq were a continual delight.

A favourite haunt was the Chinese (Taoist) temple of the God of the White Cloud. It is not an old place, but its shady grove and quiet courtyards are wonderfully pleasant and peaceful. It was founded by a bygone Commandant of the Aqsu garrison and was repaired, improved and endowed a generation ago by a devout Tao Tai called Peng. The God of the White Cloud communicates with his followers, or did so until recently, by means of divine writing, which curiously enough used to be done by a sort of planchette. I was shown this by the friendly custodian of the shrine. It consists of a wooden board with one leg only, the place of the second and third legs of the planchette being taken by handles which are held on each side by the mediums. There is also a large square wooden tray on which is sprinkled the sacred sand in which the planchette writes, and big high-backed uncomfortable-looking chairs on which the God and his divine associates sit, invisible, at the séances. Facsimiles of the God's writings hang on the walls; it was pointed out to me that the strength of many strokes was more than mortal, and certainly the piety of the sentiments translated to me from them was unexceptionable. It is a most unfortunate coincidence that since the departure twelve years ago of the two Tientsin merchants who acted as mediums, the God has vouchsafed no calligraphic messages to his flock. It would appear, indeed, as if he had no flock nowadays, for no worshipper seems ever to visit the temple except on the official holy days, when by order of the Governor the Taoyin and other officials attend service; only the old priest potters about, dusting a joss-stick tray here and a painted-cloth lamp there, clanging the temple bell and beating the great drum at the appointed times and occasionally, with loving reverence, changing the written prayers in the frames which stand before the god. The courtyards are grass-grown, but clean; the little square garden behind the temple is a tangle of vines and thick undergrowth of poplar, but the two picturesque wooden pavilions it conceals are in good repair and the shrines in them are care-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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fully tended; the "guest-room" off the middle courtyard is crudely decorated with aniline-dyed embroideries and rugs, but it is always kept ready for the mighty Visitor who never comes.

Though it is unfrequented, though it represents a dead faith, the shrine of the God of the White Cloud at Aqsu is an abode of peace and reverence, very different from the filthy, tawdry travesty of a temple which is all that Kashgar can boast.

* * * * *

Our farewell to Aqsu was perhaps the most trying and, in retrospect, comic of all our "public" departures from Central Asian towns. By way of acknowledgment of the hospitality we had received, I somewhat rashly presented the Tao Tai with a fine Wiltshire ham which had lately arrived from England. This put the coping-stone on our popularity, and word went round among the officials that we were to be "seen off" in proper Chinese style. Seeing a person off in China apparently means turning up to tea on the morning of his departure and delaying his start as long as you can. Next morning at 9.30, just as I was superintending the loading of our ten new baggage-ponies, a yamen runner arrived with the news that his master the Amban was coming to call. In vain my protests—two minutes later enter the Amban with the usual herd of Begs, interpreters, policemen and hangers-on of all kinds. D. leapt out of the back window just in time, with instructions from me to see the rest of the ponies loaded and escape when she could; I said I would follow as quickly as possible. Tea and cakes were produced from somewhere (by the gardener, I think), and I sat down to an hour's chat with the Amban. Half an hour later the ponies were all loaded and D. was just pushing them off down the narrow lane which led to the main road; suddenly, more cries and clatterings, a fanfare of bugles and the Tao Tai with a following twice as big as the Amban's came charging up the lane. A stampede ensued; half the loads came off, the ponies mixed themselves up in each other's ropes and the courtyard became Pandemonium let loose. Smiling blandly, the Tao Tai passed through it unscathed in the midst of his henchmen and added himself to my tea-party within. It took D. and the servants another half-hour to restore order and refix the loads; then off they started down the lane once more. As they did so, another Chinese cart swung into it at the other end, followed

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-huï-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lamą Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 181 IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. SN 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced 771 it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true [769] religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
501 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
501 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

S N [792] [794]

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

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563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

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563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

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563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
[827] as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

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563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

S N 563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
• 771 and Turks.

N 181 While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces [162] of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were 166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu 167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N [668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

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162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion
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[771] they are Sunni Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

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101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature

538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

563 5. Religion

971 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
[538] Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
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563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. [illegible]zbeks

563 1. [illegible]sical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fo[illegible]eenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[771] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a
member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast [231] wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
776 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
778 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
776 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

N 771 182 N [769] "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

S 771 795 [575] Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177 A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given N [798] tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
S yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
563 751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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538 of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy
177 and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

773 A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim
538 Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

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are particularly popular because of the close association of the Kazakh cattle breeders with animals — and tales dealing with the struggle for good pasture land. Thus, for example, the tale of *Zhupar*[43] tells of the mother of a great family who leads her children away from the rest of the clan, which has become poor because of cattle starvation.

The heroic epos is of particular importance among the nomads. It is usually connected with actual historical events such as the falling apart of the Kazakh Khanate (*Shora Narokov*), the fight against the Kalmuks (*Er Targyn*), the struggle with the Uzbeks (*Kambara*). The authors of these epics are generally unknown and the epos is spread by the traveling epic bards, *zhyrshi* (from *zhyr*, song, which is the only term the Kazakhs have for the epos). The meter of the epos is usually a seven- or eight-footed verse, with a varying number of lines to a stanza. There is no steady rhythm in the verse. The musical quality is achieved by instrumentation and is built on tonal repetition and alliteration. The more dramatic parts of the epos are rendered in a fast and declamatory meter (*zheldirme* — the trotting race).[44] The origin of most of the epics appears to be very early. The fact that the term "Kazakh" rarely occurs, and that the heroes are called "emigrants from Nogaila" leads to the conclusion that at the time of the origin of most of the epics the Kazakhs were still part of the Golden Horde.

A typical heroic epos is that of *Er Targyn*,[45] which proclaims the virtues and prowess of the typical epic hero, who by his strength, alertness, and sometimes almost supernatural powers, is able to defeat singlehanded the greatest armies and the most powerful supernatural beings and to extricate himself from the most awkward situations. In this particular epos, the hero, a fugitive from his own Khan, finds refuge in the land of the Crimean Khan and by his great power helps him defeat the Kalmuks. For this he is promised the Khan's daughter, whom he wins only

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 140–141.
[44] L. S. Sobolev, *Pesni stepei*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 12–13.
[45] Radlov, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 153–205.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus. 538 773

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover. 538

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence. 538 186

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera- 538 177

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
795 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The snakes found in the Kashgar oasis are not poisonous, but the people have a certain superstitious dread of them for which it is difficult to account. It is said that if you kill a snake, its mate will follow you about everywhere—haunt you, in fact, like an Indian "sending." As in most Oriental countries, rumours of human sacrifice obtain currency whenever any great building work is commenced. When Major Dockray erected the masts of his wireless station, five miles north of Kashgar, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages spread it abroad that he had kidnapped forty Turki children and had buried them underneath the masts. He supposed that it was the "Hidden Hand" trying to wreck the scheme, but it was not; it was a very ancient and deeply-rooted superstition. At Kashgar it is believed that the great mud wall of the city contains the bodies of the slaves who died under the overseers' whips while engaged in building it; as they fell, it is said, their bodies were built into the wall. This is obviously a variant of the human sacrifice legend, and probably represents a race-memory of horrors that used to take place in forgotten ages.[1]

Since the earliest times the Takla Makan Desert has been the subject of much superstition and legendary lore. The people who live on its verge all believe that great and wealthy cities lie buried beneath its sands, and that it is haunted by demons and the ghosts of the cities' former inhabitants. These are much feared by the "Taklamakanchis" or treasure-seekers who year after year risk and sometimes lose their lives in desert expeditions in search of buried treasure. A remarkable example of the antiquity of the Takla Makan legends is given by Sir A. Stein in *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan.*"[2] While on his way to the Uzun-Tati site north of Domoko on the Khotan-Keriya road, he heard from some villagers a legend of the Sodom and Gomorrah type about the city which had once existed at Uzun Tati. Its inhabitants, they said, mocked at a holy man who had rebuked them for their sins, whereupon as a punishment God had rained sand upon the

[1] When the Grandpass Victoria Bridge was commenced at Colombo, it was firmly believed that two children had been sacrificed to the god of the Kelani River. As recently as the summer of 1924 serious riots, in which six Sikh taxi-drivers were killed, took place at Calcutta as the result of a rumour that certain Sikh workmen engaged in the construction of a dock were kidnapping and sacrificing Muhammadan children.

[2] Pp. 430, 438–9.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

773 place for seven days and nights until all was buried. Now the great Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang who passed this way in the seventh century of our era stayed at a town called Pi-mo, which Stein has conclusively identified with the Uzun-Tati site; and at this place Hsuan-tsang heard an almost exactly parallel Sodom and Gomorrah legend about another buried city called Ho-lo-lo-kia, still further out in the Takla Makan! A similar story is attached to the shrine of Imam Jamal-ud-Din at Keriya; this saint is supposed to have caused the sudden overwhelming of the city of Ketek because of insults he had received from its inhabitants. While at Goma in 1922 I had occasion to interrogate some Taklamakanchis from Qaratagh Aghzi, the "terminal oasis" of the Kilian River, about a new desert site which they said they had found a couple of years previously. At first they were uncommunicative, but afterwards when their tongues were loosened they told me about their discoveries, and many other things as well. One of them described an experience he had had in the neighbourhood. "I was lost one evening in the Takla Makan," he said, "and had no water. Suddenly I saw before me great walls in the sand and a gateway in the midst of them. I passed through the gateway and found myself in the outer court of a huge *yamen*.[1] I went through more doors and courtyards and at last I entered a great hall (*aivān*) which was full of treasure, gold and coral and pearls. But there was a huge tiger on guard there; flames issued from his mouth and I knew he was an evil spirit. I fainted from fear, and when I came to my senses I was among the sands and there was no *yamen*. Next day I came upon the tracks of wood-cutters and found my way home."

172 Sir A. Stein's researches have proved that none of the buried cities of the Takla Makan which have so far been found were overwhelmed by any sudden catastrophe. All were abandoned bit by bit, owing either to a generally-diminishing water-supply, or to the shifting of particular rivers, or to political causes. The Sodom and Gomorrah legends are probably, therefore, quite baseless. But this does not necessarily imply that the ancient tradition about the "Forty Cities of the Takla Makan"—great and populous centres, now buried under the sands far out beyond the furthest explorations of the archæologists—has no foundation in fact. The dawn of history in the Tarim Basin is relatively late, the second

[1] Any palace or large Chinese house is called a "yamen."

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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754 gave her an unfair advantage. There are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil eye are believed in, portions of the body such as hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wishes to cast a spell upon their late owner; in Chinese Turkistan, by a curious extension of the idea. this property attaches also to a person's shoes, or rather to the *kafsh-massi* or slippers which are worn out of doors over the long boots and taken off on entering a house. If you find your enemy's shoes lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, you turn them upside down or place them one on top of the other; if you want to kill him, you take them up and throw them down haphazard. At Yarkand the shoe superstitions differ somewhat from those current at Kashgar; the effects of meddling with one's *kafsh-massi* seem to be less serious. I was told there that when a caller outstays his welcome, he is apt to find on his departure that his shoes are lying upside down; this is a gentle hint not to stay so long next time. Omens also attach to shoes at Yarkand; if one is found lying on top of the other—whether by accident or otherwise—it means that the owner, if a man, is going to get a new wife, if a woman, a new husband.

A curious idea widely prevalent is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives. A boy was once brought to D. with the statement that he "had been ailing ever since his father died two years ago." This might have been a ruse to obtain alms, for orphanhood is a valuable asset in Muhammadan countries and is apt to be exploited by the orphan's relations; but we found instances of widows in a similar manner suffering in health from the death of their husbands.

775 Ghosts are firmly believed in and much feared, the worst kind being those of dead Chinese. Referring to the city of Qarashahr, a month's journey from Kashgar along the Urumchi road, a woman who had been there said it was "an awful place for Chinese ghosts." The only thing to do if you are haunted by them is to propitiate them by leaving money on your doorstep overnight. In the morning if the money is gone, you know that the Chinese ghosts have taken it.

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [827] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

563 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite
576 form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

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576 do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is man-
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264 banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a
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4. Superstitions and taboos

563 The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything.
771 They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As
[776] mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and
[798] heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of
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372 fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean
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563 misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a
821 thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of
796 the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yīl (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

~~Ie~~ Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[716] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[718] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hänä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor,
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[292] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[293] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

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4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

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5. Religious celebrations and festivals

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/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the de-
177 velopment of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken
[671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec-
[892] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their
794 observance of religious practices. There is only a small number
563 of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime,
[796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem
796 saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back
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/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
776 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
778 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[778] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

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753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body
754 after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-massi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

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563 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite
576 form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 The more religious women pray before eating or starting to
576 do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is man-
574 datory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or
264 banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a
[782] hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything.
771 They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As
[776] mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and
[778] heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also
[769] strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in
[755] magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity
[789] between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a
563 haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he
771 may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his
775 doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the
[782] ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also
[825] have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their
372 fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean
[777] the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring
563 misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a
821 thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of
796 the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

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172 goal of the first party) worked along the northern route from Maralbashi to Turfan in the years 1902–1903, 1904–1905, 1905–1907 and 1913–1914. Their collections were shipped back to Berlin, where the greater part of the wall paintings were destroyed by Allied bombing in the recent war. Excellent pictures, however, are available in the seven volumes of Le Coq's *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel Asien;* in Le Coq's *Chotscho,* and in Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha.* Grünwedel's narrative reports on the first and third expeditions, *Bericht über archaeologische Arbeiten* and *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten,* are also illustrated lavishly with line drawings, plans, and sketches made on the spot by the author.

At first indifferent to these expeditions and their work, the Chinese Government later took note of the great packing cases of art treasures being shipped out of the country. Archaeological operations were thenceforward discouraged and officially hindered in every way. But already by the time of the first World War the known sites had been practically denuded. Easily available ruins had already suffered greatly from the local population who, as good Moslems, felt bound to destroy heathen idols and especially to deface representations of human beings. What the European excavators uncovered but did not remove has largely succumbed to the elements and to the later efforts of treasure seekers.

172 Important artistic discoveries were made at about a dozen spots. Starting at the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert
778 near Khotan — which was the capital of an ancient kingdom — we find the sand-covered ruins of a settlement at Dandan Oilik, and of a great stupa (dome-shaped Buddhist shrine) at Rawak. Farther east, near the place where the Niya River dies in the dunes, lie the indications of another town. A ruined Tibetan fort at Miran, in the neighborhood of Charklik, guards the ruins of a much earlier group of Buddhist shrines. On the northern rim of the desert atop spurs of the foothills of the Tien Shan range stand the temples at Tumshuk, close to Maralbashi, and the great temples at Subashi and Duldur-akhur above the Kucha oasis.

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Also in the environs of Kucha, which is known to have been the center of a large and thriving principality, are the *Ming Oi* (literally "thousand houses") of Kyzyl, Kumtura, and Kiris. Those cave temples are cut out of the solid rock of cliffsides where rivers coming down from the high mountains have cut steep ravines. At Shorchuk, between Korla and Kharashahr, stand the ruins of an ancient walled town with many temples and burial monuments; as at Kucha, the local people refer to the shrines as *Ming Oi*.

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The Turfan Depression, with its twin oases of Turfan and Kharakhoja, is particularly rich in artistic remains. Two old towns could be traced here: the more ancient one was in utter ruins but Khocho ("Chotscho"), the capital of the Uighur Kings of Turfan from the ninth through the thirteenth century, had numerous temples, monasteries, and tombs which generously rewarded excavation. In the rocky ravines near Khocho are great clusters of shrines and monastic dwellings both cut out of the cliffs and built on the banks. Most notable are the temples and stupas of the Tuyok Valley and the Sangim Gorge, and the great monastery terrace of Bezeklik (also sometimes called *Ming Oi*).

One further site which should perhaps be included is Khotan itself. Although structural remains of the old capital are limited to doubtful mounds of debris, large quantities of interesting metal and pottery objects of undoubted antiquity have been dug up in the oasis.

With few exceptions the structures of which any traces remain are of a clearly religious character. They can usually be distinguished as shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Everywhere but in the Turfan basin, the religion is exclusively Buddhist. A few of the buildings in the old city of Khocho display murals of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean inspiration, and manuscript remains in the area confirm the coexistence in Turfan of these three faiths for several centuries.

Apart from temples cut out of rock, construction is generally of sun-dried bricks, stamped clay, or some sort of mud plaster

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172 strengthened by twigs and beams. As might be expected with
778 such building materials, the architecture is generally simple and
341 undistinguished. A few structures rise twenty or thirty feet; some boast true arches and some have several stories. In general the models followed are Indian and Iranian. The three basic elements of every shrine, whether rock-cut or free-standing, are a square or circular cell, a large statue or symbol of Buddha, and a passage permitting processions to go completely around the Buddha image.

172 In addition to the central Buddha figure the temples were often
778 decorated lavishly with other sculptured Buddhas, Bodhisattvas
531 (beings destined to attain Buddhahood) goddesses, Lopakalas (guardians of the directions), and so forth. The statues ranged in dimension from slightly over life-size figures in almost full relief to small sitting Buddhas surrounded by aureoles which were used as decorative elements together with floral and leaf motifs. Commonly the figures were made of stucco or mud strengthened with reeds or straw at the core.

They appear to have been cast in molds, often with separate forms for face, hair, ears, arms, legs and other parts; then joined together and attached to the wall. Variations could be introduced in the facial expression in the finishing-off process before the statue was completely dry. Afterwards it was coated with a thin layer of clay or plaster, painted with water colors, and gilded with gold leaf. Although in many cases the pigments have been washed away or destroyed, all figures seem to have been originally touched up in this way. In some temples whole walls were covered with a succession of such statues but sculptural representations of scenes comprising more than one figure are rare.

172 Even more striking than the statues are the mural paintings.
778 Almost every inner wall and ceiling is completely covered with
532 frescoes. Large dramatic compositions depicting scenes in the life story of the Buddha or the various future Buddhas are framed in decorative bands and flanked, perhaps, by row upon row of seated Buddhas. Overhead vaults are filled in with stylized moun-

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tain landscapes made up of many small segments each of which illustrates a Buddhist legend. Winged Gandharvas (a kind of angel) and celestial musicians may be fitted into triangular spaces above eye level so as to give the impression of floating above the worshiper. Animals real and fabulous, flowers, trees, palaces, war equipment, and pleasures of the hunt are among the many subjects included in the relations of the various myths or the surrounding ornaments. Well-known divinities of classical Greece as well as many-armed Indian gods are to be found adopted into the Buddhist pantheon. Some frescoes consist of assemblages of these divinities. Others depict Buddhist heavens and hells. A frequent sight is that of Buddha preaching to a group of monks. Monks are also pictured together with benefactors — noblemen through whose contributions the holy work of temple decoration has been financed.

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The donors are typically represented in the clothing of the locality and the age, as contrasted with the monks and divine figures whose costume is prescribed by the canons of Buddhist art. Even more interesting are the facial and other physical characteristics of these patrons. Here we have an astounding variety of human types — European and Levantine as well as eastern Asiatic. The evidences would point to a succession of alien conquests with each new set of rulers inscribing themselves as patrons of the existing Buddhist monasteries. Since, however, the warriors generally came from peoples of lower material and artistic level, their tastes did not greatly or immediately affect the content and style of the monastic art. The paintings appear to have been made either by monks themselves or by artists working under rather close religious supervision.

All frescoes are in tempera or water color applied directly to the smoothed and plastered wall while the surface was still wet. In each group of shrines the palette is limited to a modest number of colors and tones. The few colors used are employed with considerable effect. Gold leaf is occasionally added. In some instances the drawing appears to have been by means of tracings

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172 or stencils; more typically the murals were sketched in with a free hand. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on outlines, which
•778 are almost invariably darkened and slightly thickened.
532 In addition to these sculptures and frescoes, there were found several examples of smaller arts. Particularly noteworthy are
172 painted wooden panels which were deposited at the feet of Buddha statues as votive offerings. Some paintings on paper and on
778 fabric appear to have been designed for the same purpose, or for
531 temple banners. The illustrated Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Khocho are amazingly similar to the early medieval Christian book art.

Among the wooden items are small reliquary caskets and statuettes, as well as carved ceiling beams, brackets, and other structural elements.

Woven or embroidered textiles seem to have been in large part imported into Central Asia from China, Persia, and other areas. Although Khotan was reputedly famous for its rugs, it is impossible to prove that any particular rug fragments are of Khotanese manufacture.

172 Among the various ruins the earliest period is represented by the secular dwellings at the Niya site, and by the stupas of Miran.
531 Amid the shifting sands and scrub-covered cones in the desert north of the present village of Niya, Sir Aurel Stein was able to trace remains of a whole community. In addition to the ever-present stupa there were ancient houses, courtyards, cattlesheds, arbors, orchards, trellises, irrigation canals, and even a footbridge over the old river bed. Broken wooden posts rising above the gaunt earth proved to be the original supports of wattle and plaster walls of old residences.

Some houses of substantial size suggested that the occupants were men of position. From the drift-sand filling the floors of the rooms Stein was able to salvage fairly well-preserved wooden beams and brackets fallen from the ceilings, and fragments of furniture such as chair legs. These were carved with animals, rosettes, pots of leaves and other decorative motifs particularly characteristic of the Gandhara school of sculpture which flour-

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The *Ming Oi* of Kyzyl comprise several hundred rock-cut caves ranged along several levels on a series of steep cliffs overlooking the Muzart River. In addition to temples of various sizes there were workrooms, storerooms, and sleeping quarters. The most common type of shrine consisted of a square room with a niche for a sacred image in the center of the wall opposite the door. On either side of the statue, a corridor led back to a transverse passage, permitting the worshiper to make the required complete circle about the image. The ceiling was usually in the form of a barrel vault. A few temples had round cupolas and a few others had stone-cut imitations of the "lantern" roof (composed of a series of squares of diminishing size laid diagonally one above the other and leaving open a small aperture at the very top) still found today in Persia and Kashmir. Each of these cell-like temples was furnished with a small vestibule. Long stone balconies and flights of steps gave access to the temples and connected them with each other. Practically no daylight penetrated to the inside of the cells; the decorations must have been executed and enjoyed only by use of lamps. 172 532 778

Le Coq and Grünwedel were able to uncover wall paintings in some sixty of these caves. The frescoes abound in drama and motion. Buddha, in the scenes from his life and in the familiar teaching, meditating, and other poses, is given a human and gentle aspect. The Bodhisattvas, worshipers, kings, queens, Brahmans, ascetics, monks, dancers, musicians, servants, demons, and other personages who surround the Buddha or play roles in the illustrations of the Buddhist legends display a great variety of complexion, feature, figure, garb, expression, and pose. All appear to be active participants: a courtier turns his head to talk to a neighbor; two Brahmans carry on a lively dispute; a supplicant prostrates himself at Buddha's feet. In one particularly effective panel, a king who is taking a ceremonial bath in a tub of butter receives news of Buddha's demise by means of a painted cloth held up before him by a minister. On the cloth are pictured the four "great events": the birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and 172 532

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death of Buddha. Several depictions of the burning of Buddha's corpse are notable for the intensity of sorrow communicated by the mourners.

Although the compositions are intricate and the available space tightly packed with figures and background designs, the main contours stand out clearly. Color schemes are based on muted brown, flesh, and rust tones, accented with bright blue and green.

The donors portrayed in the Kyzyl caves (usually on the wall near the entrance) are at first glance astonishingly like knights and ladies of medieval Europe. Tall, fair-skinned, and red-haired, they wear dresses and armor of the style prevailing in Persia under the Sassanian Dynasty from the third through the seventh centuries. The cloaks and gowns appear to be of fine brocade or richly embroidered material. An unusual hair arrangement in which the top locks are cut to a length of about four inches and allowed to fall loose on either side of a center part is characteristic of both men and women. Frequently a stylized flower, perhaps a development of the classical cornucopia carried by certain figures in the Gandhara sculptures, is held in the hand.

Both the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed give evidence of a blending of Indian, Persian and late Hellenistic influences. Many resemblances can be pointed out between these Kyzyl murals and the famed wall paintings of the Ajanta cave temples in Central India, which were executed at roughly the same time. Only rarely, however, do the figures in the Kyzyl pantomimes approach the sinuous grace and delicacy of the best work at Ajanta. Perhaps the closest comparison, outside of the Tarim Basin, is with the frescoes in the caves surrounding the colossal Buddha in the valley of Bamian, near Kabul, in Afghanistan. Chemical analysis has indicated that identical pigments were used. This tie between Kucha and Bamian, which had been a Buddhist center since about 100 A.D., suggests one path along which Buddhist art progressed into Central Asia.

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At Kumtura, about nine miles east of Kyzyl along the Muzart River, is another group of cave temples. As at Kyzyl the various temples could be placed approximately as belonging to the fifth,

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sixth, seventh or eighth centuries. Similar architectural styles were followed and similar medieval-looking benefactors were depicted. In subject matter and treatment the paintings are clearly related, but in some of the Kumtura caves is an unmistakable Chinese element, nowhere glimpsed at Kyzyl. The eyes of the Buddhas are just slightly tilted, the landscapes are more freely drawn, and typical T'ang Dynasty cloud forms appear overhead.

Sculptural remains brought from Kyzyl and Kumtura consist mainly of severed heads of goddesses, Bodhisattvas, Brahmans and other personages. The statues were sometimes grouped on balconies, sometimes arranged in separate niches along the walls. The heritage of the Graeco-Buddhist traditions of Gandhara is amply demonstrated in facial features, hair treatment, head ornaments, and, where full figures are shown, in the drapery.

Contemporary with the Kyzyl and Kumtura caves but quite different in style are the group of shrines belonging to an old monastery at Dandan Oilik (in the words of local treasure seekers, "the place of houses with ivory") in the desert near Khotan. Each shrine originally consisted of a square inner cell enclosing a large Buddha statue on a pedestal. This cell was surrounded by a square perambulatory. Both inner and outer walls were decorated with paintings — for the most part of large Buddhas or saints in a checkerboard pattern. On the whole these figures are stiff and rather indifferently drawn. A few representations of legendary scenes include one particularly graceful water nymph of decidedly Indian inspiration. The donors, pictured as tiny figures kneeling at the feet of the large Buddhas, are markedly Chinese or Mongol in appearance.

Decorative stucco reliefs of small Buddhas, saints, and flying Gandharvas, and remains of larger statues, followed the Graeco-Buddhist pattern but achieved no particular distinction. Perhaps the most interesting art finds of the Dandan Oilik site are the considerable number of rectangular wooden panels each about a foot long. They were apparently intended as gifts to the shrine from secular patrons. On these tablets appear sure-handed and

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spirited sketches of Buddhist divinities and legends, some in full color. A particularly attractive drawing shows Rustan, the great Persian hero, as a handsome four-armed Bodhisattva.

Dandan Oilik, by all indications, was abandoned gradually, because of increasing difficulty of irrigation, around the end of the eighth century.

The art of the ancient city at Shorchuk near the Kharashahr oasis reaches into the third and final stage of the Buddhist culture of the Tarim Basin. On the direct route eastward from Kucha to Turfan, Kharashahr was never so important a political power or Buddhist center as its neighbors. Nonetheless great numbers of temples and shrines were found both in the old town and on the ridges of the mountains at its side; there were also a few cave temples cut out of the hills. Most of the shrines appear to have been destroyed by fire in the tenth century, but to have existed for several hundred years before that. The ruins were particularly rich in statuary, many pieces retaining the original coat of bright paints. As well as the familiar Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses in more or less pure Hellenistic style, there were found deities of distinctly oriental appearance and some remarkably realistic horses and camels. Many examples were provided of the variety of heads which could be produced by skillful use of a limited number of molds.

The Shorchuk wall paintings ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries demonstrated even more clearly than the sculpture the intermingling of eastern and western peoples and cultures. The Buddhas, monks and Gandharvas of these frescoes have consistently Far Eastern features, but each monk carries between his prayer-joined palms a long-stemmed flower reminiscent of those held by the donors of Kyzyl. The benefactresses at Shorchuk are slant-eyed, long-nosed, and rather stocky women who can be identified with considerable confidence as belonging to one of the tribes of Western Turks which held sway over Kharashahr for some centuries. The use of deep colors and the presence of stylistic details such as very cursive outlines show strong Chinese influences.

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172 532 A fine Manichaean wall painting showing a priest of Persian features, possibly Mani himself, dressed in full canonicals and followed by several ranks of white-gowned and tall-bonneted *electi* (devotees under special vows of purity and abstinence), was similarly discovered behind a single layer of bricks. Presumably temples were cleared in this way for other types of worship. Illuminated pages of Manichaean religious texts and Manichaean temple banners, also found in various places in and near Khocho, show the disciples in the same costumes. Both men and women (*electi* and *electae*) are pictured, sometimes with hands clasped at the bosom and hidden muff-like in the robe, sometimes carrying or writing in books. In the book roll fragments and pages, the pictures and text, in a special Manichaean script, are combined to produce a total effect very similar to the early Christian codices of medieval Europe. Bright clear colors are used and the designs are kept fairly simple. Although unmistakably related to the general development of Central Asian art, the Manichaean finds actually constitute a separate and exotic growth with roots deep in third-century Sassanian Persia from which Mani himself sprang.

172 532 778 Buddhist art in Uighur times is best exemplified by the wall paintings of the vast majority of the temples at Bezeklik ("the place where there are decorations") near the village of Murtuk. Here a great phalanx of free-standing structures and rock-cut caves, some with structural antechambers, occupied a protected ledge between the river and the mountains. Hundreds of separate temples were still preserved in various stages of disrepair at the beginning of the present century.

A splendidly preserved set of murals was discovered in the temple which Le Coq numbered 9. Separate panels depicted groups of Indian monks in yellow with their individual names supplied in an Indian script, and Far Eastern monks in violet with both Chinese and Uighur names. All carried single long-stemmed flowers. The main pattern of decoration consisted in a series of Pranidhi or prayer scenes. Each one shows a large standing Buddha elaborately garbed and bejeweled and surrounded by an

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elongated aureole. From five to ten figures are disposed about the Buddha in vertical columns on either side. Usually the two at the base kneel and present gifts such as food, lamps, or trays of flowers. A small Chinese house in a compound frequently is found in a top corner. Some of the worshipers are highly individualized and would seem to be portraits of particular monks or in one case of secular persons who are perhaps merchants. Other monks, however, and characters identifiable as Brahmans, spear-bearers, goddesses, youthful Bodhisattvas, and so forth appear in highly schematized fashion. The facial features of the Buddhas and the stylized attendant personages approximate a single type with narrow eyes, long noses, heavy jowls, and often a hairline mustache. The monks who seem to be drawn from life, however, exhibit much more variety. Several have red hair with blue or green eyes; some show red or gray stubble on the shaven pate, cheeks, and chin. Story elements are reduced to an almost unnoticeable minimum — a tiny raft underneath the feet of the Buddha, for instance, indicates that a seagoing legend is involved. Detail, in fact, rather than composition differentiates one Pranidhi scene from another. Profusion of ornament, sureness of line, and careful symmetry all contribute to an effect of great elegance and sophistication.

Occasionally tiny figures of donors are tucked in near the feet of the Buddha in the Pranidhi scenes. Full-scale pictures of the Uighur benefactors adorn small walls near the entrance of the inner temple. Like portraits of Uighur nobles in other shrines they show strong-visaged men with small mustaches and waist-length braids of black hair. They wear tall headdresses and floor-length gowns of embroidered material. The women have an elaborate puffed coiffure topped by a sort of crown. Once again each benefactor holds a blossoming stalk. Considerable care has been taken to present these donors as individuals and the names of many are inscribed on vertical tablets near the heads.

In addition to Pranidhi scenes and portraits of donors, the Bezeklik murals and the other wall paintings in the Khocho area dating from the Uighur period (ninth through twelfth century

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172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular
heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions
778 of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context:
deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with
Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful
demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also
common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The
Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by
submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to
Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists
right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such
places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in
use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the
Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millen-
nium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis
kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excel-
lence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into
question previous references to the area as no more than a high-
way connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to
its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the
relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient
times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or
even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied
the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious
enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of
much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger popula-
tion in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity,
based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated,
would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to
explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many mon-
asteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of
invaders.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

778 I was puzzled in the Khotan region by the multitudes of poles with yaks' or horses' tails tied to the ends which were to be seen at every shrine stuck upright in the burial mound of the saint. Grenard explains that these *tughs*, as they are called, are no other than relics of human sacrifice. According to the Chinese chroniclers, the ancient Turks sacrificed human victims on the graves of the great and stuck their heads up on poles as a record of the fact. The Turks of the Altai, at the present day, according to Radloff, sacrifice horses in the same manner at the funeral of a chief, hanging up the skins over the grave with the head facing east. Among the Kazaks, the horse is not actually sacrificed, but its tail is cut off and it is regarded as dead; no further use is made of the animal. The practice of hanging horses' tails on poles at the Khotan shrines is obviously a further stage in the same process, all tradition of the original sacrifice having been lost.

Like the Italian peasant, the Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "Imams" but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries almost always have some superstitious observance attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines where the belief is of the latter type the majority of the pilgrims are, of course, women, and the mullas have therefore been obliged in each case, for the sake of propriety, to invent a female saint, complete with legend, in order to bring the cult into line with Islam. That most of 769 these cults are nothing more or less than ancestor-worship of great antiquity is shown by the popular names of the shrines; the common people seldom refer to them by the name of any particular Mussulman saint, but pray to "Sultan Buwam" (Our Royal Ancestor or Ancestress), "Bu Anam" (Our Ancestress Mother), "Hazrat Pir" (The Holy Sage), and even "Qāra-Sakāl Atam" (My Father Blackbeard). The title "Padshah" or king is very often used *tout court*.[1]

[1] Miss Sykes and Sir P. Sykes give accounts of several interesting shrines and the superstitions attaching thereto. See "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 68–72, 92–5, 205–7, 314, 320. The custom mentioned by Sir Percy on p. 314, of a woman desirous of a child putting her hand into one of the holes in the wall of the tomb, appertains to the shrine of Bu Anam on the left bank of the Tumen 4 miles above Kashgar. The rule, we were told, is that whatever her hand touches in the hole—lump of dirt, beetle, or whatever it may be—she must eat forthwith.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

kinds of small game, and that without going off the road. Besides the seven enumerated above, we saw, either in the mountains or in the jungles of the Tarim River valley, the following: (8) Shaw's pheasant, (9) duck, including mallard pintail, gadwall, golden-eye, and red-crested pochard, (10) snipe, (11) woodcock, (12) geese, (13) plover, (14) Tibetan snow-cock. Of these I shot specimens of all except woodcock and Tibetan snow-cock. The former we saw at Maralbashi flying through a garden; the latter I came across in large numbers at 11,000–12,000 feet while stalking ibex up the Yangi Art Jilgha.

Of many pictures that live in our memory of that delightful march, perhaps the most vivid is of the shrine of Qara-sakal Atam, "My Father Blackbeard." It is situated in the loveliest little glen imaginable. A limpid stream plashes down through open meadows from the fir-clad ridges of the Central Tien Shan, until it joins the main valley through a narrow neck between two backbones of reddish rock. Just above this neck is a coppice of fine old mountain ashes and desert poplars enclosing a glade of smooth turf and a bubbling spring. Barberry bushes, now a mass of carmine berries, and the brilliant orange-yellow of the trees in their autumn finery blend perfectly with the rich russets and ochres of the surrounding rocks; looking northwards, the grassy steppe sweeps right up to the distant forest above which again tower the snow-clad Mountains of Heaven. Father Blackbeard's shrine is only a bunch of sticks, festooned with votive rags and embellished with the horns of wild sheep; but whoever he was and whenever he lived, he is marked as having been a saint of taste—for did he not choose the most beautiful spot in all the Tien Shan to be his hermitage?

Two long but easy marches down the open and partially-cultivated valley of the Muzart River brought us to the small town of Bai on the Aqsu-Kucha road. Here we found the Mir Munshi awaiting us; he had come out from Kashgar to help me with my work at Bai and Aqsu. We stayed four days at the roomy Chinese rest-house at Bai, most of which I spent interviewing various British subjects from Kucha, three marches further on. The town, which is the headquarters of a third-class Magistrate, is an undistinguished Sleepy Hollow of a place, populated by Turkis and Chinese Muhammadan Tungans in the proportion of about three to one. It was our first experience of the latter race *en masse*, and we were

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of Gold" which form the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau. 487
Our first objective was the hill-village of Polu, three short marches south of Keriya; thence we proposed to visit the oases along the foot of the Qaranghu Tagh or Mountains of Darkness, that wildest and most inaccessible central section of the Kunlun which rises in the great massif of K 5 to a height of 23,890 feet. The trip proved somewhat disappointing, for the hateful dust-haze persisted and we saw little along the road beyond our immediate surroundings. Only once, for a short hour or two, did the veil lift. Nevertheless the journey was interesting in the extreme and on the whole enjoyable. Very few explorers had visited this secluded bay beneath the northern ramparts of Tibet, and the region may certainly be classed among the remotest and least-known inhabited corners of High Asia, outside Tibet itself.

The village of Boghaz Langar, at which the last of the 361
above extracts was written, is the southernmost village of the main oasis of Keriya and lies at a height of 5,150 feet above the sea, or 700 feet higher than the town. Close by we visited 778.
the famous shrines of Imam Ghazz 'Ali, one of the heroes of local Muhammadan tradition, and of a lady known as Bu Hanifa. The place is remarkable for its plane-trees of immense [137]
age and bulk, veritable mountains of ancient wood, gnarled and monstrous like boulders in a torrent-bed. Next day we 487
marched up the left bank of the Keriya River, passing one or two small isolated oases, and camped at a point 6,500 feet above the sea where the stream cuts through the foothills in an almost straight canyon 300 or 400 feet deep. It was a curious camp; though our tents were pitched fifty yards from the edge, the river could be neither seen nor heard and we seemed to be in the middle of a bare rolling moor of sand and scrub. Every drop of water for man and beast had to be [312]
brought by hand in buckets and gourds up a terrifying cliff-track known only to the guides we had brought with us. Next morning the haze was thicker than ever and we could see nothing of the massifs of the Altun Tagh, 21,000 feet high, which we knew impended over us at a distance of scarcely 25 miles. For hours we toiled up sandy tracks, new reaches and abysses of the river-gorge coming dimly into view at each corner. I was impressed by the quantities of drift-sand everywhere; even at this height the whole hill-side seemed to be silted up with sand blown from the distant Takla Makan, in marked contrast with the approaches to the Kashgar Range which we

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

He gave me a graphic description of how poor Qasim fell off the path on the way up to the pass and was dashed to pieces. He agreed with me that it was a little thoughtless of Qasim, on the edge of the path with a 100-foot drop behind him, to tighten a knot in a home-made rope by hauling at it with one foot pressed against the pony's side.

They offered us the pick of their houses, but we preferred to camp on a sheltered field under a low bluff of loess above the village. If only the air had cleared for an hour, the glorious snows which we could sometimes just descry far above our heads would have completed an unforgettable picture; but the haze was inexorable. In front of us the Tereklik (" poplar-y ") side-glen sloped steeply up; perched on a crag above it was a conspicuous shrine which I visited one day. Besides the usual sacrificial yak's tails and pieces of clothing I found a curious and very old votive sign of wrought copper shaped like a hand-mirror with a fine pierced-work inscription. It reminded me of an object of similar shape and size, only with a chased design and inscription, which I saw at the shrine of Mir Umar at Sangun, under the Kuh-i-Taftan in the Sarhad district of Persian Baluchistan. How I coveted that votive sign! I would have paid quite a large sum for it; but it has never seemed to me quite " playing the game " to tempt unsophisticated people to part with things which they hold sacred.

Four days we waited at Polu for the weather to clear, and then, on 24th April, we gave it up and started for Khotan. Marching three miles up the Tibet trail we struck westward at the village of Hong across the Chirikōldi (" The soldier died ") pass and the wide grassy tableland of Chata Qir. The morning had been a little less hazy than usual, but by three o'clock as we descended into the valley of Zinjik Aral a violent storm of wind laden with dust and gravel and a spatter of rain swept down upon us from the Kunlun. Followed two unpleasant hours during which we hurried half-blindly down wild moorland paths. Only one incident do I remember; under the lee of a steep hillside above us we saw three huge black eagles squatting on the rocks, gorged doubtless after some grim feast. D. put them up; fine birds they were, with dark grey ruffs, light brown heads with black round the eyes and black beaks. In this country as in the Tien Shan they tame these black eagles and hunt gazelle with them. In the evening the wind was still blowing strong when, after ten hours' hard

[17] I [AT POLU -- ANALYST]

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the de-
177 velopment of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken
[671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec-
[692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their
794 observance of religious practices. There is only a small number
563 of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime,
[796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem
796 saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back
798

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
799 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI 1

when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that : ' Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits ; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

486 site but marked by a shrine flanked with two high
[131] poles. A stake roughly carved to suggest the form of a
[778] man was driven into the ground, and its rounded knob was thick with the oil which generations of carters have poured over it as a libation.

We hastened on, and before nightfall came in sight of the Pass, which bears the strange name of 'The Ravine of Baboons.' It was not encouraging to catch sight of a group of soldiers watching us through field-glasses from an eminence. At the entrance to the Ravine we found a military tent pitched, and the guards waiting to question us. The N.C.O. was none too well-mannered. He scoffed at the idea of our carrying so heavy a load of books, and said: 'If you tell me stories like that I'll search your baggage through!' We then produced our passports, which he scrutinised. They were important-looking documents, and evidently impressed him, perhaps the more so because he was wholly illiterate, as we discovered next day. The mere sight of them, however, had a wholesome effect upon him, for he handed them back with an apology for not being able to offer us tea in his tent. We continued our way through the narrow Pass for another two miles, and at every turn of the road soldiers appeared. When we reached the little village we were at once surrounded by a crowd of military, and an officer coming on the scene told us we could not proceed until such a time as the Governor, by telegram, should have indicated his
485 willingness for us to do so. He directed us then to the only vacant room in the place, which was situated in an inn court so small that the carts had to stand in the road outside. The room itself was wretched beyond description. It had no door, while a hole in the wall served as window, so that we were unable for a moment to escape the inspection of the crowd of soldiers. The

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

[p. 138]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long *563 formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

*563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land ex- *563 propriated from Kazakhs.

779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi. 563* 779 167

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes. 563* 779 101

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land. 563* 779 361 463

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the 563* 631 212

631 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them
212 consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be
562 somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy
779 more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has
779 been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against
186 Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger
668 in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese
[602] society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars
578 among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in
186 spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

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175 formity of culture. In this period of political disunity and decentralization, the expansion of Islam continued to enhance the cultural uniformity of the oasis world.

175 779 The ascendancy of Islam among the religions of Inner Asia had begun before the Mongol Empire and continued through that period and on into the time of political disintegration. The Arabs under Kutayba invaded Western Turkistan and perhaps reached Kashgar at the beginning of the eighth century.[11] By the middle of the tenth century — when Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and other religions were still strong in the settled oases — Satuk Bughra Khan of the Khara-Khanid Turks, who were at that time in control of Kashgar and other oases, was converted to Islam.[12] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Inner Asian rulers who claimed imperial Mongol descent rapidly went over to the language and culture of the Turks and to the religion of Islam. In the meantime the conversion to Islam of the Uighur Turks of the Urumchi-Turfan region had been going on since the eleventh century, though Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity lingered until the sixteenth century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the development of the institutions of Islam in Sinkiang made a long step forward with the arrival in Kashgar of the Khoja Makhtum Azyam, a learned theologian of Bokhara and a descendant of the Prophet.[13] He was granted land by the Khan of Kashgar, and from the later struggle for the control and revenue of this estate there developed a new mode of politics, that of the Khojas.

The two sons of the first Khoja founded rival sects which were at the same time political factions, that of the Ak Tagh or White Mountains and that of the Khara Tagh or Black Mountains. At

[11] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, translated from the original Russian [1900] and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, London, 2nd. ed., 1928, especially Chapter II.

[12] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–255, this event must be regarded as a mixture of history and legend; but the rapid spread of Islam among the Inner Asian Turks at this time is beyond doubt.

[13] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Eastern or Chinese Turkistan*. Translated from the Russian by Walter E. Gowan, Calcutta, 1882, p. 102.

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first the heirs of the Khoja line were attached to and patronized by the rulers of the greater oases, and received successive grants of land, both in what is now Sinkiang and in what later became Russian Turkistan. Eventually they themselves became rulers, but the combination of religious authority and secular rule did not put an end to the rivalry between the two sects and did not provide unity or continuity of rule.

Land was held both by the Khoja family and by mosques as corporate institutions. Some of the deeds granting land to the Khojas show that there were grants which conveyed titles and privileges in addition to the land. Grants to mosques were called *wakf*, and the *wakf*-lands gave rise to a special class of managers with rights and interests of their own (see Chapter V). Since the grants included rights over the serfs on the land, a clerical feudalism became established parallel to secular feudalism.[14]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Manchus were gathering headway for their conquest of China from the east, the oases of southern Sinkiang passed completely under Khoja rule. In 1622 the leader of the White Mountain faction, Mullah Fazil, with the aid of the powerful Khojas of Khokand, captured Kashgar. Shortly thereafter Khoja Hidayat Ullah, also known as Hazrat Apak, whose shrine at Kashgar is still venerated, became the ruler of all the oases of the Tarim Basin. Though a Moslem "saint," he negotiated with the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and was alternately in alliance and at enmity with the Jungar Mongols of northern Sinkiang.[15] "His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground,

[14] For Khoja land deeds granted at Yarkand in 1587, 1592, and 1602, and at Kucha in 1608, and collected by the nineteenth-century English traveler Shaw, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Extra No., Calcutta, 1897, Vol. 66, part 1, pp. 2–3. For *wakf* deed in the Khoja period, see G. Raquette, *Eine Kaschgarische Wakf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Türkestans*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 26, Nr. 2.

[15] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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175 whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion
779 of spiritual love." [16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

175 Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal
779 practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of or-
661 ganizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts." [17]

175 It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China
578 that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

[p. 240]

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the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

174 538

In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the SN Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization [668] can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances SN the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic 563 153 577 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered SN "bad" deeds.

563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

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563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN
563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN
563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[827] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

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563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

799 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the S N 779 829 loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S 121 592 A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has S 595 563 more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as S [562] [152] such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

592 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide
562 the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically
before they establish their own households. Among the lower
[565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always
a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will
bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing
[582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up
a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden-
563 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the
592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper.
593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family
182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the fam-
ily nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolu-
tions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among
the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are sub-
ject to constant permutations.

563 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the
593 basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by
178 local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal
593 or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the hus-
562 band and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes
563 toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered
a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and
whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of
the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the
[671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and
[774] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be
generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the preroga-
tives accompanying the husband's superior position are often
abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Mos-
lem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a cer-
tain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circum-
stances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce
on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. Accord-
ing to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor
her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but
is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic
life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have
some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better
social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their
husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem
countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of
their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman
frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

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In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

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d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

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Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

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Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

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a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

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This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

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b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

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S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other S N and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

S N 563 779 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 796 785 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 S N [788] Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

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532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art
(177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
• 779 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
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532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
779 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[797] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
779 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
779 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably comple-
[213] mented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous sub-sects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec- [692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, [796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 796 798 As Grebard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

563 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The
262 best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink
[273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound
262 by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed.
779 The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except
[273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However,
[369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both
779 to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem
[784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

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753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death
754 to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-massi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

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779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

164 The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice
756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

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668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern
[167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place
[648] against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

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121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the
177 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

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177 inflict upon itself.

178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite [668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in 178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have 668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el isciseller) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their 721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the 779 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.
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J. Material Concepts

556 One of the most important standards according to which an
183 individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants
[565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song
[735] indicates:
[539]

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land.
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is
556 to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many
668 of the leading property owners have become influential under the
177 present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been
[565] truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term
815 is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p
668 prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge
177 prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Türkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

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175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned [647] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

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conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity. 563

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their [143] features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems [771] in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the [241] agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a 197 language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern 563 road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the [221] nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

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but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinctive cap and high heels to his top-boots. We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper is a Russian subject, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

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Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders. 563

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other 175 797 779

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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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366 tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street
was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather
443 showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding
463 its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silver-
smiths, while here and there a photographer or watch-
maker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a
Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and
prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number
487 and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng
36 lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the
great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the
439 Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These
two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles
from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually
travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar
wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are
always on the move, though they may take from
three to six months to accomplish the journey, but
at the time of our visit this route was closed owing
to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that
whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were
the most highly valued on the market, at the present
time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them.
It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem
woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in
the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a
Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée*
to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's
wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict
• 779 in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day
the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before
sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate
liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The
purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a
washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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Where a stream is not accessible, the water is poured from the purification pot. Many were the prostrations and different attitudes taken by the worshipper as he lifted his hands to the back of his ears, then bowed, rose, and bowed again towards Mecca. In the evening the children were all gathered together for the reading of the Koran and the study of Arabic, and, incidentally, to learn how superior were the followers of the Prophet to the rest of mankind. 779

Our first caller was a Military Official who had become a Christian during his stay at Urumchi. His visit was followed by the arrival of servants carrying trays of the best food the restaurants of Kucheng could produce. Piled up on brazen plates was the Turki national dish of 'pillau.' It was composed of rice steamed and fried, and flavoured with chopped mutton, carrots and onions, sultanas and spices, and laid on the top were joints of roast fowl. This was accompanied by large, thin, flat cakes of bread and plates of fruit, while more servants followed with fodder and grain for our mules. Later on this gentleman's mother called and asked us to her house, where she most kindly entertained us. The food supply of Kucheng was so good that during the length of our stay we were able to luxuriate in milk, fruit, fresh bread, and good mutton. 262 574

Our next visitors were the band of Shansi men with whom we had become so friendly *en route*. It was difficult to recognise in the well-dressed gentleman who sent in his card the pedestrian traveller who had carried his own bundle and water can. They were most eager to know if Kucheng reached the expectations formed from their descriptions of its glories. Here, as elsewhere, we found no difficulty of access to the homes of both Chinese and Turki, and we never went out without receiving cordial invitations to visit well-off families in their comfortable houses.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement. S N 563 779 782 783

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast. S N 563 779 782 783 779 [203]

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then S N 563 553 852 S N [788]

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the [783] mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 764 782 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house [784] in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-interment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs [184] are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the [782] deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [203] [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard, which had never left us all through our travels, had so accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic, so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were the only travellers on that road who would dare to take such a journey without observing this ritual, and such an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of our carters, who two months previously would have been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt. The slabs of granite over which we had driven had 494

I [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

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b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face S N [788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the [783] mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

S N /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
779
784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
563
183
779
431

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

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f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
[793] and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then
[788]

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles [785] the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [785] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

S N 795 785 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 769 177

N 795 788 778

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

487 After spending a cold and uncomfortable night at Khafa Gumbaz (the name means "Domes of Wrath") we emerged on to the Pamirs by the windy gate of Bulunkul and camped at a little mud fort south of the lake amid typical 704 Pamir scenery. The garrison of this lonely post consisted of an out-at-elbows lieutenant and three men, all married to Kirghiz women. One of the soldiers interested me very much. A hawk-nosed, black-avised, alert little man in an enormous astrakhan hat appeared at the door of our *aq-oi* with an accordion in his hands, stood to attention smartly and entered without further ado. He told me he was a Russian Kirghiz from Tokmak in Semirechia, whence he had come three years before; he looked to me more like a Noghai or "Tartar," but might have been a Tartar-Kirghiz half-breed. He was very friendly and insisted on treating us to a concert on his "garmonie" (the Russian form of the word "harmonium" which they use for accordion). On that wheezy old instrument he played various long and unmelodious tunes in our tiny *aq-oi*. It was a painful performance, but we hated to hurt his feelings and were most appreciative; he was so very obviously a spy from across the frontier, and in so lonely and desolate a spot we could well understand his joy at finding at last a job of work to do.

487 During the next four days we wandered unhurriedly across the Lake District of the Chinese Pamirs, halting a day close to the north shore of the Little Qara Kul and another at Subashi. Here the Qungur and Muz Tagh Ata massifs stood round us in a vast amphitheatre, their dazzling domes and ridges of ice reflected exquisitely in the sapphire waters of the lakes. It was a pleasant time; the weather was perfect and the Kirghiz charming; sport was good, the lakes and marshes teeming with geese, ducks, teal and snipe. Near the Qara Kul we were met by our old friend Nadir Beg, the tall and jovial "British Watchman in Sarikol," with a regular cortège of Kirghiz and the inevitable wayside tea-drinking. Earlier in the same day we had an interesting *rencontre*. A party of ●788 about twenty travel-stained and weather-beaten old men clad in ragged sheepskin cloaks and hats came riding northwards over the pamir. They proved to be Turki pilgrims returning from Mecca, the remnants of a party of fifty or more who had left Kashgar in April for the Holy Cities. They had had a terrible time, they said, on the high passes of the Hindu Kush between Tashqurghan and Chitral, and several of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

weaker pilgrims had been lost in the snow, thereby acquiring as much merit as if they had reached Mecca. They had nothing but praise for the authorities in Chitral, at Peshawar, on the Indian railways and at Bombay, where the official "Protector of Pilgrims" had put them on a specially-chartered steamer for Jeddah. In the Hijaz their troubles had recommenced, heat and disease claiming more victims than the snows of the Hindu Kush, besides which they had been held up for weeks by Bedouin robbers between Mecca and Medina. Returning by the same route, the survivors had found little or no snow on the passes and had had a comparatively easy journey.

Another interesting meeting was with a fine-looking old Kirghiz in a rich cloak and green turban at Subashi. This man, Khokan Beg, by name, told me that in Tsarist times he had been a great man in the Russian Pamirs, no less than the Mingbashi (Headman of a Thousand Households) of Great Qara Kul. Then a Pharaoh had arisen who knew him not, and he had migrated to Chinese territory with his wives and his sons and his daughters and flocks and his herds and everything that was his. He also told me that nine or ten years before he had entertained "a great British Consul and his wife from Kashgar," after whom he inquired; these can have been no other than General Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, who visited the Russian Pamirs in 1915.

The Pamirs are well known to be the habitat of *Ovis Poli*, one of the three largest kinds of wild sheep in the world, the other two being *O. Ammon*, of Tibet, and *O. Karelini*, of the Tien Shan. Nowadays, however, good heads are very rare on the Chinese side of the frontier, especially in the more accessible regions. I gathered at Subashi, which used at one time to be a good centre, that most of the Kirghiz nowadays have guns of a sort and that they shoot down the sheep indiscriminately for food. The only corner of Chinese territory in which *Ovis Poli* are still to be found in some numbers is in the Qara Zak and neighbouring valleys, two or three marches north-west of Bulunkul. A pair of horns was brought to me which had come from the Russian side; evidently it was expected that I would want to take a trophy home with me, and would pay a good price. The measurements were 56 inches in length and 15¼ girth.

Even if there had been a chance of a stalk, as I had hoped, I should have had some difficulty in working it in, for thanks

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N (798)

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S N a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
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Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
563 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
796 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
785 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
779 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S N b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

S N 563 852 [553] ● [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 785 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 769 177

N 795 788 778

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [779] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Mongol

*563 174 out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

[47] 566 *563 In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of constituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

[792]

*563 631 Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar,* "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

000

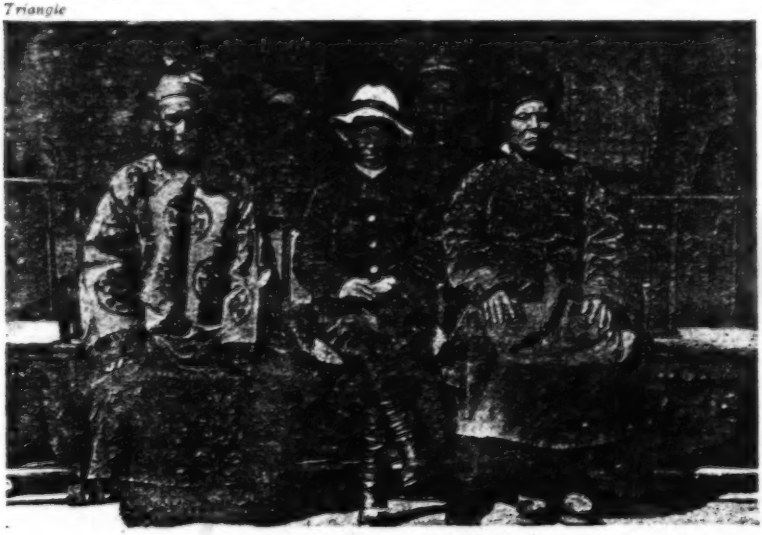
Kwang-Guillumette

Mr. Willkie is welcomed by General Sheng Shih-tsai, Commissioner of Military Affairs in Sinkiang Province.

The chief of the Tekes Kirghiz with the Lama on his left and the ranking priest on his right.

Triangle

792



[p. 32(E)]

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demonstrated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang. 563

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 342
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [195] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 98 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

N 563 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[554] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
[422] and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spir-
itualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

S N 795 62] 793

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

S N [554]

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

S N 795 185 [175]

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

S N 795 792 185

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
● [192] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighur Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563* 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563* 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563* 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563* 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common
565 saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."
793 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

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101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [187] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
[428] equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
563 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
796 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
785 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
779 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The New Uighurs/

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[854] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and 765 poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the [782] deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tra- 562 dition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of 576 etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[777] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 794 203 [784] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

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*175 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual
*668 aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'un-chung
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175 jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership
668 in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

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175 Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points:
668 (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people s political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

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*175 Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions.
792 In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams,
*668 monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas.
S
175 Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation
668 meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to sup-
• 793 port the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A
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175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[793] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[349] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[795] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter-revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

•793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese
291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei
482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we
352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese,
576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he [342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the [352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand [353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to [476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 971 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec- [692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, [796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 798 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

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795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
799 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[777] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [203] [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
474 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
795

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
• 794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
563 dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung*, or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

Mongol
Kirghiz

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 647 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized S N [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in S N developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in 795 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been 797 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only 668 true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern 795 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- S N ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation S N (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 181 IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN 181 cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced 771 [769] it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
563 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
565 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
441 centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 764

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 199 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

N D. The Sects of Islam
795 The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous sub-
N sects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.
795 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the
798 political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.
N
779 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of
795 political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is.
798 The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and
N theological questions are not to be contested.
795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang
563 The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by re-
795 ligion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.
S
779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec- [692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, [796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

• 795 776 778 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [784] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 785 796 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

203 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

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Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [664] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 778 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

N 771 182 N [769] "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

S 771 • 795 [575] Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177 A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given N [798] tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
* 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a concil-
177 iatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
• 795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.

S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
[635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

N 795 *668 177 S 795 668 177 ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

N 795 648 *668 177 3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

N [793] Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 668 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders 795 668 have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great 177 family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

795 A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, fol- 798 lowing the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist 668 the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Mos- 177 lems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese [692] Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

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795 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important
798 function administered by the qadi.
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177 Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death
S and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to
[648] have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the
[669] anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January, 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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795 B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also
792 tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of
*668 the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous
177 Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution
795 differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Gen-
792 erally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the in-
*563 fluence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mon-
*668 gols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their
177 princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

000 communities.

795 668 177 The Russian Orthodox Church in Sinkiang had quite a different fate.[1] By 1938 the Vicariate of Urumchi comprised eight parishes and counted fifteen thousand faithful. It was headed by Mgr. Juvenal Kilm, who in the meantime has been promoted to the Archbishopric of Omsk. Archpriest Dimitry Mlodzyanovky is now active in Urumchi, and it is reported that the number of believers is increasing.

1. [In contrast to the Roman Catholic church in Northwest China, see pp. 359-361--Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

I. The Turks of Sinkiang

186 795 A. The Concept of the Unity of the Moslem World

The Moslems of Sinkiang (Turkic: Türk-e-stan 'Land of the Turks') identify themselves strongly with the rest of the Moslem World. In spite of the many divergencies in national cultures of the various elements which constitute the Moslem world, there is a supernational religious civilization which unifies them all. The feeling and firm conviction of unity of all believers finds expression in the Koran as well as in the traditions and the extensive Islamic literature, and in propaganda slogans which became current since the turning of the century, such as: ittihad ve terakki 'u [208] 'unity and progress', or Muslimlerin hakki birles "Moslim people unite'. The rest of the world is looked at as being apart from the Moslem World - being the domain of war, whereas the area under Moslem jurisdiction is considered the domain of peace.

186 208 795 This feeling may have its roots in the history of the propagation of Islam where political institutions and allegiance went hand in hand with religious institutions and allegiance. The acceptance of the religion of Islam, Din-al-Islam, meant also the acceptance of the Moslem political state. The allegiance with a definite political tinge of many Moslems who do not live today under Moslem control remains with the leaders of the Moslem World. They may feel an even stronger attachment to the Moslem leaders than they do to their own non-Moslem political rulers, as has been the case in Sinkiang under Chinese domination. The allegiance and recognition of the Turks of Sinkiang went to the Ottoman Turkish Empire and later to the leaders of Western Turkestan rather than to their Chinese rulers. It is reasonable to assume that the Moslems of Sinkiang today identify themselves much more strongly with the world of Islam than they do with the Communist block. They think of themselves in terms of being Moslems and not in terms of being Communists. No matter how much indoctrination has gone into uprooting this allegiance to the Islamic world, it will take a whole new thoroughly indoctrinated generation to forget the strong sentiments and attachments to the rest of the Moslem world.

668 B. Turkic Nationalism

Besides having supernational allegiance and sentiments of attachment to the Moslem world, there is also a strong nationalistic movement among the Turks of Sinkiang (called milli tahrik). They consider themselves as being a part of Turkestan as a whole and not as belonging to China. They view themselves as Turks, and not as Chinese nationals. They do not regard their position as a national minority in China as the answer to their national

N 157 485 434 654 because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 998 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[793] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[346] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[795] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter--revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
414 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[575] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.
[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was
intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
668 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
669 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of
578 popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The fact is that not only ancestor-worship but paganism is still strong in this land flowing with milk and honey, despite a thousand years of Islam, just as it survives all the thunderings of the priests in the backwoods of Persia. At Kerman the "Nauruz" or Zoroastrian New Year is still the most popular annual festival, and you may see the revellers picnicking in their thousands on a March afternoon under the "Ya 'Ali" cliff-shrine or on the sun-warmed rocks of the Kala-i-Ardashir. But the Sunni of the Tarim Basin is even more easy-going and joy-loving than the Shi'a of East Persia. He displays little fanaticism and none of the passionate self-immolation which marks a Persian Muharram, when the naked backs of the flagellants resound and frenzied swordsmen redden the streets with blood from their own scalps. He, too, celebrates the Zoroastrian *Nauraz*, at any rate at Yarkand, where the Jahan Bagh Fair in March is undoubtedly a survival of New Year celebrations. We were unfortunate to miss this fair both years we were in Chinese Turkistan, but I heard a certain amount about it. It is held on the big common to the north-east of the Old City, and goes on for three or four weeks. There are no religious observances and the people give themselves up to feasting and jollity; as might be expected, there is a good deal of immorality. For this reason the priests strongly disapprove of it, and do all they can to induce the Chinese authorities to forbid the holding of the fair. Against them are arrayed all the bakers, sweetmeat-sellers, acrobats, pimps, story-tellers and others who stand to reap a rich harvest; these organize monster petitions to the Amban in favour of the fair being held, and even, it is said, subscribe many hundred taels among themselves for the oiling of the necessary palms at the Yamen. The *pashraps* or police support the Jahan Bagh festival, for they, too, make heavy profits out of it, chiefly by blackmailing unmarried women. Many of the religious festivals, for that matter, are more pagan than Mussulman, especially those which are seasonal and therefore unconnected with the Muhammadan (lunar) calendar; they are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and probably date back thousands of years. At the end of August, for example, greedy pilgrims from all over the province congregate at the fane of "Hazrat Sultanim," Sadiq Boghra Khan, to feast on the luscious figs of Astin Artush. The same applies to summer Saturdays at the beautiful shrine of Hidayatulla Khoja, known

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796 as "Hazrat Apak," most famous of the priest-kings, or "Khojas" from Samarqand, who misruled Kashgar from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. Hazrat Apak is really a kind of country club for Kashgar; the *tawwuf* or "circling" of the shrines is supposed to be performed by every visitor, but the famous apricots and melons of Besh Karim are the attraction rather than the exhortations of the mullas. Even the Ashura (10th Muharram) festival at Ordam Padshah, in the desert east of Yangi Hissar, where is the shrine of Ali Arslan, is little more than a fair like Jahan Bagh with the immorality kept in bounds under the watchful eyes of the Church.[1]

771 It must be confessed, then, that the secular struggle waged by Islam against superstition, paganism and the cult of joy in the land of the Six Cities is an up-hill one. Perhaps the mullas are less zealous than the *mujtahidin* of Kerbela, less eloquent than the *mutakallimin* of Shiraz; for a nation has the priests it deserves. However this may be, their best friends could not call the Kashgaris good Mussulmans. Few perform more than one or two of the five daily prayers, and the Ramazan fast is often broken in private. Observance of the Qur'anic precepts is apt to vary directly with the number of persons present, a fact noted with dry humour by the Chinese in their saying "One Moslem, no Moslem; two Moslems, half a Moslem; three Moslems, one Moslem."

796 Of all their religious duties, the Ramazan fast bears most hardly upon the gluttonous Turki, and all the powers of Hell are invoked by their pastors to frighten them out of eating and drinking during the daylight hours. The following epigram was repeated to me *à propos* of the Dulanis of the Yarkand River valley, but its application is much wider:

Roza tut'um jān uchun;	I fast in Ramazan to save my soul;
Kecha qopdum gāl uchun;	I wake at night to keep my belly full;
Tu ma'e desām qurqaman,	I fear to say "I am not going to fast,"
Corda tukhmāq bār uchun.	For there's a rod that waits in Hell for me.

[1] Ali Arslan, the "Lion of Kashgar," was an Uigur prince, nephew of Sadiq Boghra Khan, who went down fighting the armies of Khotan. Why, in a Sunni country and in commemoration of a Sunni saint, the exclusively Shi'a festival of the Ashura should be celebrated, nobody was able to tell me.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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A PROFESSIONAL BEGGAR, OLD AQSU

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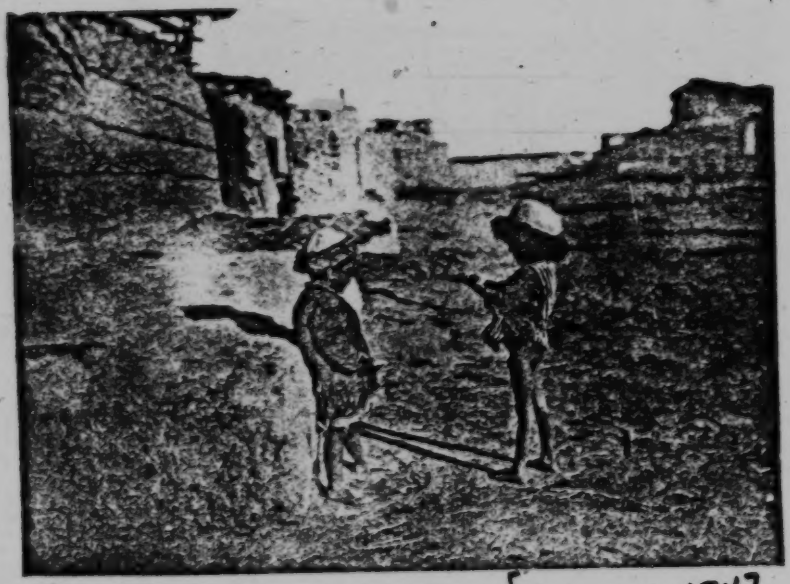

DULANI CHILDREN, MARALBASHI DISTRICT
A GAME OF CAT'S CRADLE

[Face p. 184]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796 During Ramazan it is incumbent on the good Mussulman to give to the poor the food he denies himself, and children go round singing quaint begging songs, which must be very old. Miss Sykes gives a translation of one she heard ;[1] here is another :

[539]

SONG OF THE CHILD-BEGGARS AT RAMAZAN

Ramazan allah bu shahrim Ramazan !	God's Ramazan be to this town, God's Ramazan !
Ramazan aitip keldoh Dandukläردin.	From Dandukläر I have come crying Ramazan.
Bizgha birnima qoilär miki qoimaqlärdin [2]	Surely a bit of sacrificial bread has been put out for me ?
Aq tukhe, appaqtukhe qamghaqda dur.	There's a white fowl, a nice white fowl on your perch.
Bizgha qoighan kakcha [3] *nän sanduqda dur.*	There's a round of bread stored in your cupboard for me.
Oining ärkasi taining izi, taining izi ;	Behind your house there are the hoof-marks of a foal, of a foal ;
Bizgha mu nan biredur, Baining qizi ? [4]	Won't you give me a little bread, O daughter of a rich man ?
Ramazan-ning untörtida buz ala qoi	Let *me* have the brown piebald sheep on 14th Ramazan ;
Kalc pächakini Mullagha qo'e ! [5]	Its head and feet you may keep for the Mulla.

It is not only at the nocturnal "Mi-Carême" of 14th Ramazan that a sheep is sacrificed. I well remember how under the old régime the streets of Constantinople used to swarm at "Qurban Bairam" with *hamäls* staggering under great fat sheep destined for the sacrifice ; and this festival is similarly celebrated at Turki Kashgar, though the slaughter is much less than in rich Stamboul. Sheep are only sacrificed at the houses of the well-to-do ; those who cannot afford one of their own go round in batches to the houses of their wealthier friends for the "salaam" ceremony. Standing

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases," p. 174.

[2] *Qoimaq* is a kind of bread baked in oil, only used for sacrificial offerings.

[3] *Kakcha* is a sort of large round biscuit-bread always put before guests. It is seldom eaten and the same *kakchas* turn up at party after party. Some glutinous substance is mixed with the flour of the *Kakcha* to make it durable.

[4] The possession of a yearling or two-year-old horse (*tai*) is a sign of wealth in Turkistan.

[5] i.e. "Don't try to palm off the customary mosque offerings on *me*—I want something better."

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796 before the owner of the house they bow with a sweeping movement of the arms and a stroking of the beard intoning a sonorous "*Amīn*" the while, after which each person is entitled to a sup of sacrificial mutton. On the first of the two days of Qurban only men perform the salaam; the second is the women's day, when separate tables are spread in the *andarūn* for the fair visitors. The skin of each sheep sacrificed goes to the Imam, the head and feet to the Mu'azzin, the neck and offal to the butcher and a portion of the meat to the beggars.

755 Turning to superstitions, the field for research is so wide that it was scarcely possible for me to do more than reconnoitre it in the time at my disposal. Witchcraft in particular flourishes exceedingly. I had it on good authority that at Yarkand in 1924 there were between 25 and 30 witch-doctors, who made large profits, chiefly out of the women. These gentry are called *bakhshis* at Yarkand, *du'a-khwans* or *jadugars* at Kashgar. At a meeting of the "real" doctors of Yarkand in 1923—the local General Medical Council, as it were—it was estimated that the *bakhshis* made between them 175,000 local taels or about £2,300 in the year, as against a beggarly £400 made by the poor doctors. The latter have only themselves to thank for this state of affairs, for they are hopelessly inefficient and their methods date back to the days of Hippocrates and Galen.[1] Skilful advertisement, however, contributes to the magicians' popularity; in every tea-house, every meeting-place of the people there are agents paid by them to tell stories of wonderful cures effected by such and such a *bakhshi*. The fees paid to the witch-doctors vary from one *tenga* (2*d*.) to 20 taels (£2 13*s*. 4*d*.) or more. In return for these they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient. I heard them doing it once, and I shall never forget it. One night, as I was sleeping in my verandah as usual, I was awakened at 3 a.m. by loud music and drum-beating from a neighbouring house. The playing was loud and rhythmic and the melody haunting; but there was something sinister about the music, as if it had no soul. One phrase would be repeated again and again, then another would be substituted for it. I was puzzled by the performance; it sounded like some strange Bacchanal,

[1] For a description of the methods of Kashgar doctors, see Grenard, "La Haute Asie," Vol. II, pp. 110–12; Sykes, "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 317–20.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

177 boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis
647 holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

Zawa, 1st April.

487 We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burān*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

Khotan, 7th April.

•796 The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

Lop, 8th April.

000 W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world. S N [798]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
[793] and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
779 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
782 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
785 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
779 food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a
[203] feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then
[788]

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds S N 563 764 raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 771 775 [782] [825]

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection 796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open 184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed, 517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring 533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos- 535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum 517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the de-
777 velopment of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken
[671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec-
[692] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their
794 observance of religious practices. There is only a small number
563 of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime,
[796] at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem
796 saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back
798

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

771 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[777] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [203] [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

S N 795 785 796 203

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the chung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 769 170

N 795 788 778

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang. 563* 174

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia. 563* 241 441

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197]

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible. 563* 771 797

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script. 563* 779 538 186 212

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

648 [797]

and one or two others. The Swedish Church Mission has branches at both the old and the new towns, as well as at Yarkand and Yangi Hissar. They were short-handed during our time owing to the Russian road being closed and transit viâ India both difficult and expensive, and there were only three ladies and two men at the Old City Mission. We had some very good friends among the Swedes; most of them spoke English, and we came to regard them almost as our fellow-countrymen.

Before the Revolution of 1917 the Russians were very strongly represented at Kashgar. The Consul-General was usually a diplomat of high rank with an escort of a hundred Cossacks and a very considerable retinue. Owing to this and to the relative proximity of the Transcaspian centres of Russian culture, the Tsarist Consulate-General was the preponderating element in Kashgar society. By 1920, however, it had died a natural death and the Russian colony had dwindled to twenty-three, of whom seven were children. The former Trade Agreement between Russia and the Sinkiang Government having been abrogated in 1922 and no new agreement having yet been concluded with Moscow, the Soviet Government was entirely unrepresented in southern Sinkiang during our time, though this was by no means the case north of the Tien Shan.[1] Moreover, the whole Russo-Chinese frontier from the Pamirs to Aqsu was closed by the Chinese, who allowed no Russians of the new régime to enter Kashgaria, so that the surviving colony consisted almost entirely of pre-Revolution residents who either could not or would not return to their own country. Like the Chinese, hardly any of them spoke any language but their own, a fact which added considerably to the complications of official entertaining. Indeed, had it not been for two of the Russians, who spoke English and Turki respectively and acted as interpreters, intercourse would have been impossible, for neither D. nor I could speak a word of Russian.

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In spite of the language difficulty, the official and foreign community met frequently and on the most friendly terms. We all "did our bit" in the matter of entertaining, including the chief Chinese officials, who were most hospitable, and keenly appreciated European hospitality in return, although it must have seemed strange and barbarous to them. Some

[1] A Trade Agreement has since been concluded between the Soviet Union and the Governor of Sinkiang; and a Russian Consul (without escort) has been in residence at Kashgar since July 1925.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

know what to do or say!" On Easter Sunday she attended the children's service at the Mission Orphanage three miles out along the Kashgar road. I rode out to fetch her in the afternoon and we were both shown over the establishment. We were immensely struck by the Orphanage, the acquaintance of whose small inmates we had already made at the Bar Gah the previous November. The children numbered thirty-five and ranged in age from ten months to fourteen or fifteen years, and all were happy as sand-boys, apple-cheeked little people, many of them, who might have been, so far as appearances were concerned, English or Scottish children of the same class. The institution, which is situated on an estate appropriately named "Bihisht Bagh" or "Garden of Paradise," included in addition to the usual playgrounds a fair-sized plot of land which the orphans helped to cultivate. Less than half the children were orphans in the ordinary sense, without either father or mother living; the rest were victims of the unfortunate temporary marriage system prevalent throughout Kashgaria—honorary orphans, as it were. Trouble was occasionally experienced from relations who, having kept in the background in the earlier stages, claimed children when the Orphanage had turned them into well-fed, well-behaved potential wage-earners. On the whole, however, the Orphanage was the most respected of all the works of the Swedish Mission, both among the Chinese and among the Turkis, whose religion taught them to regard kindness to an orphan as a *sawab* or merit-acquiring action of the highest order.

While at Yarkand I seized the opportunity of having my teeth seen to by Dr. Nyström of the Mission, who is an experienced dentist. His services are very much in request throughout Kashgaria, for he has an absolute monopoly of Western dental skill. High Chinese officials at Kashgar were always asking me when he would next come to the capital. He did visit Kashgar in January 1923 on Mission duty, when in response to the universal request he took his dental chair and appliances with him and spent a busy fortnight fitting toothless mandarins with dentures. From what Dr. Nyström told me and I heard from other sources I can confidently assert that any enterprising dentist who found his way to Sinkiang with a few instruments and a couple of camel-loads of false teeth would make a small fortune; moreover, he would have experiences with his clients seldom vouchsafed to practitioners in more sophisticated lands. Dr. Nyström once told me of a

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

SN 563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

SN 563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an [197] [177] impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art
(177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
779 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
779 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[797] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
779 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
779 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably comple-
[213] mented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[797] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relation-
[439] ships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S N 563 167 S N 563 651 S N 563 669 182

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S 563 635 182 S N 563 798 182

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a S N [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, following the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Moslems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

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795 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important
• 798 function administered by the qadi.
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Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death
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[648] and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to
[669] have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January, 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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795 B. Lamaism
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*668 As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous
177 Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N
795 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Gen-
792 erally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the in-
*563 fluence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mon-
*668 gols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their
177 princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.

[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was
668 intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
669 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
578 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined. Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River, S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot- [433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik: ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province. (See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content S [316] in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih, Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in Sinkiang.

N 135 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders. 563

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other 175 797 779

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 179 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 745

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—
175 815 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

/Turks of Sinkiang/

815 668 177 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect, they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 668 177 [439] Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 668 177 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on ownership of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 668 177 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-hayt, Kurban-hayt and

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

at all, as a mountainous frontier province of "England," inhabited entirely by turban-heads (Chan-t'ou) over whom ruled a white race only slightly less barbarous than themselves. I remember once being told by an inspecting officer from Urumchi who called on me about the road across the Gobi Desert to China Proper: "It is not so dangerous as it used to be," he said, perfectly seriously. "The route the caravans used to go by between Hami and Tunhwang became infested by stone dragons, which breathed fire and storm and devoured many travellers. They got so bad, that the government sent out a detachment of troops against them. But the stone dragons devoured the troops too. So the route had to be declared closed and now travellers go by a longer one where there are no stone dragons." Another Magistrate with whom I was talking about the elusive "cloudy tiger" of the Tarim River jungles was very contemptuous about this animal, which he admitted he had never seen. "It is like the Turban-head, mild and cowardly," he said. "The real Chinese tiger is a very different animal. It is twice as big as the Maralbashi tiger, and it bears on its forehead the royal symbol, Wang. Wherever it goes, a strong wind follows it. Thus is it recognized."[1]

Every now and again some sight or incident would bring forcibly home to me the Arcadian isolation in which the people of the country lived. One day while walking near the Aqsu Gate I came upon a small crowd lining the bank above one of the few short pieces of level road near the city. Wondering what they were looking at, I joined them and saw—a young man vigorously pedalling a bicycle up and down. The crowd gazed in awed silence. I got into conversation with a man who told me that this "velocipede" was the only one in Kashgar and that its owner occasionally gave exhibitions. He did not think that anyone else in Kashgar knew how to ride a velocipede.

[1] So tall were some of the yarns with which I was solemnly regaled by dear old mandarins, that had it not been for the fact that they obviously believed every word they said I would have taken it for granted that they were trying to pull my leg. One, who evidently thought I had never seen a yak, told me some remarkable facts about that animal. He said that a yak will dig his horn into the mountain-side and thus swing his body across a steep face, using his horn as a pivot. More wonderful still, when a loaded yak comes to a corner in a narrow cliff-path where a rock juts out and prevents his getting his load round in the ordinary way, he turns inward, facing the cliff, and *sidles* round the corner with his hind legs over the edge!

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

It is a great place

172 for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

134 We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi"—the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate 342 is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious 181 and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The 825 inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

000 This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e., Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

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The snakes found in the Kashgar oasis are not poisonous, but the people have a certain superstitious dread of them for which it is difficult to account. It is said that if you kill a snake, its mate will follow you about everywhere—haunt you, in fact, like an Indian "sending." As in most Oriental countries, rumours of human sacrifice obtain currency whenever any great building work is commenced. When Major Dockray erected the masts of his wireless station, five miles north of Kashgar, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages spread it abroad that he had kidnapped forty Turki children and had buried them underneath the masts. He supposed that it was the "Hidden Hand" trying to wreck the scheme, but it was not; it was a very ancient and deeply-rooted superstition. At Kashgar it is believed that the great mud wall of the city contains the bodies of the slaves who died under the overseers' whips while engaged in building it; as they fell, it is said, their bodies were built into the wall. This is obviously a variant of the human sacrifice legend, and probably represents a race-memory of horrors that used to take place in forgotten ages.[1]

[825] •

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Since the earliest times the Takla Makan Desert has been the subject of much superstition and legendary lore. The people who live on its verge all believe that great and wealthy cities lie buried beneath its sands, and that it is haunted by demons and the ghosts of the cities' former inhabitants. These are much feared by the "Taklamakanchis" or treasure-seekers who year after year risk and sometimes lose their lives in desert expeditions in search of buried treasure. A remarkable example of the antiquity of the Takla Makan legends is given by Sir A. Stein in *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*.[2] While on his way to the Uzun-Tati site north of Domoko on the Khotan-Keriya road, he heard from some villagers a legend of the Sodom and Gomorrah type about the city which had once existed at Uzun Tati. Its inhabitants, they said, mocked at a holy man who had rebuked them for their sins, whereupon as a punishment God had rained sand upon the

[1] When the Grandpass Victoria Bridge was commenced at Colombo, it was firmly believed that two children had been sacrificed to the god of the Kelani River. As recently as the summer of 1924 serious riots, in which six Sikh taxi-drivers were killed, took place at Calcutta as the result of a rumour that certain Sikh workmen engaged in the construction of a dock were kidnapping and sacrificing Muhammadan children.

[2] Pp. 430, 438–9.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

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5. Religious celebrations and festivals

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/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
*563 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
751 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
753 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
772 turbed, disease follows.
S
563
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
S lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
N In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
[184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
164
364

SN
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN
563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN
563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[829] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN
563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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the frequently loose and unscientific use of terms by foreign travelers and, much more important, by political motives on the part of Chinese administrators and Turkic nationalist leaders. 144 114

It is paradoxical that the sorting out of the peoples of Sinkiang is made more difficult by the fact that there is a rich Russian and Western literature about Sinkiang. For nearly a century there has been incessant publication of books about Inner Asia by explorers, archaeologists, geographers and casual travelers. Unfortunately, in the greater part of the foreign literature the descriptions of racial type, national grouping and political affiliation are excessively loose. For example, an American writer refers to the "distinctly Aryan" features of a regional group, to a "Kirghiz race," and to evidence of "Turkish and Mongol blood" in Kashgar.[5] "Aryan" can only be used properly in the description of languages, not of races, and even as a linguistic term it has now largely been abandoned, while peoples who speak the Turkish, Kirghiz, or Mongol languages may be of the most various and mixed origin.

Loose terminology in the foreign literature leads merely to misunderstanding or irritation, but it is politically dangerous when it is used to clothe the theories of administrators who are in a position to act. Contemporary Chinese political theories applied to concepts of race and nationality are of critical importance where Chinese administrative policy is confronted at every turn by growing nationalist movements which compete both with each other and with the projects of Chinese politicians. It is therefore essential to sort out the terms used both by Chinese administrators and by nationalist leaders, before attempting an accurate and rational classification of the many peoples who make up the population of Sinkiang.

In China, attempts to classify the peoples of Sinkiang in ways which reinforce political theories have led to four main trends. 829

The first trend is called *Ta Han Chu-i*, the "Greater Chinese Theory," by the Chinese who do not support it, and by Mongol, Uighur, and other nationalists who fear it. According to this defi- 563* 186

[5] William James Morden, *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts*, New York, London, 1927.

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nition, all non-Chinese groups within the political frontiers of China are mere subvarieties of an ancient "greater Chinese" race, and should be absorbed into a standardized Chinese race. This trend was pushed by right-wing groups, during the period of Kuomintang ascendancy, who aimed at building up an uncompromising, militant, and expansionist ideology.

The second trend rejects the idea of forced assimilation and stresses instead a program of cultural diversity. It may therefore be labeled as "cultural autonomy." Its main exponents were Sheng Shih-ts'ai, former Governor of Sinkiang, and Chang Chih-chung, the chief Kuomintang emissary to the province after Sheng's withdrawal.

The third trend, which may be called "Pan-Turkish nationalism," emphasizes the fact that the majority of the population in Sinkiang speaks Turkic languages and belongs to the Moslem faith. It is most actively promoted by an Uighur group which has some Kazakh allies.

The fourth trend incorporates the idea of territorial as well as cultural autonomy and hence may be described simply as "federalism." It derives its ideas from Soviet nationality policy and is actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists, but has a considerable appeal to non-Communist, non-Chinese national minorities which would like to maintain their national identities but to live in harmony with the Chinese in a common state. It also has an appeal to moderate and liberal groups in and out of the Kuomintang, and would have been more widespread if it had not been for fear of the consequences of consenting to any part of the Communist program.

The foremost exponent of the "Greater Chinese Theory" has been Chiang Kai-shek. In his *China's Destiny*, as officially translated, all the people in China are mentioned as belonging to a single "Chunghua (Chinese) nation."[6] This "nation" is said to be made up of a number of groups which are described in the authorized translation as "stocks." In Chiang's opinion the differ-

[6] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, New York, 1947, p. 3. Parentheses in original text of translation.

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ences among these "stocks" are limited to habits, customs, religious beliefs, and geographical environment, and do not include race or blood. "In short," he says, "the various stocks in China constitute not only one nation but also one race." [7]

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The generalized statements about race and nation made in *China's Destiny* have been applied to the nationality problems of Sinkiang by a writer belonging to the Kuomintang C.C. Clique, a tightly organized political machine whose political creed was to give extreme authoritarian interpretations of every opinion or theory uttered by Chiang Kai-shek. Following his terminology, the C.C. theorist divides the peoples of Sinkiang into fourteen "stocks." He then concludes that since they are not separate nationalities but merely "stocks" of a single "nation," therefore they are not entitled to separate political recognition, a thesis which other writers have extended into the cultural field as well. He proposes that "self-government" in Sinkiang should be based on small geographical units, the counties, regardless of differences between the peoples inhabiting these administrative units. In order to make impossible any other interpretation of the term for "self-government," he rejects, in so many words, the identification of "self-government" with "freedom" or "independence." [8]

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In contrast to the rigidly assimilative approach of the C.C. extremists is the policy adopted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai when he was military dictator of Sinkiang. After the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 Sheng took into his administration a National Salvationist who appears to have been instrumental in elaborating for him a policy intended to effect a compromise between the Chinese monopoly of the provincial administration and the stirrings of nationalism among the non-Chinese peoples.

The National Salvationists in China at that time represented a point of view rather than a political organization. In face of the emergency created by the Japanese danger they believed in effecting the widest possible political coalitions and in taking the

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13. The Chinese term for "nation" or "nationality" is *min-tsu*, and for "stock," *tsung-tsu*, also often translated as "clan."

[8] *Cf.* articles by Li Tung-fang in *Altai*, I, No. 2, Chungking, April 25, 1945, pp. 8–9 and pp. 15–18.

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829 *563 665 stress off all political cleavages, from the great cleavage between the Kuomintang and the Communists down to all minor factional quarrels. The National Salvationist point of view was thus well suited to the attempt to create a harmonious wartime morale in Sinkiang.

829 114 *563 In line with the National Salvationist influence in his entourage, General Sheng proclaimed a program of "Six Great Policies."[9] Under one of the policies the peoples of Sinkiang were officially classified as belonging to fourteen "nationalities." These, listed in the order of the documents of the period, are as follows:

Chinese	202,239	Taranchi	41,307
Manchu	670	Tatar	4,601
Mongul	63,018	Kirghiz	65,248
Moslem (Dungan)	92,146	Uzbek	7,966
Uighur	2,900,173	Sibo	9,203
Kazakh	318,716	Solon	2,489
Tajik	8,867	Russian	13,408

The criteria for this classification are not clear. The admiring translator of the admiring adviser of Sheng Shih-ts'ai comments that the confusion in criteria is such as "would tend to eliminate this as any 'scientifically' worked out ethnic list."[10] Nor can it be based on geographic criteria, for the groups are not delimited on a territorial basis. It is not based on economic criteria, for some of the groups consist of pastoral herdsmen and others of sedentary cultivators. It is not based on religious criteria, for only the Chinese-speaking Moslems are listed as "Moslems," while followers of other religions are not mentioned as such, and other Moslems, such as the Uighurs, are not identified by religion. It is not based on administrative criteria, for Sinkiang is divided into ten administrative areas which cut across the fourteen groups. It is not based, finally, on any observable combination of these criteria.

[9] See Chapter III.

[10] Martin R. Norins, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang*, New York, John Day, 1944, p. 91.

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

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The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province."[11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

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> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

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territory and sovereignty of the nation suffer no impairment thereby. The Central Government will not tolerate anything possibly detrimental to the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the State — even at the cost of a war.[12]

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In opposition to the foregoing Chinese policies stands the "Pan-Turkic nationalism" of a group of native leaders who deal with the population of Sinkiang within the framework of a policy designed to strengthen their control over all the people living within the boundaries of the province. Foremost among these leaders is the recent Kuomintang governor of the province, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landowner and merchant from the Kulja area. Likewise prominent is Mohammed Emin, an Uighur who studied for several years in Turkey and is counted as one of the intellectual leaders of Sinkiang.[13]

In the view of Masud and Emin, China does not consist of a single "nation" or "nationality" and Sinkiang does not contain fourteen groups of people, whether designated as nationalities or by any other term. They use nationality, however, as the basis for their own classification of the peoples of the province, and define the term with great precision by listing the criteria which in their opinion determine nationality. These criteria are: (1) uniform language; (2) common territory; (3) similar habits and customs; (4) common will; (5) common religion; (6) common race; (7) common clothing, adornments, and other elements like blood relationship. On the basis of these criteria they conclude that the seven groups designated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Tatars, and Tajiks are all of one nationality. In their opinion these groups together comprise the "Turkic nation," despite the fact that the Tajiks do not speak a Turkic language, but an Iranian one.

As Turkic nationalists, Masud and Emin oppose the use of terms like Uighur and Kazakh to represent different nationalities. Actually, they say, the old subgroupings should be redesignated

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[13] For the views of these men see *Altai*, Vol. I, No. 2, Chungking, April 1945.

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as "tribes," for all their members are descended, like the ancient Hsiungnu and Yüeh-chih, from a single Turkic nation.

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The Turkic nation as defined by Masud and Emin would include about nine tenths of the population of Sinkiang. They divide the remaining one tenth into three nationalities: the Chinese, the Manchus, and the Mongols. In the category of "Chinese" they include the two groups designated by Sheng as "Chinese" and "Moslems": Moslem in this context being a synonym for the Dungans, who are Moslem by religion and Chinese in language. In the category of "Manchus" they include the three groups designated by Sheng as "Manchu," "Sibo," and "Solon." They also suggest that the last group in Sheng's list, the Russians, may perhaps form a fifth nationality in Sinkiang, though they are somewhat dubious of this since, they say, the Russians in Sinkiang are citizens of the Soviet Union and not of the Republic of China.

The significance of the thesis of a single Turkic nation is revealed by the anticipated relationship of the "Turkis" toward the Chinese state on the one hand and toward the other nationalities in Sinkiang on the other. This relationship in turn is revealed by the terminology employed by the Turkic nationalists in their demands for elevation to nationhood. In the course of a discussion with Li Tung-fang, Mohammed Emin denies that the "Turkis" might want to become "independent." Indeed, he does not even demand the right to "self-determination" which, as he himself mentions, was conceded to the minorities in China in Sun Yat-sen's Manifesto to the First Kuomintang Congress in 1924. He and other Turkic nationalists ask for no more than the right to "self-government."

While demanding self-government for themselves, the exponents of Turkic nationalism do not seem to concede this right to the other nationalities in Sinkiang. The Turkis, they say, live in every part of Sinkiang. The name of the province should be changed to one which would reflect their dominant position. Disregarding the interests of other groups, they demand that all Sinkiang be officially designated as "Turkistan."

Thus Turkic nationalism displays a dual aspect. It is willing to

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accept a position of subservience to the Chinese majority in the Republic of China, but it seeks to attain a position of dominance over the whole population of Sinkiang. In this latter objective, Turkic nationalists are in competition with authoritarian Chinese; but the degree of political opposition between Chinese assimilationists like Li Tung-fang and Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri and Mohammed Emin should not be exaggerated. That there exists an area of agreement between the two groups is evidenced by the fact that Masud Sabri was himself a member of the C.C. Clique and was sponsored for the governorship of Sinkiang by that extreme right-wing faction in the Kuomintang.

There exists also, opposing the theories of these Chinese and Turkic schools, the federal idea of devising territorial and cultural arrangements so as to minimize antagonisms springing from racial, ethnic, or cultural differences. Although many people in China and among national minorities would like to live without such antagonisms, only the Chinese Communists have attempted to work out a theory and program of federalism, and even their discussion of the subject is marked by important gaps.

In their discussions of theory, the Chinese Communists have borrowed heavily from Soviet ideas. They start with Stalin's definition that: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a community of culture." Following out this definition they conclude that the Republic of China is made up of a number of different nationalities. The Chinese are the preponderant nationality; other nationalities are referred to as "national minorities." Among those specifically listed in the Communist literature are the Mongols, Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Yao, and Hui (Moslems). The use of the term "Hui" here covers all Moslems, without making a distinction between Chinese-speaking and Turkish-speaking Moslems.

Although the Communists are quite specific in defining nationality, they have done little in the way of applying their ideas to specific groups of people. There does not seem to exist any

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complete Communist demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang. Nor does there seem to be, in the Chinese Communist literature, any discussion of the administrative units under which a federative nationality policy could operate. However, a general policy for the multinational Republic of China was proposed by the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1930 in the following resolution:[14]

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> ". . . In such regions as Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang, Yunnan and Kweichow, in which a majority of the population belongs to another, non-Chinese nationality, the toiling masses of these nationalities have the right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic.[15]

The Chinese Communists have since abandoned their Soviet regime in favor of what they call "the New Democracy," but their policy toward national minorities does not appear to have undergone basic modification. Speaking before the 1945 Congress of the Communist Party, Mao Tze-tung said that the Chinese "demand better treatment for the national minorities of China, according them the right of self-determination and of forming a union with the Hans [Chinese] on a voluntary basis." Mao's failure to repeat the earlier offer of the right of secession may indicate that he has foremost in mind a union of national states under the formula of a "Union of Democratic Republics."[16]

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[14] *The Soviets in China*, Moscow, 1933, p. 440 (in Russian).

[15] In this resolution the Chinese Communists declared for the principle of the right of secession. In his speech of August 24, 1945, recognizing the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic, Chiang Kai-shek also recognized the right of secession, not only for the Mongols but also for other non-Chinese minorities — a striking modification of his views expressed in *China's Destiny* and elsewhere. Thus on the right of secession President Chiang and the Chinese Communists were within reach of at least verbal agreement. Other Chinese assimilationists, and the "Pan-Turkic" nationalists, have not conceded the right of secession.

[16] Mao Tze-tung, *The Fight For a New China*, New York, 1945, pp. 35 and 44.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563 556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic 611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth 428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of [425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related 563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration [592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. [622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter 563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the 614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, 422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led 563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form 614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three 619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the 563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and 621 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function 614 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a 596 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

563 A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people [829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam- 614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a 563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

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THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 779 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S 121 592 ### A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 595 563 S [562] [152] S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

815 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted
668 with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect,
177 they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future
668 as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a
177 word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the
[439] products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on owner-
668 ship of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural
177 that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national
668 minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political
177 consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

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The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

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/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
• 829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, (178) internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this (614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and (701) the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect [554] and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- [634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of [242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, [634] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present [242] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to S N [361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Móslems and Sedentary Tibetans 829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among *563 S 829 563

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 179 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 179 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 [651] N 565 181 562 829 N 565 829 181 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighur Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

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Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

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The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

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Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

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[21] Katanov-Menges.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

India. Infants are fed by their mothers for a couple of months, after which all kinds of food, however indigestible, are administered, in order to "strengthen the stomach" and make the child "as tough as a mill-stone" (*tigarman-mizāj*). In this the Turkis merely copy their masters, for, according to D., a Chinese mother will stuff her baby at a party with anything she eats herself, and I myself have seen an official administer neat brandy to his three-months-old infant. Among the middle and lower classes daughters are more desired than sons, because there is always the chance of a girl bringing a wealthy husband into the family, whereas a boy does nothing for his parents after the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he marries and sets up house for himself. Seven days after birth the christening ceremony is held; the Imam and Mu'azzin of the mosque are invited, together with the *Uttuz-oghle* (lit. "thirty sons"), an assembly of neighbours which corresponds roughly to the Indian *panchayat*; the priests give the child its name and recite certain verses of the Qur'an in return for small fees. Schooling at the *maktab* or mosque-school begins at four or five and continues until about seven if the parents are poor, nine if they belong to the middle class, and twelve or thirteen if they are rich. Besides the *maktabs* there are *madrasas* or colleges, which are very sparsely attended, only about 5 per cent. of the boys being sent to them at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Until fifteen or twenty years ago writing was scarcely taught at all; messages were entrusted verbally to a professional *hafiz* or "rememberer," who acted as postman and could be relied upon not to forget or mix up his "letters," however many he carried at a time from one town to another. Even now scarcely one *maktab* in ten teaches writing. Ordinary children merely learnt by heart certain chapters of the Qur'an, together with the rules of prayer and fasting. The older boys are taught at certain schools a little Persian literature (this is confined to the "Gulistan," the "Bostan" and the "Bedil") and read a few Turki books, such as "Sufi Allahyar" and "Nawai." The fees are not excessive. For the first six months of schooling an entrance fee of two tengas (4*d.*) is paid, after which a fee of one *dachin* ($\frac{1}{12}$th of 1*d.*), called the "Panjshambalik," is paid to the *akhun* or schoolmaster every Thursday (*Panjshamba*). Then when the Qur'an is begun a further six tengas initial payment is made and the Panjshambalik rises to three *dachins*. At each of the two *'Ids*, i.e. at the end of the

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[854] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

/The New Uighurs/

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
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/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

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Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

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S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

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E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

/The New Uighurs/

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 793 [871] 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 [423] This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as [428] equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc- [562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

India. Infants are fed by their mothers for a couple of months, after which all kinds of food, however indigestible, are administered, in order to "strengthen the stomach" and make the child "as tough as a mill-stone" (*tigarman-mizāj*). In this the Turkis merely copy their masters, for, according to D., a Chinese mother will stuff her baby at a party with anything she eats herself, and I myself have seen an official administer neat brandy to his three-months-old infant. Among the middle and lower classes daughters are more desired than sons, because there is always the chance of a girl bringing a wealthy husband into the family, whereas a boy does nothing for his parents after the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he marries and sets up house for himself. Seven days after birth the christening ceremony is held; the Imam and Mu'azzin of the mosque are invited, together with the *Uttuz-oghle* (lit. "thirty sons"), an assembly of neighbours which corresponds roughly to the Indian *panchayat*; the priests give the child its name and recite certain verses of the Qur'an in return for small fees. Schooling at the *maktab* or mosque-school begins at four or five and continues until about seven if the parents are poor, nine if they belong to the middle class, and twelve or thirteen if they are rich. Besides the *maktabs* there are *madrasas* or colleges, which are very sparsely attended, only about 5 per cent. of the boys being sent to them at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Until fifteen or twenty years ago writing was scarcely taught at all; messages were entrusted verbally to a professional *hafiz* or "rememberer," who acted as postman and could be relied upon not to forget or mix up his "letters," however many he carried at a time from one town to another. Even now scarcely one *maktab* in ten teaches writing. Ordinary children merely learnt by heart certain chapters of the Qur'an, together with the rules of prayer and fasting. The older boys are taught at certain schools a little Persian literature (this is confined to the "Gulistan," the "Bostan" and the "Bedil") and read a few Turki books, such as "Sufi Allahyar" and "Nawai." The fees are not excessive. For the first six months of schooling an entrance fee of two tengas (4*d.*) is paid, after which a fee of one *dachin* ($1\frac{1}{2}$th of 1*d.*), called the "Panjshambalik," is paid to the *akhun* or schoolmaster every Thursday (*Panjshamba*). Then when the Qur'an is begun a further six tengas initial payment is made and the Panjshambalik rises to three *dachins*. At each of the two *'Ids*, i.e. at the end of the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
[793] and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

S N 563 764 d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

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854 INFANT CARE--care of routine bodily needs; cleaning; dealing with excreta; clothing and swaddling; provisions for sleep (e.g., cradles, cribs); playing with infants (e.g., fondling, dandling, rocking, crooning); emotional care (e.g., distracting techniques, methods of soothing, guarding against emotional upsets); watching and tending; special dangers ascribed to period of infancy; protection from real and supernatural dangers; hygienic and therapeutic measures; methods of holding and carrying infants (e.g., on back, astride hip); distribution of care among members of the family; institutionalized care (e.g., nurseries); etc. See also:

Cradle songs and lullabies 533
Preventive medicine 751
Medical care 758
Disparagement 784
Cleanliness training 863

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562 who holds the purse-strings and does the selling of the farm-produce as well as the buying. Nowadays it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have her own profession, dress-making, cap-embroidering, cotton-spinning, midwifery, cooking at restaurants, dyeing, soap-making, sorcery, laundering, brokering and so on. Out of doors they wear the *chumbal* or stiff rectangular veil, but most of the time this is thrown back over the head; only when some important male personage comes along, such as a Chinese official or an Aqsaqal or a British Consul-General, do they pull the veil hastily down again for a few moments. This is in strong contrast to India, where only the women of the lowest castes go about unveiled.

It must also be remembered that the average Turki man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going, rather slow-witted person, so that the sharper-tongued, quicker-witted and more energetic woman more than holds her own—so long, at any rate, as she can keep her husband at her side. On the whole, the term *mazlum-kishi* (oppressed person), which is the regular word for "woman" in Kashgaria, need not be taken too seriously. A woman above the average in looks or wit profits as much by the looseness of the marriage tie as her less-favoured sister suffers from it; she can exchange an uncongenial husband for a better one with very little difficulty. A Kashgar beauty dates her past life by her successive husbands, just as a racing enthusiast in this country dates his by Derby winners. I cannot say, however, that I heard of any woman approaching the matrimonial record of a certain good-looking Mussulman British subject of scarcely more than middle age, who was credited with having espoused over sixty different wives in his time, and was still going strong when we left.

• 854 A married woman does not reach her full social stature until she is thirty years old or more, when she attains the dignity of *jawanlik*. A *jawan* is a woman who has attained years of discretion and is entitled to the privilege of braiding her hair in two long plaits. This "coming of age" is an important and festive event, like a wedding; the husband gives a large party called the *jawanlik toi*, to which both men and women are invited (they do not, of course, mix); at this feast she appears for the first time with her hair braided and wearing a special kind of shirt, known as the *jawanchi konglak*. She is now more important and respected than before; she is also worth more in the marriage market, for men do not like child-brides who know nothing and may at any moment

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86

86 SOCIALIZATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the basic mechanisms of cultural transmission, especially the socialization of impulses and the more informal educational processes. For formal education see 87; for personality and its development see 15.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. [586] [587] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

868

868 TRANSMISSION OF SKILLS--acquisition of language; teaching children to walk and swim; techniques for inculcating manual dexterity and technological skills; teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex; informal instruction in occupational skills; acquisition of artistic skills (e.g., playing of musical instruments); relative importance of imitation, practice, and instruction in the transmission of skills; etc. See also:

Language	19	Motor habits	516
Fine arts	53	Athletic sports	528
Division of labor by sex	462	Military training	702
Occupational specialization	463	Age at walking and talking	856
Locomotion	481	Formal vocational education	874

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[191] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

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*175
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[669]

Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

185 province basis, have dealt with and for a network of local cooperatives. All provincial banking is said to have been monopolized by a Sinkiang Commercial Bank. Together with a Reconstruction Commission, these organizations have been at the core of the new provincial economy. What the administration of the New Sinkiang has been able to do on the basis of this arrangement—in terms of admittedly incomplete and in many cases generalized or proximate data—is indicated below.

Education

871 Tu Chung-yüan, himself one-time Chancellor of Education in the New Sinkiang, suggests that, second to political equality, the border has long wanted educational equality as the means to gain true autonomy for the racial groups of Sinkiang. The New Sinkiang accordingly made expansion of education fundamental to her reconstruction program. That is the basis upon which the number of students in the province reportedly leaped from less than 3,000 before 1933 to well over 150,000 by 1936. By August of that year around 2,300 educational institutions are said to have been established in Sinkiang. These included one college of law and political science, several middle schools, probably over two hundred primary schools, around one hundred so-called people's schools, and from one to two thousand private schools. There is good reason to believe that by 1943 there was an even greater number of educated persons and educational institutions.

873 There has also been, apparently distinct from the above-named institutions, a new and special kind of emphasis on education of cultural minorities and majorities. This has largely been effected through what are called Cultural Progress Societies. In 1936 these existed for the Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, Hui, Meng-ku, T'a-t'a-erh, Kuei-hua, and Han. Figures on the next page suggest the extent to which the work of the first three mentioned societies has been carried.

871 Students, no matter whether in attendance at the University, at a middle school, or at a primary school, are aided by the provincial government. In the case of the University, the Normal School, and the "First Middle School," students have even been given "pocket money."

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104-105. Education: Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75, 80-83. According to the statistics of Chiang Chün-chang, of the fifty-nine counties in the province during 1931 less than a half had any (or at best not over one or two) primary schools. In contrast to Tu, Chiang states that there were not over 7,380 students in the whole province; and of those 7,162 were attending primary school. *Op. cit.*, p. 139. Cf. Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.* Figures on Sinkiang education are largely derived from the following sources: *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* (Nanking), p. 1225; Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.;* Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.;* and Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.* Ch'en Chi-jung mentions a *Hsin-chiang Hsüeh-yüan* (i.e., a Sinkiang Academy) but Samuel Chao calls this Sinkiang institution of higher learning the Sinkiang College. Tu Chung-yüan speaks of "ten institutions including middle schools and an academy;" *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* mentions three middle schools; Samuel Chao lists nine; and Chao Lieh says there are fifteen. Tu Chung-yüan names fifty so-called people's schools, *The Chinese Year Book 1937 Issue* mentions "15 popular and vocational schools," Samuel Chao, "203 people's schools," and Chao Lieh, "122 mass education academies." Tu Chung-yüan names "1,291 local and private academies," Samuel Chao 1,291 "private schools," and Chao Lieh 2,000 "private schools." "Cultural Progress Societies" is a translation of the original term, *Wen-hua-tzu-chin Hui.* The figures on the number of Cultural Progress Societies are from, and therefore ought to be dated in accordance with, Tu Chung-yüan's statistics. *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-83. Samuel Chao's are only slightly different figures, while Chao Lieh merely says there are "cultural societies everywhere." The reference to "pocket money" is from Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*

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105-107. Currency and finance: Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "Hsin Hsin-chiang Ti Ts'ai-cheng," *loc. cit.*

107-108. Cultivated acreage: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. *Vide* also Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest.*

108. *Ibid.;* Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48. There is, however, considerable uncertainty about the exact amount of land that has been under cultivation in Sinkiang, and there are great variances in available estimates. For example, Chao Lieh, *loc. cit.*, gives a figure which indicates that traditionally there have only been slightly over 30,000 acres of land suitable for cultivation ("land that can be cultivated," *k'o-keng-chih-ti*"). Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97, however, cites a table from the *Hsi-yü T'u-chih*, the total of which indicates that "reclaimed land" (*ken-ti*) alone in Sinkiang during Ch'ien Lung times (1736-1795) amounted to over 48,000 acres. Further, English language estimates for 1932 (*vide* the *China Year Book, 1934*, pp. 39, 41) have given the cultivated acreage for rice and wheat in Sinkiang alone respectively at the equivalent of approximately 279,334 and 785,000 acres. The question deserves extended study.

108-109. Agricultural products: Chiang Chün-chang, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48; *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

109-112. Animal husbandry: *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.;* Ch'en Chi-jung, "T'ien-shan San-tu Wu Ts'ao," *loc. cit.;* Samuel Chao, *China's Northwest;* Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91

112. Mineral resources: *Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.; The Chinese Year Book, 1938-39*, p. 124; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

112-113. Petroleum: *The China Year Book 1931*, p. 42; Tu Chung-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52; *The Chinese Year Book 1938-39*, p. 124; Samuel Chao, *op. cit.; Ts'ai-cheng P'ing-lun, loc. cit.*

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

India. Infants are fed by their mothers for a couple of months, after which all kinds of food, however indigestible, are administered, in order to "strengthen the stomach" and make the child "as tough as a mill-stone" (*tigarman-mizāj*). In this the Turkis merely copy their masters, for, according to D., a Chinese mother will stuff her baby at a party with anything she eats herself, and I myself have seen an official administer neat brandy to his three-months-old infant. Among the middle and lower classes daughters are more desired than sons, because there is always the chance of a girl bringing a wealthy husband into the family, whereas a boy does nothing for his parents after the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he marries and sets up house for himself. Seven days after birth the christening ceremony is held; the Imam and Mu'azzin of the mosque are invited, together with the *Uttuz-oghle* (lit. "thirty sons"), an assembly of neighbours which corresponds roughly to the Indian *panchayat*; the priests give the child its name and recite certain verses of the Qur'an in return for small fees. Schooling at the *maktab* or mosque-school begins at four or five and continues until about seven if the parents are poor, nine if they belong to the middle class, and twelve or thirteen if they are rich. Besides the *maktabs* there are *madrasas* or colleges, which are very sparsely attended, only about 5 per cent. of the boys being sent to them at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Until fifteen or twenty years ago writing was scarcely taught at all; messages were entrusted verbally to a professional *hafiz* or "rememberer," who acted as postman and could be relied upon not to forget or mix up his "letters," however many he carried at a time from one town to another. Even now scarcely one *maktab* in ten teaches writing. Ordinary children merely learnt by heart certain chapters of the Qur'an, together with the rules of prayer and fasting. The older boys are taught at certain schools a little Persian literature (this is confined to the "Gulistan," the "Bostan" and the "Bedil") and read a few Turki books, such as "Sufi Allahyar" and "Nawai." The fees are not excessive. For the first six months of schooling an entrance fee of two tengas (4*d*.) is paid, after which a fee of one *dachin* ($1\frac{1}{2}$th of 1*d*.), called the "Panjshambalik," is paid to the *akhun* or schoolmaster every Thursday (*Panjshamba*). Then when the Qur'an is begun a further six tengas initial payment is made and the Panjshambalik rises to three *dachins*. At each of the two *'Ids*, i.e. at the end of the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster. 871

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years. 584 595 [582] 584

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a 585

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[142] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[141] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[233] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[556] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Soviet Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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20.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water consti-
tutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the
youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in
shaping the character of the community. As the representa-
tives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders
of the community, but they are also the administrators of
the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares
for all those persons of the community who are unable to make
a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It
is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Mos-
lems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities,
but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the
merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials
who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese adminis-
trators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials
aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often
assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against
the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent
the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the mer-
chants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an
economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the
fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and
therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
[562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the
sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are
held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] [586] [587] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

S 871 563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

N *563 873 658 *175 871 N [669] Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were established for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
S 175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.
668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.
Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).
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[563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

S 175 668 871 [563] graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N *175 *668 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

N *[563] S 175 668 873 [563] S 175 668 874 873

N *175 *668 871 The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

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Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

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872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials 21
Religious beliefs 77
Traditional history 173
Reading, writing, and spelling 212
School buildings 346
Music 533
Ethical ideals 577
Civics 641
Arithmetic 803
Ethnogeography 823
Informal transmission of social norms 867
Teachers 875

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 7

Development of Nationality Education in Sinkiang, 1952-1957

	Secondary Schools		Elementary Schools	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
1952 (Report by Saifuddin in Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 8, p. 118)	41*	14,874	1,800	331,870
January 1953 (Report by Burkhan, Sinkiang jih-pao, Jan. 1, 1953)	63	63.5% more than pre-1949	1,700=41% more than pre-1949	58% more than pre-1949
July 1953 (JMJP, July 3, 1953)	51	20,000=100% more than pre-1949		
1953 (JMJP, May 22, 1954)	60	23,000		
1st half 1955 (Report by Burkhan, Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 11, p. 33)		28,353=almost 200% more than pre-1949		366,637=76% more than pre-1949
1957 (Plan)	77**	48,196	2,198	428,180

* Including one professional school with 557 students.
** Including three professional schools and eight normal schools.

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546 According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January
668 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese
177 feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

563 The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the
575 past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own
872 cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

185 province basis, have dealt with and for a network of local cooperatives. All provincial banking is said to have been monopolized by a Sinkiang Commercial Bank. Together with a Reconstruction Commission, these organizations have been at the core of the new provincial economy. What the administration of the New Sinkiang has been able to do on the basis of this arrangement—in terms of admittedly incomplete and in many cases generalized or proximate data—is indicated below.

Education

871 Tu Chung-yüan, himself one-time Chancellor of Education in the New Sinkiang, suggests that, second to political equality, the border has long wanted educational equality as the means to gain true autonomy for the racial groups of Sinkiang. The New Sinkiang accordingly made expansion of education fundamental to her reconstruction program. That is the basis upon which the number of students in the province reportedly leaped from less than 3,000 before 1933 to well over 150,000 by 1936. By August of that year around 2,300 educational institutions are said to have been established in Sinkiang. These included one college of law and political science, several middle schools, probably over two hundred primary schools, around one hundred so-called people's schools, and from one to two thousand private schools. There is good reason to believe that by 1943 there was an even greater number of educated persons and educational institutions.

873 There has also been, apparently distinct from the above-named institutions, a new and special kind of emphasis on education of cultural minorities and majorities. This has largely been effected through what are called Cultural Progress Societies. In 1936 these existed for the Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, Hui, Meng-ku, T'a-t'a-erh, Kuei-hua, and Han. Figures on the next page suggest the extent to which the work of the first three mentioned societies has been carried.

871 Students, no matter whether in attendance at the University, at a middle school, or at a primary school, are aided by the provincial government. In the case of the University, the Normal School, and the "First Middle School," students have even been given "pocket money."

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All

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SOME WORK OF THE CULTURAL PROGRESS SOCIETIES OF SINKIANG (1936)

Society	*Wei-wu-erh*	*Ha-sa-k'o*	*Hui*	*Totals*
Central Office	1	1	1	3
Regional Branches	8	5	3	16
County Branches	41	8	14	63
Village Branches	23	?	?	23+?
Total Educational Institutions	1,980	207	37	2,224
Total Students	129,649	10,194	2,700	142,543

Currency and Finance

For currency stabilization and a practicable operating budget, Sinkiang Province has persistently required outside financial help. Not only was this true in the old days of the Chinese Empire but it was particularly true in the period just before and during Sheng Shih-ts'ai's rise to power. In the 1934-1941 period Sheng met the situation mainly by internal reforms and aid from Soviet Russia. But he has not yet got the problem licked. 652

For decades after the province was established, Sinkiang operated on a substratum of financial subsidy. The first annual grant came from the Manchu government and amounted to 600,000 taels. This was gradually increased until in 1905 it had risen to 2,980,000 taels. With the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the old subsidies—one year excepted—were discontinued. Various measures were taken in an attempt to cope with the new situation, but the principal method used for many years thereafter was issuance of provincial notes. These notes in turn began to bring on Sinkiang inflation. By 1934 that inflation had become seriously disturbing to the provincial economy.

Sinkiang has had a wide variety of mediums of exchange. Formerly, in addition to paper notes, these included silver coins, stamped silver "shoes," irregular bullion, and at times tea or even sheep. Paper provincial notes were first circulated in 1899, and were backed by a Tihwa cash reserve. Later "oil cloth notes" *(yu-pu piao)* were also issued by provincial bureaus at Sui-ting and Kashgar. These had a 436

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

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The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
S shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
873 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
219 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
563 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
668 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet
177 books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 7

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** Including three professional schools and eight normal schools.

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
177 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

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Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, [illegible] the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. [illegible]y have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S 874 other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 743 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N * 563 262 A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

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3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

run away back to their parents, whereas they will actually spend several hundred tengas on *toiluk* (trousseau) for the privilege of marrying a good-looking *jawan*. In the snatches of love-songs given below it will be noticed that the poet's "mistress" is often called *jawan*, never *chokan* or *qiz* (girl). The popular standpoint is expressed in the following old rhyme: 884

Jān qadrini kīm bilsun?	Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Aghriq bilma'e sāq na bilsun.	Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
Er qadrini kīm bilsun?	What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Jawān bilma'e qiz na bilsun.	Not the girl who has never been a *jawan*.

To marry one's daughter to an infidel—a Chinaman or a Hindu—is regarded as no less disgraceful than to put her on the streets, and only the poorest do it. It is significant that the word used for a lady of easy virtue—*jallāb*—is also applied to Turki wives of Chinese (other than Chinese Mussulmans) and Hindus. They are excommunicated by the priests and ostracized by their class. There are compensations, however. Chinamen and Hindus are much better husbands than Turkis, and the wives of "infidels" usually amass wealth. The wife of a Hindu is in a particularly strong position. Her husband has no legal rights over her; if she runs away, the mullas will not lift a finger for him, and he must "shell out" again if he wants another wife. She can thus hold over him the threat of returning to her family, and tap his money-bags with confidence for herself and her relations. When he dies, she usually gets away with some or all of his property; two or three cases were brought before me in which this had happened. But it is interesting to note that Islam usually triumphs at the last; an infidel's wife will often use her wealth to purchase an "indulgence" on her death-bed and the right to a Mussulman burial. When she feels her end approaching, she will leave her home and settle in another town, where she is received back into the fold by the Imam and the *uttuz-oghle*. She gives liberal donations to shrines and dedicates some or all of her land as *waqf* (religious trust) to the Church. The Qazi prescribes certain prayers and observances for the donor, who then dies in peace and is buried with full Mussulman rites. There is one serious drawback, however, to marrying a Hindu trader; and that is the fact that if and when he 582

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in
[614] the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted ~~by the~~ members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious repre-
585 sentatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's
[152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's fam-
563 ily, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after
585 she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her be-
885 coming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and
563 soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a di-
586 vorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman
[587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather